This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

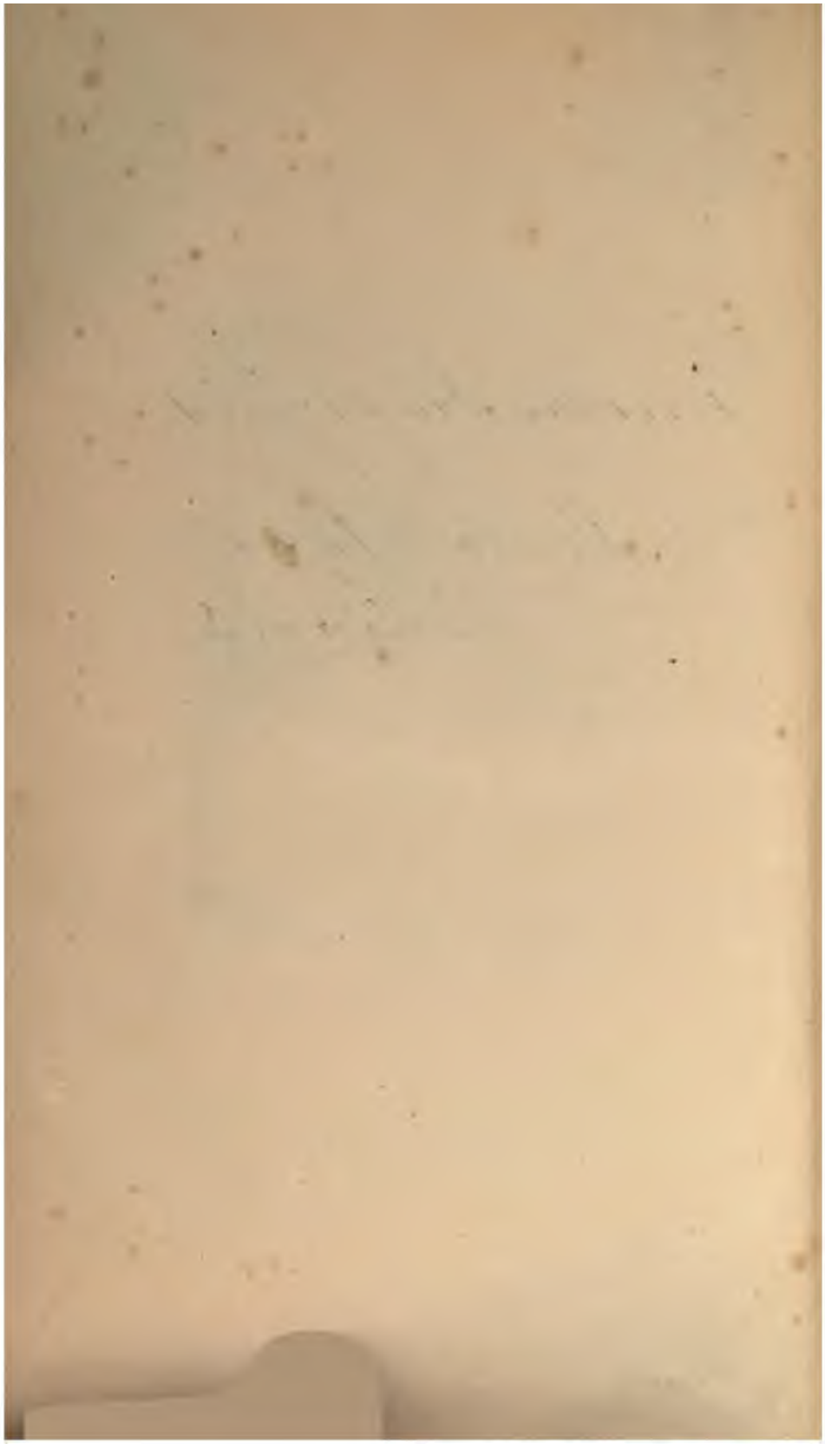
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
Gift of
Timothy Hopkins, Esq.

Timothy Hopkins

Menlo Park

California



Samuel Hopkins

THE

WORKS

OF

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:
DOCTRINAL TRACT AND BOOK SOCIETY.
1852.

THE

WORKS

OF

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.,

FIRST PASTOR OF

THE CHURCH IN GREAT BARRINGTON, MASS.,

AFTERWARDS PASTOR OF

THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN NEWPORT, R. I.

WITH

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:
DOCTRINAL TRACT AND BOOK SOCIETY.
1852.

F158
H79

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1852, by

SEWALL HARDING,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

397365

STEREOTYPED AT THE
BOSTON STEREOTYPE FOUNDRY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Doctrinal Tract and Book Society now offer to the public a collected and complete edition of the Works of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, with a new Memoir of his life and character. The Memoir has been prepared, after an extensive examination of Dr. Hopkins's manuscripts in this country and in England, by EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Abbot Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover.

Hopkins's System of Divinity has already passed through two editions. Some of his other treatises have been published in several editions, but have been long out of print. His writings have never, until now, been collected and published in one uniform edition. From the important place he occupies in the history of the theology of New England, from his very intimate connection with both the Edwardses and Bellamy, and above all, from the intrinsic merit of his various treatises, it has been thought due to the present generation, that a collected edition of his works should be published. No minister or theological student can afford to be without his Works, as without them no one can fully understand the religious history of New England during the last century — a period fraught with such important changes and events in all our civil and religious institutions.

In issuing this edition, while we are constrained to express our profound regard for Dr. Hopkins as a great and good man, and as a most discriminating and powerful writer, and while we regard his works as among the most valuable additions to our theological literature, we must also here say, as we said of Bellamy's writings, and as we expect to say of other works which we may publish: "We do not feel responsible for every sentiment that may be advanced, as we do not presume to abridge their works, or to alter their phraseology. We leave each author to utter his own views, in his own way; that the public may have a knowledge not only of their real sentiments, but also of their style of writing, and, in some measure, the times in which they lived. We would have those eminent men, who contributed so much by their stern integrity, their consistent piety, and their ardent attachment to the unadulterated truths of God's Word, to give character and stability to our institutions, speak for themselves. We revere their memory and praise

God for such an ancestry. Their works contain excellences which are not often found in the present issues from the press. Their intimate and living acquaintance with the Bible, their profound mode of thinking, the spiritual tone of their piety, and their masterly discussions of the principles which have given character to the churches of New England, are scarcely less necessary to us than they were to their contemporaries."

In editing the Works of Hopkins, we have been more than ever impressed with a sense of their unspeakable value, and of the uncommon acuteness and greatness of their author. The more he is known, so much the more will the depth of his piety be acknowledged and revered.

By a perusal of the Memoir, the reader will see that few divines have exerted a more extended political and religious influence than Dr. Hopkins. He was not only a great theologian, but a great reformer, consistent, conservative, and yet, in the good sense of the term, progressive. He was greatly in advance of his age in almost every good work. The issue of this edition is well timed, as the fundamental principles here advocated are equally applicable and adapted to the reforms of the present day, and of all succeeding days, as they lay the axe at the root of the tree of evil, and are the foundation of all that is virtuous and good.

With these views, and believing the work we now issue is well fitted to detect error and delusion, to reform what is vicious, to exhibit and enforce the pure and distinguishing doctrines of revelation, and, by the grace of God, to convince, convert, and save men, we now commit it to the public, with the earnest prayer that the divine blessing may attend it.

It is here due to the Editor to say, that the arrangement would have been somewhat different, the treatises more accurately classified, had the materials all been before him in the beginning; but several of the sermons and other articles came to our knowledge after the work was partly set up. This apparent want of system, which was thus made unavoidable, is remedied by a full index of the whole, at the close.

It is with great pleasure that we acknowledge essential aid rendered by several individuals in furnishing documents and manuscript articles, and especially the liberal donation of the Hon. Charles W. Hopkins, of Great Barrington, towards furnishing the stereotype plates of these Works of his honored grandfather.

S. H.

Boston, May, 1852.

MEMOIR.

PREFACE TO THE MEMOIR.

A RECENT number (CXI.) of the Westminster Review contains the following remark: "A fault of the Americans, to which we fear they are becoming more and more addicted, is a certain tendency to decry the abilities and virtues of their most distinguished historical characters." The justness of this remark, is apparent in the disposition of some American authors to depreciate the merits of Samuel Hopkins. The ensuing Memoir is by no means a full vindication of this distinguished "historical" personage. An adequate account of his life and labors would fill a large volume. The materials for such a volume are still extant. A selection from them is now given to the public. This selection is sufficient to prove the strength and the piety of Hopkins, as well as his great influence upon the American churches.

In publishing his Journal, Letters, and other manuscripts, no attempt has been made to correct their faulty style; but they are printed, in the main, as they were originally written. In some few instances, where his words were illegible, or very obscure, the biographer has inserted, *within brackets*, the terms or phrases which seemed to express the idea intended in the original manuscript.

For many of the facts stated in the ensuing pages, the biographer is indebted to surviving parishioners or personal friends of Dr. Hopkins, and to several literary gentlemen who have interested themselves in antiquarian researches. He owes especial thanks to Hon. William R. Staples and John Kingsbury, Esq., of Providence, R. I., Walter Channing, M. D., of Boston, Mass., Professor James L. Kingsley, of New Haven, Conn., Rev. William B. Sprague, D. D., of Albany, N. Y., Rev. Brown Emerson, D. D., of Salem, Mass., Rev. Calvin Hitchcock, D. D., of Randolph, Mass., Rev. John Ferguson, of Whately, Mass., and to many others who have rendered him important aid. He has derived much information from the voluminous correspondence of Dr. Hopkins, from two manuscript letters of the late Rev. William E. Channing, D. D., of Boston, Mass., from the Literary Diary of President Stiles, and from the following printed works: "Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., Pastor of the First Congrega-

tional Church in Newport, written by himself; interspersed with marginal notes extracted from his private diary:" with an Introduction by Stephen West, D. D., Pastor of the Church in Stockbridge, Mass.; published in Hartford, Conn., 1805;—"Reminiscences of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Newport, R. I., illustrative of his character and doctrines, with incidental subjects: from an intimacy with him of twenty-one years, while Pastor of a sister Church in said town, by William Patten, D. D." 1843;—"Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., formerly Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island: with an Appendix; by John Ferguson, Pastor of the East Church in Attleborough, Mass;" published in Boston, 1830. The author of the last-named work was, for many years, a member of the church to which Dr. Hopkins had ministered, was an intimate friend of the widow of Dr. Hopkins, and was personally acquainted with many facts illustrative of Hopkins's character. The Memoir which Mr. Ferguson wrote has been very fully indorsed by Rev. Caleb J. Tenney, D. D., of Wethersfield, Conn. In a letter dated December 11, 1843, Dr. Tenney wrote to Mr. Ferguson:

"I have lately reperused, with increased interest, your brief Memoirs of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Newport, R. I.

"My residence in his family during several of the last months of his life, I recollect, now forty years ago, as a very highly-favored passage in my own life. This acquaintance with one of the best men, and one of the ablest divines, whom I have ever known, and my settlement with the same church and people to whom he ministered, afforded me peculiar opportunity to learn his character and the facts in his history.

"Of many things in your Memoirs, I had personal knowledge, and of most of the other things, I had the most authentic information, and can most unhesitatingly say, that the public may rely upon your Life of Hopkins as prepared with great accuracy and fidelity, and as approaching well to a perfect presentation of the original in actual and real life."

It may be added, that nearly all the more important statements in the ensuing Memoir have been submitted to some of Dr. Hopkins's former friends, and have been inserted in the Memoir with their approval. Several of the manuscripts here published, have not been seen by the biographer, but were copied for him by trustworthy friends.

EDWARDS A. PARK.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
March 16, 1852.

CONTENTS.

MEMOIR.

SECT. I. *Family and Birth*, pp. 9–12. Religious character of Hopkins's ancestors, p. 11. Dr. Hopkins, of West Springfield, Massachusetts, — Dr. Hopkins, of Hadley, Massachusetts, — and Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, of Hartford, Connecticut, p. 10.

SECT. II. *Childhood*, pp. 12, 13. Correctness of demeanor, — love of home, p. 12.

SECT. III. *College Life, and early Religious History*, pp. 13–20. Discipline in logic, p. 13. Preparation for metaphysical theology, pp. 13, 14. Eminent classmates, p. 14. Relation to the moderate Calvinists, p. 15. Interest in Mr. Whitefield, p. 15; — in Mr. Gilbert Tennent, pp. 16, 18. Interview with David Brainerd, pp. 16, 17. Conversion, pp. 17, 18. First mention of President Edwards, p. 18. Mrs. Edwards, p. 19. Mental dejection, pp. 18, 19. Dr. Buell, p. 19. Circumstances attending Hopkins's conversion, in their influence upon his subsequent life, p. 20.

SECT. IV. *Residence at Northampton, and Study of Theology*, pp. 20–24. Family of President Edwards, — interview with Mrs. Edwards, p. 21. Her Hopkinsian sentiments, p. 22. Hopkins begins to preach, p. 23. Length of time spent with President Edwards, pp. 23, 24.

SECT. V. *Private Journal*, p. 24.

SECT. VI. *Earliest Efforts in the Christian Ministry, and Feelings in View of them*, pp. 24–26. Christian modesty, — despondency, p. 25. Christian hope, pp. 25, 26. Self-dedication, p. 26. Saturday fasts, p. 26.

SECT. VII. *Reasons for Hope and Discouragement on Entering the Sacred Office*, pp. 27–32. Personal appearance of Hopkins, pp. 27, 28. Appearance in the pulpit, p. 28. Style of elocution and of writing, pp. 28, 29. Fondness for strong expressions, pp. 29, 30. Want of fitness for popular oratory, pp. 30, 31. Personal diffidence, p. 31. Occasional power over his hearers, pp. 31, 32. Approbation of his earliest efforts in the pulpit, p. 32.

SECT. VIII. *Ordination at Housatonick, or Great Barrington*, pp. 33–35. Condition of the place, pp. 33, 35. Smallness of salary, p. 34. Fever and ague, p. 34. Ordination day, p. 35.

SECT. IX. *Mr. Hopkins in his Parochial Labor*, pp. 35–37. Temperance reform, p. 35. Feelings of a missionary, pp. 35, 36. Faithfulness to young converts, p. 37.

SECT. X. *Extemporaneous and Expository Preaching*, pp. 38, 39. Mr. Sergeant's objections, p. 38. Reading of the Bible in public service, pp. 38, 39. *Memoriter* preaching, p. 39.

SECT. XI. *Interference of Colonial Troubles with Mr. Hopkins's Ministry*, pp. 40–43. Sacrifices for his country, p. 40. Disturbance of worship, pp. 40, 41. Nearly three months' absence on an Indian scout, p. 41. President Edwards's fits, p. 41. Removal from Great Barrington for safety, p. 42. Accident to Mrs. Hopkins, p. 42. Letters to Dr. Bellamy, pp. 41–43. Martial spirit, p. 43.

SECT. XII. *Interest in the Aboriginal Tribes*, pp. 44, 45. Preaching to the Indians, p. 44. Invitation to settle over them, p. 44. Influence in securing President Edwards, as their missionary, p. 44. Intimacy between Hopkins and Edwards, pp. 44, 45. Correspondence with President Wheelock, p. 45.

SECT. XIII. *Sermon to the Indians*, pp. 45–49. *Naïveté* in preaching, p. 45. Interesting circumstance connected with this sermon, p. 46.

SECT. XIV. *Social Intercourse*, pp. 49–51. Visits to President Edwards, pp. 49, 50. Their theological importance, p. 50. Criticisms on Edwards's Works, p. 50; — on Bellamy's Works, pp. 50, 51. Dismission of President Edwards, p. 51.

SECT. XV. *Studious Life at Great Barrington*, pp. 51–53. Number of hours daily spent in study, — temperance in diet, p. 52. Extent of his reading, p. 53.

SECT. XVI. *Domestic Life and Family at Great Barrington*, pp. 54–58. Letter to his mother, p. 54. Her death, p. 54. His marriage, p. 55. Death of his father, pp. 55, 56. Aid to his brother, Dr. Daniel Hopkins, p. 56. Friendship with Mr. John Norris, p. 56. Mark Hopkins, Esq., p. 57. Dr. Hopkins's treatment of his children, p. 57. Brief account of them, pp. 57, 58.

SECT. XVII. *Influence on Public Men*, pp. 58–64. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, pp. 58, 59. Hopkins recommends exercises in elocution, p. 59. Dr. Stephen West, pp. 59, 60. Dr. Samuel Spring, p. 60. Rev. David Sanford, pp. 60–62. Candor of Hopkins, p. 63. Connection of the early Hopkinsians with benevolent institutions, pp. 60–64.

SECT. XVIII. *General Influence in the Community*, pp. 64–67. Half-way covenant, p. 64. General opposition to Edwardeanism, pp. 64, 65. Hopkins invited to New Jersey, p. 65. Relations to the college of New Jersey, pp. 65, 66. Presidency of the college, p. 66. Female prayer meeting in Boston, p. 67.

SECT. XIX. *Ministry at Great Barrington, — its Termination and Results*, pp. 67–72. Admissions to his church, p. 67. His strict Calvinism unpopular, pp. 68, 69. Opposition of the Tories to Hopkins, p. 69. His popularity at Salem, Massachusetts, — letters to Bellamy, p. 70. Dismission, pp. 70, 71. Bad effects of it, p. 71.

SECT. XX. *Depth of Mr. Hopkins's Religious Feelings during and after his Residence at Great Barrington*, pp. 72–76. His humility, pp. 72, 73. Adoration, p. 74. The Trinity, p. 74. Delight in God, p. 75.

SECT. XXI. *Second Candidateship*, pp. 76–79. Opposition to his settlement at Newport, pp. 76, 77. Power of his farewell sermon, pp. 77, 78. Triumph over the opposition, pp. 78, 79.

SECT. XXII. *Connection of Mr. Hopkins with Dr. Ezra Stiles, his Clerical*

Neighbor at Newport, pp. 79–83. Moderate Calvinism of Dr. Stiles, p. 79. His opposition to Hopkins's settlement, pp. 79, 80. His account of the installation, p. 80. His learned sermon, p. 81. Subsequent friendship with Dr. Hopkins, p. 82.

SECT. XXIII. *Early Prospects and Success at Newport*, pp. 83–86. Relative importance of the town, p. 83. Qualifications of Mr. Hopkins for usefulness in it, p. 84. His various labors and success, pp. 84, 85. Church discipline, pp. 85, 86.

SECT. XXIV. *Visit from Mr. Whitefield*, pp. 86, 87. Intercourse of Whitefield with Hopkins, p. 86. Their debates, p. 87.

SECT. XXV. *Affectionate Intercourse with Friends*, pp. 87–89. His strong friendships indicate the type of his theology, pp. 87–89. Intenseness of religious joy, p. 89.

SECT. XXVI. *Effect of the Revolutionary War upon the Ministry of Mr. Hopkins*, pp. 89–92. His parsonage destroyed, meeting-house injured, people impoverished, p. 90. Increase of infidelity, p. 91. Charitable assistance rendered to his church, pp. 91, 92. His want of ministerial success owing, in some measure, to political causes, pp. 91, 92.

SECT. XXVII. *Conduct in the Midst of Poverty*, pp. 92–95. Dr. W. E. Channing's description of Hopkins, p. 92. Influence of his freedom from avarice, on his theology, p. 93; — on his pastoral life, p. 94. Testimony of Dr. Walter Channing, p. 94.

SECT. XXVIII. *Three Years' Absence from Newport*, pp. 95–98. Labors with Dr. Spring, at Newburyport, p. 95. Success, pp. 96, 97.

SECT. XXIX. *Christian Edification; the Osborn Society*, pp. 98–101. Hopkins's success in improving the character of the church, p. 98. Character of Mrs. Osborn, p. 99. Miss Susanna Anthony, p. 100. Miss Donelly, pp. 100, 101.

SECT. XXX. *Hopkins misrepresented*, pp. 101–107. Resemblance between Hopkins and Edwards, p. 101. Channing's description of Hopkins, p. 101. Incidents from Dr. Patten, pp. 102, 103. Hopkins on infant damnation, p. 103. His rule, in speaking of the absent, p. 103. Interview with the walking philosopher, — inquisitiveness of Hopkins, p. 104. Dispute with Mr. Murray, pp. 105, 106. Charge of illiberality, p. 107.

SECT. XXXI. *Letter to Dr. Stiles*, pp. 107–112. Important acknowledgment of Dr. Stiles, — his respect for the personal character of Hopkins, p. 108. The two axioms of Hopkinsianism, pp. 108, 109. Its unpopularity, p. 109. Dr. Channing's explanation of Hopkins's unpopularity in the pulpit, pp. 109, 110. Confession of Hopkins himself, pp. 110, 111. His love of solitude, p. 111. His success in the pulpit underrated, p. 112.

SECT. XXXII. *Hopkins as a Reformer*, pp. 112–114. Channing's opinion of him as a reformer, p. 112. Abstinence from ardent spirit and tobacco, — opinions on Free-masonry, p. 113; — on lotteries, p. 114. Possession of a slave, p. 114.

SECT. XXXIII. *Public Opposition to the Slave Trade and to Slavery*, pp. 115–118. Buckminster's opinion of Hopkins, — interest of Newport in the slave trade, p. 115. Heroism of Hopkins in opposing slavery, p. 116. Effect of his

Dialogue, p. 117. Honorary member of manumission societies, — interview with Dr. Bellamy, p. 118.

SECT. XXXIV. *Interest in Abolition Societies, and in Political Action against Slavery*, pp. 119–129. Hopkins's knowledge of human nature, — acts of the Rhode Island Legislature against Slavery, p. 119. Newspaper essays against slavery, pp. 120, 122, 124. Esteem for the Quakers, pp. 120, 123. Clerical action against slavery, pp. 121–123. Abolition societies, pp. 125–128.

SECT. XXXV. *Christianization of Africa*, pp. 129–138. Interview with Dr. Stiles, on the subject, pp. 129, 130. Two candidates for missionary life, pp. 130, 131, 133. First missionary circular signed by Drs. Stiles and Hopkins, pp. 131, 132. Results of it, pp. 132, 133. Dr. Chauncy's opposition to Hopkins, p. 133. Second missionary circular, pp. 134–136. The third and fourth missionary candidates, p. 136. Correspondence with Phillis Wheatley, pp. 137, 138. Monthly meeting for prayer, — an Education and a Missionary Society, p. 138.

SECT. XXXVI. *Colonization of Africa*, pp. 138–154. Its connection with the evangelization of Africa, p. 138. First distinct allusion to the colonization scheme, p. 139. Opinion concerning Dr. Thornton, p. 139. Correspondence with Granville Sharp, pp. 140–143. Correspondence with Dr. John Erskine, pp. 143, 144. Union of the plan for evangelizing, with the plan for colonizing Africa, pp. 144, 145. Arguments for colonization, pp. 145–148. Proposal to secure the aid of the National Government for colonizing Africa, p. 146. Proposal to form a Colonization Company, pp. 146, 147. Hopkins's perseverance and generosity in the cause of African missions and colonization, pp. 148, 149, 153. Correspondence with Zachary Macaulay, pp. 150–153.

SECT. XXXVII. *Newport Gardner*, pp. 154–156. His remarkable talents, p. 154. Circumstances connected with his liberation, pp. 155, 156. His perseverance in the plan of returning to his native land, — his embarkation, — death, p. 156. Influence of Hopkins upon him, pp. 155, 156.

SECT. XXXVIII. *Church Action in Regard to Slavery*, pp. 157, 158. Measures for securing the freedom of a slave owned by Dr. Hopkins's deacon, — resolution against slavery, p. 157.

SECT. XXXIX. *The United States Constitution and the Slave Interest*, pp. 158, 159. Hopkins's opinion of the Constitution, pp. 158, 159.

SECT. XL. *Relative Position of Hopkins among the Friends of the Slave*, pp. 159–165. His predecessors in opposing the slave system, p. 160. His priority to many others, p. 161. His precedence to others in the scheme of evangelizing Africa, p. 162; — and in the colonization scheme, pp. 162–164. His influence in promoting the colonization cause, pp. 164, 165. Samuel J. Mills, pp. 164, 165.

SECT. XLI. *Interest in the Negro Population of Newport*, p. 166. Negro subscribers to his System of Divinity, — testimony of Dr. Channing, p. 166.

SECT. XLII. *Interest in National and Church Polity*, pp. 166–169. His Federalism, p. 166. His opinion on the "Plan of Union," p. 167. His Church Articles, pp. 167–169. Relation of children to the church, p. 168. Duty of the church in regard to the support of its pastor, p. 169.

SECT. XLIII. *Influence of Hopkins's Personal Character upon his Theological System*, pp. 169–187. His honesty, p. 170. His strength of character, pp. 170,

171. His love of investigation, and of metaphysics, p. 171. His benevolence and sense of justice, pp. 172, 173. His union of the doctrines pertaining to sovereignty, decrees, etc., with those pertaining to human freedom, pp. 172–175. Agreement with Edwards and Emmons, pp. 173–175. His tenacity of purpose, pp. 175, 176. His love of free, rational, and biblical inquiry, pp. 176–180. His situation in life favored his independence of thought, p. 177. His defence of New Divinity, pp. 177, 178. His disregard of human authority, pp. 178, 179. His love of progress, pp. 179, 180. Fears with regard to him, p. 180. His deference for the Bible, pp. 180, 181. Its influence on his theological style, p. 181. His modesty, pp. 181–184. Indisposition to claim originality, pp. 182, 183. His system Calvinistic, pp. 183, 184. His confidence in the extent of divine truth, — success of his theological labors, pp. 184, 185. His comprehensiveness of mind, pp. 185–187. Combination of doctrines often regarded as antagonistic, pp. 185, 186. Repugnance of his principles to Pelagianism, p. 187.

Sect. XLIV. *Writings of Hopkins*, pp. 187–231. Their relation to New England theology, pp. 187, 188.

A. *Discourses on Sin*, pp. 188–190. Suggested by his religious feelings, p. 189. Opposed on the ground of their high Calvinism, p. 189. Illustrative of their author's reverence for God, and hatred of sin, p. 190.

B. *Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel*, pp. 190, 191. Hopkins's opinion on the state of infants, p. 191.

C. *Reply to Mills on the Character of the Sinner's Acts*, pp. 191–193. This work contains the most noted peculiarity of Hopkinsianism, pp. 191, 192. Written amid severe opposition, p. 192. Apology for his severity, p. 193.

D. *Reply to Hart's Dialogue. — Epithet "Hopkinsian,"* pp. 193–197. Works published against Dr. Hopkins, pp. 194, 195. Their spirit, pp. 194–196. Relation of Hopkinsianism to Edwardeanism, p. 195. Feelings of Hopkins in the midst of his controversies, pp. 196, 197.

E. *Work on Holiness*, pp. 197–199. Opposition of Dr. Hemmenway, pp. 197, 198. Charges against Hopkins, p. 198. Opposition to him from England, p. 199.

F. *Sermon on the Divinity of Christ*, p. 199. Review of it in the Spirit of the Pilgrims, p. 199.

G. *Sermons on Law and Regeneration*, pp. 199–201. Germ of Emmonism, p. 200. Character of the New England Calvinism, at that period, p. 201.

H. *Work on Future Punishment*, pp. 201–203. Style of it, p. 202. Respect of Hopkins's opposers for his personal character, p. 202.

I. *Theological System*, pp. 203–209. Dedication of it, pp. 203, 204. Remarks of Dr. Edwards upon it, pp. 204–207. Hopkins represented as imaginative, pp. 207, 208. President Langdon's pamphlet against Hopkins's System, p. 209.

J. *Dialogue on Disinterested Submission*, pp. 209–212. Its Calvinistic spirit, pp. 209, 210. Hopkins's mode of preaching on this topic, pp. 210, 211. Dr. Channing's remarks on Hopkins's theory of Disinterested Submission, pp. 211, 212.

K. *Volume of Sermons*, p. 212. Invincible ignorance excuses a transgressor, p. 212. Divine decrees and human liberty, p. 212.

L. *Writings on Slavery*, p. 213.

M. *Biographical Writings*, pp. 213–215. Importance of Hopkins's Memoir of Edwards, pp. 213, 214. Resemblance between Hopkins and Edwards, pp. 213, 214.

N. *Editorial Labors*, pp. 215–220. Hopkins's account of Edwards's manuscripts,

pp. 215, 216. Hopkins's opinions on Original Sin, pp. 216, 217. Discouragements in editing the Works of Edwards, p. 217. Edwards's Treatise on the Nature of Virtue, pp. 218, 219. Relation of Hopkins to Edwards, and comparison between them, pp. 219, 220.

O. *Miscellaneous Essays*, pp. 220–222. Comment on Galatians iv. 12, pp. 221, 222.

P. *European Correspondence*, pp. 222–228. Letters in regard to Abraham Booth's writings, pp. 222, 223. Andrew Fuller's controversial correspondence with Hopkins, pp. 223–227. Fuller's opinion of Hopkins, pp. 224, 227. Epistolary intercourse with Dr. Ryland, pp. 227, 228. Ryland's opinion of the American divines, pp. 227, 228.

Q. *Home Correspondence on Theology*, pp. 228–231. Letter to President Davies, pp. 228–231.

R. *Collected Works*, p. 231.

SECT. XLV. *Hopkins's Confidence in his Theological System*, pp. 231–233. His catholicism, pp. 231, 232. His farewell to the world, p. 232. Dedication of his Treatise on the Millennium, pp. 232, 233.

SECT. XLVI. *Testimonies in Favor of Hopkins, and of his Theology*, pp. 233–238. Pecuniary donation to him, pp. 233, 234. Transatlantic reputation, p. 234. Respect of his antagonists for him, pp. 234, 235. Progress of his opinions, pp. 236, 237. Letter to Andrew Fuller, pp. 235–238. Hopkins's opinion of Dr. Dwight, p. 235.

SECT. XLVII. *Familiar Conferences*, pp. 238–240. Social character of Dr. Hopkins, pp. 238, 239. Order of the Christian graces, p. 239. Prayer in view of God's immutability, pp. 239, 240.

SECT. XLVIII. *Household Life at Newport*, pp. 240–245. Death of his first wife, p. 240. Life and character of his second wife, pp. 240, 241. Study chamber, pp. 241, 242. Regular habits, pp. 242–245. Poverty, p. 243. Personal appearance in his old age, p. 244. Two portraits, p. 244.

SECT. XLIX. *Shock of Paralysis; Reflections; Self-Examination*, pp. 245–252. Submission to the divine will, pp. 245, 246. Examination of himself, pp. 246, 247. Signs in favor of his Christian character, pp. 248–250. Feelings in view of sin, p. 248; — of Christ, pp. 248, 249. Religious Discouragements, pp. 250–252.

SECT. L. *Preaching after his Paralysis*, p. 252. His perseverance, — Newport Gardner, p. 252.

SECT. LI. *Perseverance in his old Friendships, especially to the Edwards Family*, pp. 252–259. Hopkins not a mere metaphysician, pp. 252, 253. Letter to Rev. Mr. Judd, pp. 252, 253. Sketch of Madam Edwards's character, pp. 254–256. Sketch of Mrs. Burr's character, pp. 256, 257. Letter to Aaron Burr, pp. 257–259.

SECT. LII. *Revival of Religion*, p. 259. The ministerial life of Hopkins began and ended in a revival, p. 259.

SECT. LIII. *Death*, pp. 260, 261. Its calmness and triumph, pp. 260, 261.

SECT. LIV. *Funeral, Grave*, pp. 261, 262.

SECT. LV. *Re-interment; Monument at Great Barrington*, pp. 262–264. Reflections of future visitors at his grave, p. 263. Monument at Great Barrington, p. 264.

APPENDIX, ... 265

SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

Preface, ... 1

CHAPTER I.

DIVINE REVELATION. 5
Reflections, ... 27

CHAPTER II.

THE BEING AND PERFECTIONS OF GOD. . . . 30
Reflections, ... 57

CHAPTER III.

THE UNITY OF GOD, AND THE TRINITY. . . . 61

CHAPTER IV.

THE DECREES OF GOD. 67
Improvement, ... 146

CHAPTER V.

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY OF MAN. . 151
Improvement, ... 161

CHAPTER VI.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE IN GENERAL. 164
Improvement, ... 167

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, AS IT RESPECTS MORAL AGENTS, ANGELS, AND MEN. 169

SECT. I. Divine Providence, as it respects the Angels, ... 169
II. The Providence of God, as it respects Man in a State of Innocency, ... 176
Improvement, ... 203

CHAPTER VIII.

THE APOSTASY OF MAN, AND THE EVIL CONSEQUENCE TO HIM. . 206
Improvement, ... 242

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE REDEMPTION OF MAN. . . 246

Improvement, ... 260

CHAPTER X.

THE PERSON AND CHARACTER OF THE REDEEMER. . . 265

Improvement, ... 312

CHAPTER XI.

THE DESIGN AND WORK OF THE REDEEMER. . . . 319

Improvement, ... 358

CHAPTER XII.

THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION. . . . 363

SECT. I. On the Application of Redemption in general, . . . 363
II. On Regeneration, ... 367
III. Conversion, ... 374
IV. Disinterested Affection, ... 378
Improvement, ... 388
V. Divine Illumination, ... 399
Improvement, ... 417

CHAPTER XIII.

SAVING FAITH. 421

SECT. I. Saving Faith, ... 421
Improvement, ... 452
II. Justification by Faith in Christ, ... 457
Improvement, ... 482
III. The Covenant of Grace, ... 486
Improvement, ... 495
IV. Manner of the Dispensation of the Covenant of Grace, and the Preaching of the Gospel, ... 496
V. All true Believers do persevere in Faith and Holiness, to the End of Life, and will be saved, ... 511
Improvement, ... 518
VI. The Believer's Assurance of Salvation, ... 519
Improvement, ... 529

MEMOIR.

THE biography of a pioneer teaches some useful lessons. If, in despite of all obstacles, he have achieved good results, he stimulates to better deeds men who have better advantages. His life may illustrate the hardy and practical virtues. Failing to gratify the taste, it may invigorate the resolution. Hopkins made his Memoir of Edwards not so much a work "of friendship for the dead as of kindness to the living;" and the present Memoir of Hopkins is "only an attempt to render a life that has been greatly useful yet more so."*

SECT. I. FAMILY AND BIRTH.

The name of Hopkins has been highly honored among the Puritans of New England. Stephen Hopkins came to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, a passenger in the Mayflower. Edward Hopkins, governor of Connecticut, and a benefactor of Harvard College, arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, with Mr. Davenport, in 1637.

I. *John* Hopkins, (who is *conjectured* by some to have been a relative of the two named above,) the ancestor of the theologian, settled at Cambridge in 1634, was admitted freeman in 1635, and removed to Hartford, Connecticut, in 1636. He died in 1654, leaving a widow, Jane, and two children, Stephen and Bethia.

II. *Stephen* Hopkins, only son of John, married Dorcas Bronson, daughter of John Bronson, of Farmington, and resided at Hartford, Connecticut. He died in 1689, and his widow in 1697. He names in his will six children, viz., *John*, Stephen, (who married Sarah Judd, November 17, 1686,) Ebenezer, Joseph, Dorcas, (who married Jonathan Webster, May 11, 1681,) and Mary Hopkins.

III. *John* Hopkins, [eldest] son of Stephen, of Hartford, settled in Waterbury, Connecticut, where he died November 4, 1732. His wife died May 30, 1730. Their children were John, born March 29,

* Preface to Hopkins's Life of Edwards.

1686; Consider, born November 10, 1687; Stephen, born November 19, 1689; Timothy, born November 16, 1691; Samuel, born December 27, 1693; Mary, born January 27, 1696–7; Hannah, born April 23, 1699; Dorcas, born February 12, 1706. Samuel, the fifth son, became an exemplary minister of the gospel. He was graduated at Yale College in 1718, was ordained at West Springfield in 1720. He died in 1755. In 1753, he published a volume, entitled "Historical Memoirs relating to the Housatunnuk Indians, or an Account of the Methods used and Pains taken for the Propagation of the Gospel among that heathenish Tribe, and the Success thereof, under the Ministry of the late Rev. Mr. John Sergeant; together with the Character of that eminently worthy Missionary; and an Address to the People of this Country, representing the very great Importance of attaching the Indians to their Interest, not only by treating them kindly, but by using proper Endeavors to settle Christianity among them." He was an uncle of the subject of this Memoir, and seems to have had considerable influence in directing the sympathies of his nephew towards our aboriginal tribes. He married a sister of President Edwards; one of his daughters became the wife of John Worthington, LL. D., of Springfield, Massachusetts; and one of his granddaughters became the wife of Fisher Ames. He was the father of Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., of Hadley, Massachusetts, five of whose daughters were married to the five following clergymen: Dr. Emmons, of Franklin; Dr. Spring, of Newburyport; Dr. Austin, of Worcester; Rev. William Riddel, settled first in Bristol, Maine, afterwards in Whitingham, Vermont; and Rev. Leonard Worcester, of Peacham, Vermont. These five divines, all of them clear thinkers, were all firm disciples of the subject of this Memoir, who was the cousin of their father-in-law. Their wives, also, were intelligent theologians of the Hopkinsian school. Few men could cope with them in an argument. (It ought to be mentioned, however, that Mrs. Emmons, although educated by Dr. Hopkins, of Hadley, was his step-daughter only. She was very young when her mother was married to Dr. Hopkins, who succeeded her first husband in the ministry at Hadley. On the other hand, Dr. H. had another own daughter, married to a gentleman who, at the time of his marriage, was prepared and expecting to preach the gospel; but ill health prevented his doing so more than a few times.) Stephen, the third son of John Hopkins, and another uncle of the theologian, was the grandfather of Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, who was a distinguished physician of Litchfield and Hartford, Connecticut, and was associated with Trumbull, Barlow, Alsop, Theodore Dwight, and others, (called the "Hartford wits,") in the Anarchiad, the Echo, Political Greenhouse, the Guillotine, and similar satirical compositions. He was a poet, and is said by President Allen to have written for Barlow the celebrated version of Psalm cxxxvii., "Along the

banks where Babel's current flows," etc. — Hon. Samuel Miles Hopkins, LL. D., of Geneva, New York, was a great-grandson of the same Stephen Hopkins.

IV. *Timothy* Hopkins, the [fourth] son of John, of Waterbury, married Mary Judd, daughter of Deacon Thomas Judd, of Waterbury, June 25, 1719. He died in Waterbury, February 5, 1748–9, aged 57. Their children were *Samuel*, the subject of this Memoir; Timothy, born September 8, 1723, who left two children; Huldah, born December 22, 1725, who married Abijah Richards, and left eight children; Hannah, born April 11, 1728, who married Thomas Upson, and left three children; Sarah, born May 25, 1730, who married Timothy Clark, and left one child; James, born June 26, 1732; Daniel, born October 16, 1734; Mary, born June 27, 1737, who married John Copet, and left one child; Mark, born September 18, 1739.

John Hopkins, the grandfather of the divine, who is called on the town record Lieutenant Hopkins, was often a representative to the legislature, from Waterbury, between 1710 and 1726. Timothy, the father of the divine, was a justice of the peace, and also, from 1727 until his death, was frequently the town's representative. Throughout the last century, the family of Hopkins was one of the most respectable and influential in Waterbury. Dr. Samuel Spring says, that our theologian "descended from worthy parents, of family distinction." * It was the right kind of parents, and they had the right kind of home for training a minister of the gospel. It is well that such a man be nurtured in simplicity of habit, above the insnaring influence of poverty or riches, with healthful occupation, amid the invigorating and pleasing scenes of rural life, where God is adored as the Father of the house.

Of these nine children, our immediate concern is with *Samuel*.

"I was born," he says, "at Waterbury, in Connecticut, on the Lord's day, September 17, 1721. My parents were professors of religion; and I descended from Christian ancestors, both by my father and my mother, as far back as I have been able to trace my descent. I conclude I and my ancestors descended from those called *Puritans*, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, above two hundred years ago, and have continued to bear that denomination since, and were the first settlers of New England. This I have considered to be the most honorable and happy descent, to spring from ancestors who have been professors of religion, without interruption, during the course of two hundred years and more; and many of them, if not all, *real Christians*. And I have considered it as a favor that I was born on the Sabbath, and was perhaps publicly dedicated to Christ by baptism on the day in which I was born; and if not, certainly soon after. — As soon as I was capable of understanding and attending to it, I was told that my father, when he was informed that he had a son born to him, said, if the child should live, he would give him a public education, that he might be a minister or a Sabbath-day man, alluding to my being born on the Sabbath. — I was the first child of my parents that

* Mass. Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 361.

lived. They had one before, which was not alive when born, or died as soon as born. My mother was twenty years old when I was born, and my father thirty." *

Hopkins was only two years and seven months younger than Dr. Bellamy, eighteen years younger than President Edwards, and fifteen years older than Dr. Stephen West, his three most intimate friends.

Sect. II. CHILDHOOD.

Dr. Hopkins continues his Autobiography with remarking:

"I have considered it as a great favor of God that I was born and educated in a religious family, and among a people in a country town, where a regard to religion and morality was common and prevalent, and the education of children and youth was generally practised in such a degree that young people were generally orderly in their behavior, and abstained from those open vices which were then too common in seaport and populous places. I do not recollect that I ever heard a profane word from the children and youth with whom I was conversant, while I lived with my parents, which was till I was in my fifteenth year. — I from my youth was not volatile and wild, but rather of a sober and steady make, and was not guilty of external irregularities, such as disobedience to parents, profanation of the Sabbath, lying, foolish jesting, quarrelling, passion and anger, or rash and profane words, and was disposed to be diligent and faithful in whatever business I was employed; so that, as I advanced in age, I gained the notice, esteem, and respect of the neighborhood. I was, in general, greatly careless about all invisible things, but was often plotting for something which then appeared to me good and great in this life, and often indulged and pleased myself with vain and foolish imaginations of what I should be and do in this world. And sometimes, though rarely, had some serious thoughts of God, and about my soul and a future world of happiness and misery. And I once had a dream of the future judgment, in some measure agreeable to the representation made of it by Christ himself in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew. I dreamed that I and a brother of mine, who was about two years younger than me, were sentenced to everlasting misery, and driven down to hell, with the rest of the wicked. This greatly impressed my mind for a long time after; and the impression then made has not wholly worn off to this day. — As my father was a farmer, I was employed in laboring on the farm, with which business I was pleased, and made proficiency in it. I was frequently told, and often thought of the declaration of my father on the day on which I was born, *that he would bring me up to college*, as the phrase then was for a public education. But I felt no particular inclination to this, but was rather inclined to labor on a farm. But what always turned my mind against going to college, was the years of absence from my parents and their family which were involved in it. Such absence was intolerable to my childish mind, and was sufficient to suppress the thought of going to learning. — But in the winter after I was fourteen years old, I retired much to a chamber in my father's house, and spent considerable time in reading, especially reading the Bible, and began to feel more inclination to learning, and less to working on a farm, as our farming business did not go on so well as it had done, by reason of some particular circumstances which had taken place. When my father perceived this, he told me, if I was inclined to go to learning, he would put me to a place where I might be fitted for the college; to which I readily consented. Accordingly, I was put under the care and tuition of the Rev. John Graham, of Woodbury,

* Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., pp. 23, 24.

which joined west on Waterbury, his meeting-house being about ten miles from my father's house. Here I fitted for college, with a number of others, and was examined and admitted a member of college in September, 1737, being sixteen years old on the seventeenth day of that month." *

Sect. III. COLLEGE LIFE, AND EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

When Mr. Hopkins entered Yale College, it was under the rectorship of Elisha Williams, who, according to President Stiles,† "was a good classical scholar, well versed in logic, metaphysics, and ethics, and in rhetoric and oratory." — "He was a man of splendor!" Professor Kingsley thus describes the course of study pursued in college at this time:

Logic "claimed the principal attention, and skill in syllogistic disputation was the chief object aimed at. Burgersdicius, Ramus, Crackenthorp, and Keckerman were the great lights of the time. The freshmen were employed the first four days of the week on Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; beginning logic in the morning, at the latter end of the year, unless the tutors should see cause, by reason of their ripeness in the tongues, to read logic to them sooner."—"Logic was the sole study of the first four days of the week during the second year, physics the third year, and metaphysics and mathematics the fourth year. All resident bachelors were required to dispute syllogistically once a week, and all undergraduates, after they began to read logic, five times a week. Fridays were devoted, in all the classes, to ethics, rhetoric, and the theology of Wollebius. Ames's Medulla was recited on Saturday mornings, and on Saturday evenings the Assembly's Catechism in Latin. Every Sunday morning there was an exercise in Ames's Cases of Conscience. At the beginning of every recitation, a portion of the Hebrew Scriptures was read by the class into Greek, and a portion of the New Testament from Latin into Greek, except in the freshman class, where the translation of the New Testament into Greek was from English. Every undergraduate was required to declaim once in two months, and both graduates and undergraduates committed sermons to memory, and pronounced them publicly in the college hall." ‡

Hopkins had not been more than two years in college before Rector Williams was succeeded by President Clap, who was eminent in the mathematics, and who gave to this, his favorite study, a more prominent place in the system of college instruction than had been given to it previously. It is easy to see the influence of such a collegiate course upon such a youth as Hopkins. It sharpened his reasoning powers. It cultivated his taste for the abstract sciences. It fitted him to be a metaphysical divine. It did not introduce him into the graces of English style. It did not cherish a love to the *belles-lettres*. It favored originality of thought more than felicity of expression. It tended to make him a "man of one book." We must not undervalue this contracted system of college education. As it had its evils, so it had its advantages. It fastened

* Sketches, etc., pp. 24–27.

† MS. Diary.

‡ Sketch of the History of Yale College, in Connecticut, Quarterly Register, vol. viii. p. 215.

the mind of the thoughtful student upon a few great principles, and obliged him to follow them out patiently and watchfully into their obscurest relations. It familiarized him with the fundamental truths of moral, the most important science, and these truths are like the laws of the universe, as extensive in their application as they are limited in number. It did not make accomplished scholars, but it made profound philosophers. It did not lead so many into various learning as into deep thinking. "That old system," says President Woolsey, "in which dry logic formed the staple, is not to be despised; for by it some of New England's best minds were formed. It is remarkable that nearly all the fathers and choir-leaders of what may technically be called New England theology came from this college. Men like Jonathan Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, West, Smalley, and Emmons, — graduates of the years between 1720 and 1770, — do not proceed from cloistered retirements, where the mind is wholly asleep and afraid to think. And whether we admit their conclusions or not, we must admit that they are close consecutive reasoners, always in earnest, who take broad views of the divine government over the universe, and cover up deep religious emotions under logical forms." — "On the other hand, an effect of the modern system of education, or of society, or of both, is to repress originality of thinking, to destroy individual peculiarities, and to produce a general sameness among those who are educated." *

In his Autobiography, Dr. Hopkins has nearly overlooked his intellectual habits at Yale, and says, in a manner equally honest and unassuming:

"While a member of the college, I believe I had the character of a sober, studious youth, and of a better scholar than the bigger half of the members of that society, and had the approbation of the governors of the college. I avoided the intimacy and the company of the openly vicious, and, indeed, kept but little company, being attentive to my studies." †

This is certainly a modest statement of a man who was distinguished in a class of twenty, among whom were Richard Mansfield, D. D., of Derby, Connecticut; Samuel Buell, D. D., the famous pulpit orator, of Easthampton, Long Island; James Sproat, D. D., of Philadelphia; Noah Wells, D. D., of Stamford, Connecticut; William Livingston, LL. D., governor of New Jersey; Hon. Jabez Huntington, of Norwich, Connecticut. But he was more interested in his religious than his intellectual history; and to that let us now proceed.

"In the eighteenth or nineteenth year of my age," he says, "I cannot now certainly determine which, I made a profession of religion, and joined the church to which my parents belonged, in Waterbury. I was serious, and was thought to be a pious youth, and I had this thought and hope of myself. I was constant in reading the Bible, and in attending on public and secret reli-

* An Historical Discourse, pronounced before the graduates of Yale College, August 14, 1850, by Theodore D. Woolsey, President of Yale College, pp. 63, 64.

† Sketches, etc., p. 27.

gion. And sometimes at night, in my retirement and devotion, when I thought of confessing the sins I had been guilty of that day, and asking pardon, I could not recollect that I had committed one sin that day. Thus ignorant was I of my own heart, and of the spirituality, strictness, and extent of the divine law! In this time I was at home, in a vacancy at college; and several men, who were gross Arminians, entered into a dispute with me about doctrines and religion. I was in theory a Calvinist, and attempted to defend that scheme of doctrines, in opposition to them. In these we could not agree. But when we came to talk of practical religion, and of conversion, I agreed with them, allowing it to consist chiefly in externals, overlooking the real and total depravity of the heart, and the renovation and great change which must take place in that, in order to true conversion and the exercise of real religion, having never experienced any thing of this kind. My mother heard the conversation; and after the company was gone, she told me she was surprised to hear me agree with them in their notion of conversion, and that I should think real conversion was no more than that which I and they had described. This put me upon thinking, and raised a suspicion in my own mind that I was a stranger to real conversion. But it wore off, without any abiding conviction of my deficiency. — From this experience of mine, I have been led to fear, and, in many instances, to conclude persons to be strangers to true conversion, who appear to have the same or no better notion of it than I then had, and talk much as I did on that head, while they profess to believe Calvinistic doctrines, though they choose to be considered as *moderate Calvinists*. There are many of this sort of professing Christians, with whom I have been acquainted.* When persons build upon such a false foundation, and set out in religion, and think themselves Christians, without being *born of God*, and continue strangers to a true and sound conversion, they will be inclined to oppose or slight the most important and excellent exercises of experimental religion, and will be dry and fruitless Christians, and ignorant of true religious affections and enjoyments. And it will be no wonder if they lose all their zeal for the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and grow indifferent about them, if they do not gradually give them up, and renounce them.

"While I was in this state and situation of mind, Mr. Whitefield came into New England, and, after he had preached in Boston and other places, came to New Haven, in his way to New York. The attention of people in general was greatly awakened upon hearing the fame of him, that there was a remarkable preacher from England travelling through the country. The people flocked to hear him, when he came to New Haven. Some travelled twenty miles out of the country to hear him. The assemblies were crowded and remarkably attentive; and people appeared generally to approve, and their conversation turned chiefly about him and his preaching. Some disapproved of several things which he advanced, which occasioned considerable dispute. I heard him when he preached in public, and when he expounded in private in the evening, and highly approved of him, and was somewhat impressed by what he said in public and in private, but did not in the least call in question my own good estate, that I remember. He preached against mixed dancing and frolicking of males and females together; which practice was then very common in New England. This offended some, especially young people. But I remember I justified him in this in my own mind, and in conversation with those who were disposed to condemn him. This was in October, 1740, when I had entered on my last year in college. — During that fall and the succeeding winter, there appeared to be much more attention to religion than before among people in general; and a number of ministers in New England

* And there were many more with whom he afterwards became acquainted. A great part of his life was spent in controversy with "moderate Calvinists," one class of whom he began to oppose thus early. He effected more, perhaps, than any other man, save one, in raising the churches of New England above this "moderate Calvinism." Does he not, therefore, merit the gratitude of all who love a high orthodoxy?

were aroused, and preached oftener than they had done, and appeared much more engaged and zealous than before; and several came to New Haven, and preached in a manner so different from what had been usual, that people in general appeared to be in some measure awakened, and more thoughtful on religious subjects than they had been before. — Early in the next spring, in March, Mr. Gilbert Tennent, who had been itinerating in New England, in Boston and other places in the winter, came to New Haven from Boston, in his way to the southward. He was a remarkably plain and rousing preacher, and a remarkable awakening had been produced by his preaching, and many hopeful conversions had taken place under his preaching, where he had itinerated. On his coming to New Haven, the people appeared to be almost universally aroused, and flocked to hear him. He staid about a week in New Haven, and preached seventeen sermons, most of them in the meeting-house, two or three in the college hall. His preaching appeared to be attended with a remarkable and mighty power. Thousands, I believe, were awakened; and many cried out with distress and horror of mind, under a conviction of God's anger, and their constant exposedness to fall into endless destruction. Many professors of religion received conviction that they were not real Christians, and never were born again; which numbers publicly confessed, and put up notes, without mentioning their names, but their number, desiring prayers for them as unconverted, and under this conviction. The members of college appeared to be universally awakened. A small number thought themselves Christians before they came to college, and I believe were so. Several of these appeared with an extraordinary zeal and concern for the members of college; and, without paying regard to the distinctions of higher and lower classes, they visited every room in college, and discoursed freely and with the greatest plainness with each one; especially such whom they considered to be in an unconverted state, and who acknowledged themselves to be so, setting before them their danger, and exhorting them to repent, &c. The consciences of all seemed to be so far awakened as to lead them to hang their heads, and to pay at least a silent regard to their reprovers. And every person in the college appeared to be under a degree of awakening and conviction. The persons above mentioned, who thus distinguished themselves in zeal, were, two of them, my classmates, Buell and Youngs.* The other was David Brainerd. I attended to the whole, and approved of all they said and did, but retained my hope that I was a Christian, and had little or no conversation with these zealous men. At length Brainerd came into my room, I being there alone. I was not at a loss with respect to his design in making me a visit then, determining that he came to satisfy himself whether I were a Christian or not. And I resolved to keep him in the dark, and, if possible, prevent his getting any knowledge of my state or religion. I was therefore wholly on the reserve, being conscious that I had no religious experiences, or religious affections to tell of. In his conversation with me, he observed that he believed it impossible for a person to be converted, and to be a real Christian, without feeling his heart, at some times at least, sensibly and greatly affected with the character of Christ, and strongly going out after him, or to that purpose. This observation struck conviction into my mind. I verily believed it to be true, and at the same time was conscious that I had never experienced any thing of this kind, and that I was a stranger to the exercise of real Christianity. I then determined that no one should know from me, or any other way, if I could prevent it, that I was not a Christian, until I should be converted; for it was mortifying to my pride to be thought to be no Christian, having made a Christian profession, and having had the character of a

* Buell was at this time about twenty-five years of age, and in less than a year from this time, — in less than five months after his graduation, — he was preaching for Mr. Edwards at Northampton, with wonderful effect. Hopkins was in his twentieth year; yet he seems to have resisted the influence of his older classmate, and to have yielded to the persuasive accents of Brainerd only.

Christian for some time, though I now knew myself not to be one. Brainerd took his leave of me without bringing me to put off my reserve; and what he then thought of me I know not, but believe he strongly suspected, if he did not without hesitation conclude, that I was not a Christian.*

"My conviction fixed upon me. I saw I was indeed no Christian. The evil of my heart, the hardness and unbelief of it, came more and more into view, and the evil case in which I was appeared more and more dreadful. I felt myself a guilty, justly condemned creature, and my hope of relief by obtaining conversion failed more and more, and my condition appeared darker from day to day, and all help failed, and I felt myself to be nothing but ignorance, guilt, and stupidity. I now lost all desire to conceal my case from those whom I considered to be Christians, and freely opened it to some of them. They appeared particularly to interest themselves in my condition, and often conversed with me, and asked me if I had any new views, &c. I constantly told them I was still the same, in an unconverted state, &c. Thus I continued for some weeks, generally retired, unless when I attended private meetings of young people, for prayer, &c., which were frequent then in college, and in the town. — At length, as I was in my closet one evening, while I was meditating, and in my devotions, a new and wonderful scene opened to my view. I had a sense of the being and presence of God as I never had before; it being more of a reality, and more affecting and glorious, than I had ever before perceived. And the character of Jesus Christ, the Mediator, came into view, and appeared such a reality, and so glorious, and the way of salvation by him so wise, important, and desirable, that I was astonished at myself that I had never seen these things before, which were so plain, pleasing, and wonderful. I longed to have all see and know these things as they now appeared to me. I was greatly affected, in the view of my own depravity, the sinfulness, guilt, and odiousness of my character; and tears flowed in great plenty. After some time, I left my closet, and went into the adjoining room, no other person being then there. I walked the room, all intent on these subjects, and took up Watts's version of the Psalms, and opened it at the fifty-first Psalm, and read the first, second, and third parts in long metre, with strong affections, and made it all my own language, and thought it was the language of my heart to God. I dwelt upon it with pleasure, and wept much. And when I had laid the book aside, my mind continued fixed on the subject, and in the exercise of devotion, confession, adoration, petition, &c., in which I seemed to pour out my heart to God with great freedom. I continued all attention to the things of religion, in which most appeared more or less engaged. There were many instances, as was then supposed, of conversion. I felt a peculiar, pleasing affection to those who were supposed to be Christians.

"But two things appear, now, to me remarkable, with respect to my views and exercises which I have just now mentioned. First, I had not then the least thought or suspicion that what I had experienced was conversion, or any thing like it; nor did such a thought enter my mind, so far as I can recollect, till near a year after this; or, if any such thought was suggested at any time, it was immediately rejected. I had formed an idea in my mind of conversion, what persons who were converted must be, and how they must feel, which was so entirely different from that which I had seen and felt, that I was so far from a thought that I was converted, that I thought I *knew* I was not, and made no scruple to tell my friends so from time to time. Secondly, I do not

* It is not to be forgotten that Brainerd was at this time (one year before his expulsion from college) but a *sophomore*, and, in conformity with the collegiate usages of his day, could not expect that Hopkins, being a *senior*, would condescend to much familiarity of personal intercourse with him, although he was more than three years older than Hopkins. Subsequently, however, the two youths became intimate companions; and the fact that Hopkins never ferreted out the opinion which his friend formed of his religious state, in that college revival, is one among many instances of the dignity and abstractedness which marked his conversation with men.

recollect that I said a word to any person living of these exercises, or gave the least hint of them to any one, for almost a year after they took place. I did not think they were worth speaking of, being nothing like conversion. And by degrees I ceased to recollect any thing of them, still hoping and looking for something greater and better, and of quite a different kind.

"When I heard Mr. Tennent, as mentioned above, I thought he was the greatest and best man, and the best preacher, that I had ever seen or heard. His words were to me 'like apples of gold in pictures of silver.' And I then thought that when I should leave the college, as I was then in my last year, I would go and live with him, wherever I should find him.* But just before the commencement, in September, when I was to take my degree, on the seventeenth day of which month I was twenty years old, Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, came to New Haven and preached. He then preached the sermon on *The Trial of the Spirits*, which was afterwards printed. I had before read his sermons on Justification, &c., and his Narrative of the Remarkable Conversions at Northampton, which took place about seven years before this. Though I then did not obtain any personal acquaintance with him, any further than by hearing him preach, yet I conceived such an esteem of him, and was so pleased with his preaching, that I altered my former determination with respect to Mr. Tennent, and concluded to go and live with Mr. Edwards, as soon as I should have opportunity, though he lived about eighty miles from my father's house.

"After I had taken my first degree, which was in September, 1741, I retired to my father's, in Waterbury; and being dejected and very gloomy in my mind, I lived a recluse life for some months. Considering myself as a sinful, lost creature, I spent most of my time in reading, meditation, and prayer, and spent many whole days in fasting and prayer. My attention turned chiefly to my own sinfulness, and as being wholly lost in myself, of which I had an increasing conviction. But I also attended to the state of religion in the vicinity. There was a general and uncommon attention to religion, and much preaching by ministers who went from town to town; but opposition was made to the revival of religion, which now began to increase among ministers and people. Some considered it as an evil work, in the whole of it. Others allowed there was some good attending it, but objected greatly to many things which took place and were practised by the friends and subjects of the work, as imprudent and wrong. I was a strong advocate for the doctrines preached by the ministers who were instruments of promoting the revival, and for the practices of those who were the subjects of it, and were supposed to be converted. It is true, there were some things said and practised which I did not understand and fully see through. But as I considered them as Christians, and myself as not one, and consequently ignorant and incapable of judging, I concluded they must be right. I spent days in fasting and prayer, seeking the promotion of that which to me appeared to be true religion, and the suppression of all opposition to it. I endeavored to promote religion among the young people in the town, and encouraged them who were attentive and concerned to meet together for prayer, and to spend days of fasting and prayer together, especially those who were thought to be converted. When I saw persons whom I considered to be unconverted, I felt disposed to pray for them, that they might be converted and saved, and felt great concern for some individuals of this character.

* How different the opinion of Hopkins from that of Dr. Cutler, who wrote, in 1741, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "I need only mention one [follower of Whitefield] Gilbert Tennent, a teacher living to the southward, who visited us the last winter, and afflicted us more than the most intense cold and snow that was ever known among us, and kept even the most tender people travelling night and day, to hear the most vulgar, crude, and boisterous things from him, to the ruin of the health of many, and the poisoning of more, with unsound divinity," etc. See President Woolsey's Historical Discourse, p. 109.

"In the month of December, being furnished with a horse, &c., I set out for Northampton, with a view to live with Mr. Edwards, where I was an utter stranger. When I arrived there, Mr. Edwards was not at home; but [I] was received with great kindness by Mrs. Edwards and the family, and had encouragement that I might live there during the winter. Mr. Edwards was abroad on a preaching tour, as people in general were greatly attentive to religion and preaching, which was attended with remarkable effects in the conviction and supposed conversion of multitudes. I was very gloomy, and was most of the time retired in my chamber. After some days, Mrs. Edwards came into my chamber, and said, 'As I was now become one of the family for a season, she felt herself interested in my welfare; and [as] she observed that I appeared gloomy and dejected, she hoped I would not think she intruded by desiring to know, and asking me what was the occasion of it,' or to that purpose. I told her the freedom she used was agreeable to me; that the occasion of the appearance which she mentioned was the state in which I considered myself. I was in a Christless, graceless state, and had been under a degree of conviction and concern for myself for a number of months. [I] had got no relief, and my case, instead of growing better, appeared to grow worse. Upon which we entered into a free conversation; and, on the whole, she told me that she had peculiar exercises respecting me, since I had been in the family; that she trusted I should receive light and comfort, and doubted not that God intended yet to do great things by me, &c. This conversation did not sensibly raise my spirits in the least degree. My views of myself were such, and my prospect and hope of any good were so low, that I then paid no sensible regard to what she said.

"Religion was now at a lower ebb at Northampton than it had been of late, and than it appeared to be in the neighboring towns, and in New England in general. In the month of January, Mr. Buell, my classmate, whom I mentioned before, came to Northampton, having commenced a zealous preacher of the gospel,* and was the means of greatly reviving the people to zeal in religion. He preached every day, and sometimes twice a day, publicly, Mr. Edwards being out of town, preaching in distant towns. Professing Christians appeared greatly revived and comforted, and a number were under conviction, and I think there were some hopeful new converts. After Mr. Buell had preached in Northampton a week or two, he set out on a tour towards Boston, to preach in the towns in those parts, and I went with him. People crowded to hear him in every place; and great numbers were awakened, and many were thought to be converted. After continuing with him about two weeks, I returned to Northampton, when my exercises of mind were such that I, *for the first time*, admitted a hope that they were really gracious, and my mind immediately recurred back to the time when I had those views and affections, almost a year before, which have been mentioned; and they appeared to me to be of the same kind with those which now possessed my mind, and [I saw] that the course of exercises which I since had did not differ in kind from the first, and from those which I now had, though I had within this time often said I was certain I had no grace; and never had for a moment, that I can recollect, entertained the least degree of hope, or one thought that I was not in a state of nature. While at Northampton, before this, I conversed with a number of Christians who were thought to be knowing and eminent. I perceived that they thought I was a Christian. But this did not have the least perceivable influence on my mind, so as to excite the least hope that I was a Christian; but [I] thought and felt that I *knew* this was not, and could not, be true.

"I now determined to make known the whole of my exercises to Mr. Edwards, as far as I could communicate them. I told him my present exercises, and those which I have related which took place at college near a year before.

* He was licensed a month only after he was graduated. He came to Northampton on the 27th of January.

When he had heard me, he asked me why I had not told him these things before. I told him it was because I had no thought that such exercises were conversion, or Christian exercises, till very lately. He gave not his opinion expressly; nor did I desire he should, for I was far from relying on any man's judgment in such a case. But I supposed he entertained a hope that I was a Christian."*

Thus we see that this diffident young man first opened his eyes upon spiritual truth among those who were called "New Lights." He drew his earliest religious breath among earnest men, who were panting for the amelioration of the race. He was born, morally as well as intellectually, among the advocates of progress. The circumstances of his spiritual birth affected his entire religious life. Less than a prophet might have divined that a youth in his teens, catching the spirit of Whitefield, Tennent, Brainerd, Buell, and Edwards, would not sleep over abuses because they had been sanctioned by length of years. Such a man, renewed in such a way, feels a long-continued impulse to make men better; to free them from delusion, even if it be old; to enrich them with truth, even if it be new; to struggle forward and onward "for the perfecting of the saints." In the case of Hopkins, history ratifies what might have been the voice of prophecy.

We see also that this modest youth began his Christian life in a revival of religion, which was attended with much fanaticism on the one hand, and with eminent godliness on the other. But amid all the wildfire that burned around him, how considerate and circumspect he remained! While many of his companions ran into extravagances, he was pressing through a severe "law-work," and was laying in solitude the deep foundations of a character which was to rise high in religious worth. Many eminent Calvinists of his day, some of his college instructors, stood aloof from the revival; he was too benevolent to feel less than the deepest interest in it. Some features of it he could not approve; but he was too modest to rely on his own judgment, in opposition to the good men whom he felt to be, in the main, engaged in a good cause. He was not censorious against the enthusiasts, neither was he himself an enthusiast; but his narrative of the revival proves him to have been *then*, what he developed himself to be *afterwards*, an humble Christian philosopher. We have much to hope from such a convert.

Sect. IV. RESIDENCE AT NORTHAMPTON, AND STUDY OF THEOLOGY.

We have already introduced this unassuming young student into the almost patrician family of President Edwards, at Northampton. Nowhere on earth, perhaps, could have been found, at that time, a

* Sketches, etc., pp. 27–43.

more eligible residence for a theological inquirer. Mr. Edwards was in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and at the height of his ministerial usefulness. His wife was in her thirty-second year, and was eminent, not only for her personal elegance, but for the richness and brilliancy of her mind. Their daughter Jerusha, afterwards betrothed to David Brainerd, was at this time in her twelfth year; Esther, afterwards the wife of President Burr, was in her tenth year; and Mary, the mother of President Dwight, was in her eighth year. All of these daughters were beautiful and sprightly. The charms of such an interesting family were the influences which Hopkins needed in his despondent condition. We have just seen Mrs. Edwards entering his room, and striving to impart that spiritual comfort which so accomplished a lady was so well fitted to administer. We catch another glimpse of his religious intercourse with her a few weeks afterward, on Wednesday, January 27, 1742. His classmate Buell had preached a lecture at three o'clock in the afternoon. The audience were deeply moved. Many of them remained three hours in the meeting-house after the public exercises were closed. When Mrs. Edwards returned to her house, she found there several Christian friends, in company with Mr. Buell and Mr. Hopkins. "Seeing and conversing with them," she says, "on the divine goodness, renewed my former feelings, and filled me with an intense desire that we might all arise, and with an active, flowing, and fervent heart, give glory to God. The intenseness of my feelings again took away my bodily strength. The words of one of Dr. Watts's Hosannas powerfully affected me; and, in the course of the conversation, I uttered them as the real language of my heart, with great earnestness and emotion:

'Hosanna to King David's Son,
Who reigns on a superior throne,' etc.

And while I was uttering the words, my mind was so deeply impressed with the love of Christ, and a sense of his immediate presence, that I could with difficulty refrain from rising from my seat and leaping for joy. I continued to enjoy this intense, and lively, and refreshing sense of divine things, accompanied with strong emotions, for nearly an hour; after which I experienced a delightful calm, and peace, and rest in God, until I retired for the night." *

It was with a frequent recurrence of similar interviews that our reverential student prepared himself for the ministry. The influence of them in directing and deepening his theological speculations, cannot be mistaken. He was wont to speak of them in his old age even. There is a striking coincidence between his subsequent views of "disinterested submission," and the feelings which Mrs. Edwards expressed several weeks after he became a member of her family.

* See Dwight's Edwards, vol. i. p. 176.

"I told those who were present," she says, "that I chose to die in the way that was most agreeable to God's will, and that I should be willing to die in darkness and horror, if it was most for the glory of God." *

During the night after this remark, (January 29, 1741,) and through subsequent days and nights, she had a train of reflections which would *now* be termed Hopkinsian, and which may have been the germ of one branch of Hopkinsianism; for they were, doubtless, soon communicated to the inquisitive and solemn youth who sat at her table and listened to her daily conversation.

"I also thought," she writes,† "how God had graciously given me, for a great while, an entire resignation to his will with respect to the kind and manner of death that I should die; having been made willing to die on the rack, or at the stake, or any other tormenting death, and, if it were God's will, to die in darkness; and how I had that day been made very sensible and fully willing, if it was God's pleasure, and for his glory, to die in horror. But now it occurred to me that when I had thus been made willing to live, and to be kept on this dark abode, I used to think of living no longer than to the ordinary age of man. Upon this, I was led to ask myself whether I was not willing to be kept out of heaven even longer; and my whole heart seemed immediately to reply, 'Yes, a thousand years, if it be God's will, and for his honor and glory;' and then my heart, in the language of resignation, went further, and with great alacrity and sweetness, to answer, as it were, over and over again, 'Yes, and live a thousand years in horror, if it be most for the glory of God. Yea, I am willing to live a thousand years [in] an hell upon earth, if it be most for the honor of God.' But then I considered with myself what this would be to live [in] an hell upon earth for so long a time, and I thought of the torment of my body being so great, awful, and overwhelming, that none could bear to live in the country where the spectacle was seen, and of the torment and horror of my mind being vastly greater than the torment of my body; and it seemed to me that I found a perfect willingness, and sweet quietness and alacrity of soul, in consenting that it should be so, if it were most for the glory of God; so that there was no hesitation, doubt, or darkness in my mind, attending the thoughts of it, but my resignation seemed to be clear, like a light that shone through my soul. I continued saying, 'Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus! Glorify thyself in me, in my body and my soul,' with a calm and sweetness of soul which banished all reluctance. The glory of God seemed to overcome me and swallow me up; and every conceivable suffering, and every thing that was terrible to my nature, seemed to shrink to nothing before it. This resignation continued in its clearness and brightness the rest of the night, and all the next day and the night following, and on Monday in the forenoon, without interruption or abatement. All this while, whenever I thought of it, the language of my soul was, with the greatest fulness and alacrity, 'Amen, Lord Jesus! Amen, Lord Jesus!' In the afternoon of Monday, it was not quite so perceptible and lively; but my mind remained so much in a similar frame, for more than a week, that I could never think of it without an inexpressible sweetness in my soul."

Twenty-two years after this period, Hopkins says of Mrs. Edwards:

"She was eminent for her piety and experimental religion. Religious conversation was much her delight, and this she promoted in all companies, as far as was proper and decent for her; and her discourse showed her under-

* Dwight's Edwards, vol. i. p. 181. † Ib. pp. 182, 183.

standing in divine things, and the great impression they had on her mind. The friends of true religion, and they who were ready to engage in religious conversation, and delighted in that which was most essential and practical in true religion, were her peculiar friends and intimates, to whom she would open her mind freely, and tell them the exercises of her own heart, and what God had done for her soul, for their encouragement and excitement in the ways of God. Her mind appeared, to them who were most conversant with her, constantly to attend to divine things, even on all occasions, and in all business of life." *

We have noticed that in December, 1741, Hopkins came to study at Northampton, while his teacher was absent. On the 25th of January, 1742, Mr. Edwards went to Leicester, and there labored several weeks. "In the latter end of March," Hopkins left Northampton, "with a view to obtain a license to preach." It appears, then, that before he commenced preaching, he remained with his teacher less than four months, and it is known that during this period his teacher was often from home on missionary tours. Hopkins spent the month of April in his still and beautiful native town. At his father's house, within about an hour's ride from the house of Dr. Bellamy, in Bethlem, he writes:

"I have of late entertained a hope that I did experience a saving change above a year ago; and I find myself more and more established in it. The Lord grant that I may not be deceived! I have some thoughts (God willing) of being examined, next week, in order to preach the sweet and everlasting gospel of Jesus, though, many times, my heart shrinks at the thought. I hope the Lord will direct me. — April 29, 1742. This day, I obtained a permit to go forth and preach the gospel: but this is only from men. It hath been my request, and I hope my sincere desire, that I might have a commission from the Lord Jesus Christ, the great Lord of the harvest, and be sent forth by him as a laborer in his vineyard."

"After I had preached," he says in his Autobiography,† "a few times at my native place and places adjacent, occasionally, I returned to Northampton, proposing to spend some time in pursuing my studies with Mr. Edwards, where I lived during the summer, preaching sometimes in Mr. Edwards's pulpit, and to private meetings; and sometimes rode out to neighboring towns, and preached; for which I neither demanded nor received any pay, except forty shillings, old tenor, for preaching one Sabbath at Westfield, which was given without any demand or expectation from me. I also preached in the fall, a number of Sabbaths, at Bethlem, to Mr. Bellamy's people, gratis, while he took a tour as far as Philadelphia, in order to preach, as people in general then had a hearing ear."

After he had spent more than three additional months with Mr. Edwards, in 1742, Hopkins did not regard himself as having completed his theological education; but he says, in his Diary, May 30, 1743, "Rode to-day from Westfield hither, [to Northampton;] — am kindly received by Mr. Edwards and his family. I have thoughts of staying here this summer. I hope God will lead me to what is my duty." He commenced a school in the village, and at the same

* Sketch of Mrs. Edwards's Life and Character, Edinburgh edition, pp. 111, 112.
† Sketches, etc., p. 45.

time prosecuted his studies, but at the end of four weeks was seized with a rheumatic affection, and was compelled to change his residence. Thus he spent a little more than eight months in the bosom of Mr. Edwards's household, and in the enjoyment of his rich instructions. The intimacy which Hopkins then formed with his teacher produced a decided effect upon his entire subsequent life. It enabled him to give a very minute account of Mr. Edwards's private habits. We are indebted to Hopkins for the authentic information which we have concerning the devotional observances, household arrangements, social usages of his beloved instructor.

Sect. V. PRIVATE JOURNAL.

About this time, the young candidate began his Diary. It was obviously designed to be private, for he records many events which he would not wish to let his best friends know. Some of these incidents, for the purpose of secrecy, he narrates in the Latin language. And yet, through the entire Journal, (so far forth as it is now preserved and has been perused by the present biographer,) there is not to be found one disclosure which could in any degree sully the fair name of Hopkins. Even its most secret records are perfectly honorable to his character. It is written with carelessness; it exposes the great divine in his *dishabille*, but is a far nobler monument to his virtue than is his Autobiography. If it had been penned with any design of exposing it to his friends even, its charm and its value would have been lessened; but as it is, it serves as a glass through which is to be seen the heart of its author. Some of its assertions are too condemnatory of himself to be true, but they were thought or felt to be true by him who made them. They are to be received with abatement, as if they had been the words of his enemy; for he did hate and abhor himself, and write bitter things against himself. His Autobiography has been called his Confession, and his private Journal may be called his Self-accusation. It was doubtless a fault to disparage his performances so unremittingly, but it was a failing which "leaned to virtue's side."

Many of the details in the ensuing Memoir are derived from the relics of this Journal. It is much to be regretted, that after November 2, 1756, a large part of his Journal was written in cipher, and, since the death of his widow, has been to *some* extent unintelligible. Those parts of it which were deciphered by her for the Autobiography edited by Dr. West, are the richest portions of the whole.

Sect. VI. EARLIEST EFFORTS IN THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY, AND FEELINGS IN VIEW OF THEM.

The subject of our Memoir was constitutionally inclined to despondency. He looked at the dark side of nearly all objects, at the

darkest side of his own character. In two thirds of the passages of his Diary, where he comments on his own sermons, he speaks of them as "dull," "very dull," or as deserving of some worse epithet. And even when he is willing to confess that he "spoke with some power for a few minutes," and "had a little turn or two" of "freedom," and "was not so insipid as sometimes," he qualifies his confession, and "loses himself in a humble way." Thus he writes:

"Sunday, March 20, 1743. Preached to-day, in the forenoon, from Ps. xxix. 4. Had no great pressing and feeling sense of divine truths, but yet was enabled to speak with freedom. In the afternoon, from Matt. xvi. 26. Had a little sense, for a small minute, of the happiness of those that should forever dwell in the presence of God, and feel the beamings forth of his love. No visible effects of the word this day." — "Wednesday, May 4, 1743. Have had my mind much bent in studying some part of this day, in making a sermon wherein I treat of the Sabbath — of its institution and change, &c. And this evening, through the goodness of God, have had some refreshing discoveries of divine things, longing that the whole world might be brought to the knowledge of God, and that the children of God might live like themselves, and have views of an approaching eternity, and feel the love of God in their souls; that the ministers of Christ might always experience how sweet it is to preach Christ, and offer him to fallen, undone sinners; that unconverted ministers might have their eyes opened. O, how sweet it is to get on Mount Pisgah, and from thence behold the promised land!"

Such were his habits of introspection, and such was his humiliating estimate of himself, that months before his ordination he wrote in his Journal:

"I have for some time been much discouraged about preaching, and feel inclined to leave off, — am filled with doubts about my own good estate."

"Friday, October 12, 1744. Have been trying at turns to study a sermon all this week, but cannot make it out yet. I have been very senseless and stupid to-day, and this evening have been in a strange posture. I know not how to describe it. It is an uneasy stupor. There seems to be a separating wall between God and my soul. I am all in the dark, and cannot speak to him. I am full of doubts whether I know any thing about grace, or have any of it, and have no courage to go on in the work of the ministry. — Monday, October 15. I have been very barren to-day in my conversation. I feel very much in the dark, and doubt whether I am a Christian or no. My heart is excessively hard," etc. — "November 6, 1745. Have had some uncommon fresh thoughts of death this evening. I fear I am unprepared. My sins stare me in the face. I have wofully departed from God, and fear I have not one spark of true grace, and yet am afraid all the apprehensions and sense I now have will soon wear off."

At other times, we find him reasoning, "disinterestedly," to prove that his religious professions were not false.

"I have been very low and cold for the most of this day," he writes, March 22, 1743. "I have been trying to study a sermon, but cannot make it out. I had some enlargement in secret this evening; was made to cry out under this body of death, and had desires to be freed from it, and, while I live in this world, to be as a flame of fire in God's service. Every grace of God's Spirit which is implanted in the believer appeared lovely and desirable to me, and I could not but long for them; and I longed to see and know all the attributes of God, through a sense of the sweetness and happiness that

such a knowledge would afford the soul; and upon reflecting upon these [views] and this disposition of my soul, my doubts in some measure ceased; for surely this is something above nature; for why doth that God that is described in the Bible appear the most desirable to me, unless I have seen him and do love him? Why do I long to behold a great, a holy, a powerful, a just, a true, an eternal, an omniscient, omnipresent, all-wise, and sovereign God? Why doth such a God appear the most desirable to me, and why do I choose to love such a God, unless these his attributes have been so seen and known by me that they have left their stamp and impress on my soul? And why doth every Christian grace, as it is described in the word of God, appear beautiful and lovely to me, considered in themselves, considered without their consequence, (even eternal life and happiness,) unless I have seen the beauty of holiness? How can I long for holiness, unless I am in some measure sanctified?"

A little more than three months after he had begun to preach, he records the following self-dedication to God:

"August 7, 1742. Seeing Christ requires that I deny myself, take up my cross, and renounce all for him, taking him for my only portion here and forever, I do now afresh dedicate myself to the Lord, solemnly promising to renounce all other lords, and take him for my portion. I call heaven and earth to witness, that I now take the God of heaven and earth for my God. I now make myself over, with all that I have or ever shall have, to him. I now promise allegiance to the God of heaven, that henceforth I will make it my only business to serve and honor him, begging his gracious assistance to perform my obligations, and to keep my solemn vows inviolate. It is done; I am no more my own, but I give myself away to God, to be his forever. S. H."

It is an interesting fact, that he had no sooner entered the sacred office than he set apart the last day of every week as a day of fasting and prayer. He continued this habit more than sixty years. He did not allow his Saturday to be a day of hurried preparation for the Sabbath, nor of any mere intellectual labor. His work on his sermons was finished before nine o'clock on Friday evening, and Saturday was his day of religious rest. Such was his reverence toward Jehovah, that he dared not go into the pulpit save from the foot of the throne. It was his principle not only to feel what he preached, but also to preach what he felt. He chose to say aloud on the Sabbath what he had experienced the day before. It is partly because he had such deep emotion in view of truth, that he mourned so much over his want of feeling. It is the pious man who weeps the most bitterly over his remaining sin. What he says of President Edwards is emphatically true of himself.

He was "much on his knees in secret, and in devout reading God's word, and meditation upon it. And his constant, solemn converse with God, in these exercises of secret religion, made his face, as it were, to shine before others. His appearance, his countenance, words, and whole demeanor, (though without any thing of affected grimace and sour austerity,) was attended with a seriousness, gravity, and solemnity which was the natural, genuine indication and expression of a deep, abiding sense of divine things in his mind, and of his living constantly in the fear of God." *

* Life of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, pp. 45, 46.

Sect. VII. REASONS FOR HOPE AND DISCOURAGEMENT ON ENTERING THE SACRED OFFICE.

Although God acts as a Sovereign in giving success to preachers of his truth, yet he ordinarily blesses their services according to certain laws which himself has originated, and on which he allows them to calculate in some degree. Some of Hopkins's natural and moral characteristics promised a life of usefulness in the ministry; but he possessed other traits which depressed him, and indicated that he could better serve his race by scientific study than by oral address.

The influence of a public speaker is very much affected by his external appearance. The person of Hopkins was dignified, but not graceful. He was more than six feet in height, had a full chest, a large head and face, high cheek bones, a broad, capacious forehead, a gray or blue eye, which his friends and disciples represent as beaming with intelligence. He was erect in his figure,* and his whole person was of gigantic proportions. Some friends of his, now living, remark that when, with his white, full-bottomed, powdered wig, his three-cornered hat, his silver knee buckles and shoe buckles, he walked at the right hand of General Washington, with Governor Arthur Fenner at the left, through the streets of Newport, Rhode Island, during Washington's visit to that town, the stature of Hopkins appeared as imposing, although his motions were by no means so pleasing, as those of the father of his country.† Although in his old age Hopkins moved slowly and clumsily, yet in his early life he was noted for agility of frame, and several of his athletic feats are still described by the village chroniclers. His manners, too, although awkward, were commanding. In an association of ministers, he inspired all with an affectionate awe. Dr. Samuel Spring said, that he always trembled in Hopkins's presence. Not only in his youth, but even in his extreme age, Hopkins paid a fitting attention to his dress, which was always neat. His motions, especially in later life, were slow, and indicated the habitual composure of his mind. There was a want of flexibility in his intercourse with promiscuous circles, which prevented his being a favorite among them. He was not a genial companion with the masses. He was rather inclined to be taciturn, except among chosen friends. His thoughts

* An old man of ninety-six years, who lived in Newport before, and while, and after Dr. Hopkins preached there, and who belonged to Dr. Hopkins's church and choir, says, that "the doctor always attracted attention in the streets, as an *upright* and tall man. Strangers, presuming that he was a great man, would at once take off their hats when they met him." A Baptist clergyman of Newport was wont to say, "Dr. Hopkins's countenance always reminds me of the beloved disciple."

† This reminiscence of his friends is here mentioned, not for the purpose of indorsing its historical accuracy, but for the sake of disclosing the impression which Hopkins's figure and bearing made upon his surviving favorites. The writer has no means of ascertaining the truth of the report, that Hopkins officiated as chaplain when the first President of the Union visited Newport.

were in solid bullion, and he had but little small change. Seldom speaking unless he had something to say, he failed to please a somewhat comprehensive class of both men and women. Besides, when he saw marks of vanity or arrogance in others, he recoiled within himself, and appeared *blank* to them. Hence he has sometimes been misrepresented as unintellectual in his aspect.*

In the pulpit, his appearance was dignified, solemn, and even fearful. A little girl was once found weeping, because she dared not go into the meeting-house where he was to preach; for she said, "When I look up into the pulpit, I think I see God there." Still he was no orator. He had more of homely strength than of polish. He was blunt, though kindly, in his accents. He could "deliver" a metaphysical essay with very just emphasis; — Dr. William Patten was wont to say that Hopkins's reading of such a treatise was equal to any other man's commentary upon it; but he pronounced ungracefully and inaccurately; he made but few gestures, and those were awkward; his voice was not good,† and his whole enunciation was apt to be drawling and monotonous. He mourned over his ungainly style, was often depressed in view of it, and he strenuously advised young preachers to study the proprieties of outward manner.

"I am troubled," he complains, in his twenty-third year, "with a sort of tone, which I cannot get rid of." And in his seventy-fifth year, reviewing his ministry, he says, "I am sensible that I was greatly deficient and negligent in the former part of my life in my attention to language and taking pains to obtain a good delivery, which occasioned a very bad and disagreeable delivery, and rendered me, not a good, but a bad speaker; especially in the former part of my ministry; though since, for above thirty years, I have made some im-

* A distinguished author, describing his visit to Dr. Hopkins, says, "There is nothing striking in his manner and conversation. On the contrary, there is something which would lead a person ignorant of his character to think him rather weak, and simple, and unthinking. He looks like a vacant-minded man, and his conversation on common and ordinary topics is not calculated to remove such an impression." This criticism is important, for in the Memoir of the eminent man who made the criticism, it is confessed, that "to strangers, and especially to those who had no prepossessions in his favor, there was in his [this critic's] manners an air of something magisterial or repulsive, which kept many at a distance, and which even his best friends regretted," and which, we may add, Dr. Hopkins was one of the last men on earth to encourage. It was a marked peculiarity of Hopkins, and of Edwards, to seem to know nothing before men who seemed to know too much.

† The voice of Mr. Hopkins has been variously described. In his old age, it was, of course, more unpleasant than in his early life. A literary gentleman, who remembers him only as he spoke in his later years, gives a representation somewhat diverse from that given by Dr. Patten, and says of Hopkins, "His voice was as far removed from melodiousness as voice well could be. He seemed never to have learned that it was flexible, capable of an infinite variety of modulation. He spoke ever on the same key — a heavy, inelastic monotone." Several of his former parishioners, on the contrary, describe his voice as solemn, and at times impressive. Is it not probable that those who listened to him most frequently felt the defects of his utterance least sensibly, and that those who were familiar with him before his extreme old age, did not notice the faults which increased with increase of years, and made a deep impression on his younger hearers? When he commenced his ministry, there may have been nothing discouraging in his vocal powers, but they wanted culture.

provement in my delivery, by paying more attention to it,* and to language, by which I have been in a great measure cured of some of my bad habits, contracted through inattention, and the want of a friend to point them out to me and admonish me. When I first began to preach, my mind was inquiring after truth; and this pleased and satisfied me wherever I could find it, without attending much to the manner or the language by which it was conveyed to my mind. And I took it for granted that this was the case with others. This led me to inquire after *truth*, and in my sermons to convey it to others, without attending properly to the manner and the language in which it was communicated; so that while, I trust, I made some proficiency in the knowledge of the truth, I was careless as to the manner of communicating it, and contracted these bad habits, with respect to this, which it was not easy, if possible, to get wholly rid of, when I became sensible of my mistake, and was convinced of the importance of studying good language and a proper delivery." †

This tautological extract affords an apt illustration of the truth, that unless a man study the principles of elocution in his early life, he will seldom become master of them; and unless he form a good English style before he begins to preach, he is in danger of never forming one. The youthful Hopkins did not obtain a mastery of his mother tongue. His strong feelings vented themselves in strong words, (how could he help it?) but he did not explore the resources of the language; he did not learn its compass, its dignity, its graces, its delicate shades of meaning, its refined distinctions. ‡ This, whether he perceived it or not, was to be one of the chief hindrances to his power over an audience. He selected his words clumsily. He often chose, or rather stumbled upon, more energetic terms than he really meant to use. He did not know the meaning of a euphemism. Hence he was often liable to be misunderstood, to give unintended offence. Thus he advises a young lady: "Always disregard and avoid, as much as you can, and slight, and even despise, those who speak light of and ridicule religion and sacred things." Now, the good man did not mean that she should *despise* any part of "being in general," but rather that she should despise

* That this honest chronicler *endeavored* to improve in elocution is true; that he *succeeded* is not generally believed. He mistook the good effort for a good result.

† Sketches, etc., p. 92.

‡ In his earlier ministry he had a contempt for rhetorical study. When called to criticize a youthful preacher, before an association who had unanimously applauded that preacher for his eloquence of manner, Mr. Hopkins added to their compliments the following remark: "Your sermon, sir, was very beautiful, very eloquent; I was pleased with it; but, sir, you know I am a blunt man, — and a thousand such sermons would do no good to a *rat*." The writer once heard this criticism justified as literally correct. — Here it may be well enough to say, that if his biography can be of no other use to a public speaker, it may illustrate, by contrast, the worth of rhetorical culture. A quaint clergyman once remarked to a circle of candidates for the ministry, "Three things make out a *call* for you to preach: first, you must desire to preach; secondly, you must be able to preach; thirdly, you must be able to get men to come and hear you." The first requisite comprised a good heart; the second, a good intellect; the third, a good style and utterance. The sequel will show that Hopkins began his ministry with a better power of expression than he had when he closed it; but in the main he exerted his influence by the matter, in despite of the manner, of his sermons.

the *character* of irreligious wits. In a very benevolent epistle, which announces his intention to expose the low and disreputable nature of a certain assault upon him, the kind-hearted writer blunders into the nervous assertion, that he shall take "notice of a number of things" tending to make his assailant "ashamed, and render him mean, and even ridiculous, in the eyes of the public." He obviously meant something less intense than what he said.

No one can rightly estimate Dr. Hopkins as a theologian, without considering this fault of his rhetoric. There is often an oaken strength, a compressed energy, a real pith, in his style; a vigor and compactness of single phrases, a fulness and not unfrequent richness as well as force of expression; but there is oftener an inelegant and cumbrous arrangement of terms, a tedious verbosity, interchanging itself strangely with some most concise utterances; and above all, there is an infelicitous use of harder and harsher words than he would have selected, had he examined more minutely the "distinctions of sound." These unhappy words tended to prejudice many against his discourses, and they still deter many from a patient study of his speculations.

The intellectual powers of this youthful preacher betokened his eminent usefulness in the church. He was distinguished for his retentive memory. When, in mature life, he was asked to explain any prominent passage in the Bible, he could not only repeat it, but also its preceding and succeeding context, and could add a statement of the opinions expressed upon it by Bishop Newton, Flavel, Baxter, Guyse, Doddridge, and all the most noted commentators. Still, his genius did not promise the highest success in the pulpit. As his literary taste had received but little culture, so his imagination was less vigorous and active than is needed for popular oratory. He was at home in meditating on abstract truth, and he seldom wandered among the beautiful illustrations of it. His soul was on the loftiest topics, and it was difficult for him to come down to the familiar processes of lower minds. His habits of abstraction were fitted to remove the style of his preaching beyond the sympathies of undisciplined thinkers. He was a philosopher and a logician; and how difficult it is for such a man to become a fervid exhorter! His mental tendencies and his college habits indicated that he would adopt an abstruse manner of preaching; and after he had been in the ministry about fifty years, Dr. Ashbel Green says of him, "I have had queries with myself whether his abstruse manner of preaching has not contributed to drive his people from him."* Meditative and grave, he seemed to live above the world; but the world claims of its favorites that they come down lower. One who now lives to remember and honor him says, "Whenever he met me in

* Green's Life, p. 240.

my childhood, as I passed his house to my school, he inquired for my name, and the name of my father; but never seemed to notice my answers so as to recollect them, but appeared to be *lost in divinity*." This last phrase happily describes his appearance as he ascended the pulpit. He looked as if he was lost in divinity, when children and mothers in his audience longed for a warmer glow of fellow-feeling with poor, frail humanity.

In this respect, however, his appearance did injustice to his inmost heart. He was a man of the most earnest philanthropy. The ensuing Memoir is a history of his beneficence. His love to his race was comprehensive. It looked forward to the end of things. It made him faithful in reproof; still, this kind of fidelity did not promise to make him a favorite with the masses. His kindly feeling led him to become a plain-spoken man; but will not such a man have enemies? He was inwardly and thoroughly honest: a *sobriquet* often applied to him in his later years, even by his opponents, was, Old Sincerity. But it has been shrewdly said, that "strict honesty is an obstacle to one who would press through crowds." He had withal a remarkable degree of native modesty, which his friends would love, but which would indispose him to force his way to the high places of the earth. Even in recording his own age, he would betray his lowly estimate of himself. "I suppose," he writes on one of his Fast-Saturdays, September 17, 1743, — "I suppose" — and did not the good man really *know?* — "that I am this day twenty-two years old, and that this is my birthday." Such native lowliness laid a firm basis for his Christian humility, which was, perhaps, his most prominent virtue. While it ever led him to disparage himself, it promised success to his inquiries after truth. Only that man is fitted for sacred studies, who feels his urgent need of them. The Most High dwells in the heart of the contrite, and prospers the efforts of those who renounce themselves for him.

It appears, then, that Hopkins had reasons for persevering in the ministry, although he had several characteristics which interfered with the popularity of his preaching. His first reception among the churches was also fitted to encourage, although not to flatter him. Having a strong mind, and strong feelings, he often expressed them in strong language, and he thus affected strong men. His influence on vigorous minds was greater than on feeble; but he sometimes moved the masses. Thus he writes about six weeks after he began to speak in public:

"July 3, 1741. I have this day rode from [North] Hampton to Suffield, in order to preach. By the way, I was much drawn out in ardent desires that God would go with me, and that I might do something for his honor. I heard two sermons, and, being desired, I preached a third. The power of the Lord came down, and many of his children were filled with the Holy Ghost. I had a freedom in speaking which I never had before. I could not be heard all

over the meeting-house, by reason of the outcries of the people. O, wonderful that the Lord should make me his instrument to feed his lambs!

"Being desired, I preached again, this night, at the house where I lodged; many people came to hear the word, and we had the divine presence;—many Christians were sweetly refreshed."

March 25, 1743, he says: "Was a little raised this morning, by reading in Pilgrim's Progress and conversing with some Christian friends. I had something of liberty and freedom in speaking, but no great matter of a feeling sense of divine truths. The people were attentive, and many seemed to be affected. Some Christians were so affected as to cry out in sermon time."

It is evident that this young candidate was regarded as a man of promise, for he had an uncommon number of invitations to preach, in view of a settlement. Five of these he declined at once. He thus describes his services at one place, where, perhaps, he ought to have remained:

"In the beginning of December, 1742, I was invited to preach at Symsbury, in Connecticut, to a considerable congregation, who had lately lost their minister; where I continued preaching most of the time till the next May. The greater part of the people appeared attentive, and in some measure engaged in religion; but there were some opposers of the late revival of religion, and of the doctrines which were preached, and were much insisted upon by the friends of the revival. Though I refused to preach as a candidate, having no inclination to settle in the ministry at present, yet the town insisted upon having a meeting to see if they would give me a call to settle in the work of the ministry among them. When they met, it appeared that one hundred voted to give me a call, and that thirty voted against it. I told them that I had no thought of settling in the ministry at present; but if I had, I thought their want of unanimity, and the number of opposers, was a sufficient reason for not complying with their request. I therefore left them, and went to Northampton, with a view to pursue my studies for a longer time with Mr. Edwards." *

Dr. Patten narrates, that while Hopkins yet remained a candidate, he preached a sermon before an association of ministers, from the "text, Phil. ii. 12, 13: 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure.' Instead of the common construction, that we are to understand, by 'fear and trembling,' that terror which the sinner experiences when convinced of sin, and awakened to a view of the punishment to which he is exposed, and by 'working out his salvation,' those exertions he is to make in obtaining an interest in Christ, he considered 'fear and trembling' to denote that deep humility which is implied in a sense of dependence on God, corresponding to the expression, 'for it is God which worketh in you to will and to do;' it not being a terror, but an encouragement to the soul, to realize its dependence on the God of grace, and that this humility or sense of dependence ought to be exercised in all that is willed or done in the work of salvation, till the work is finished, and complete salvation is obtained. After their return from meeting, one of the ministers said to Mr. Hopkins, 'You have given a strange explanation of that text. I do not approve of it.' But Mr. Edwards came up and said, 'I believe he has given the true meaning.' This was more in the scale than the censure of the other minister, more than though *all* the rest had commended him." †

* Sketches, etc., pp. 45, 46.

† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 29, 30.

Sect. VIII. ORDINATION AT HOUSATONICK, OR GREAT BARRINGTON.

It was with the disinterestedness of a missionary, that after refusing various applications from other and better places, Hopkins complied with a request to preach at Housatonick.* In 1740, this parish was incorporated, with the name of the "Second Parish in Sheffield." In 1761, it was incorporated as a town, with the name of Great Barrington. It is now the residence of an enterprising and cultivated population. Its natural scenery is charming. Mr. William Cullen Bryant, once an inhabitant of the place, has celebrated its woodlands and waters, in his poem on Monument Mountain. That noble mountain stood there, indeed, and the streams flowed around it, when Hopkins first visited the town; but he found there a class of residents far inferior to their successors. They still called their parish by its Indian name, Housatonick. They had resided thirteen years in the place without a settled minister. They were marked by that character which we may expect to find in a border town. Then the place was on the frontiers of American civilization. There were but six other white settlements in Berkshire county. It had withal no flattering prospects of increase, for it was dreaded by some on account of its proximity to the Dutch settlements along the Hudson, by others on account of its exposure to the Indian tribes from the north. Its yeomen often went to meeting with their guns on their shoulders. Was this the parish for an argumentative preacher like Hopkins? He had been trained, and his habits fitted him to live, among a more meditative people. He denied himself in going to Housatonick, just as a scientific scholar now crosses his natural inclinations in settling over a small, unpromising parish in Iowa. The best part of Hopkins's life was spent in what was, to all intent, a missionary field. His writings came from the heart of a missionary. When he went to Housatonick, it contained but thirty families. Of these several were Dutch. The very names of some of the early settlers, Joachim Van Valkenburgh, Isaac Van Deusen, Conrad and Hendrick Burghardt, Meese Hogoboom, etc., indicated that an advocate of "strict communion" and an opposer of the "half-way covenant" would have a perilous ministry among them. The adversaries of this self-denying missionary (as he was in fact, although not in form) often say that he preached his people *down;* his own Journal proves how high his people had been *up.* He went to Housatonick in June, 1743, and he writes thus on the 1st of the next August:

"Took a walk to-day in the woods, and as I returned, went into the tavern. Found a number of men there, who I believe had better been somewhere else.

* We follow, in the present Memoir, Mr. Hopkins's orthography for this word, although his uncle, in the book already noticed, writes *Housatunnuk.*

Some were disguised by drink. It appeared to be a solemn place. The circumstances of this place appear more and more dreadful to me. There seems to be no religion here. If I did not think I had a call here, I should be quite discouraged. — August 23. Have been much exercised to-day with the headache, and feel otherwise indisposed. I suspect I am about to have the fever and ague, a distemper which few escape who live in this town.

"Sunday, August 28. I have had a fit of the fever and ague this afternoon. I was taken with the ague between two and three o'clock. I mistrust I had a fit every day but one last week, though in a lower degree. — August 30. Have had another fit to-day. It began after two o'clock, I believe. It is very tedious to bear the pain. I find I want patience. This pain made me think of everlasting pains. It would seem dreadful to bear forever the pain I felt; what then will it be to live in hell to all eternity! — September 17. I had no fit last night, which is the first that has missed. I am in hopes I shall have no more. I have had nineteen formal fits, one after another, without missing a day, and five at first which were hard, though I had not much ague. — September 30. Rode so far as Mr. Hubbard's, to-day, and back again. My fits continue yet. The people here have given me a call to settle among them, and have voted to give me sixty pounds, lawful money, for settlement, and thirty-five pounds salary the first year, and then add twenty shillings every year, till it arises to forty-five pounds. The committee was with me this night, and I objected against the settlement, as not enough to build a house and barn. [The amiable modesty of this reason will be appreciated by the reader, when he compares this salary with that of other ministers at that time. Rev. Jonathan Judd, a townsman, bosom friend, classmate, and cousin of Mr. Hopkins, was ordained at Southampton, Massachusetts, on the 8th of June, 1743, about three months previous to Hopkins's call, and 'had for a settlement two hundred acres of land, one hundred pounds, old tenor, and one hundred and twenty-five pounds, old tenor, to be expended in work on his house.' His salary, for the first three years, was one hundred and thirty pounds, old tenor, per annum; and five pounds a year to be added till it reached one hundred and seventy pounds. At the next meeting, it was voted to give him his wood, 'and we will give him more, according to our ability.' * Thus the salary and perquisites of Mr. Judd were about four times larger than those of his cousin. *Mr. Judd's people had been trained under Mr. Edwards at Northampton.* Hopkins's salary of thirty-five pounds was equal to only one hundred and sixteen dollars and fifty-five cents. His expenses, during his four years' course at college, had been seven hundred and sixty-five dollars.]

"Sunday, October 2. Preached in the forenoon at my lodging. — Had a fit of the fever and ague this afternoon. I have now had thirty-two fits. — November 25, 1743. Gave my answer to-day to this people, and have consented to stay among them in the work of the ministry; they are very unanimous in desiring me to settle among them. The day of ordination, if God permit, will be on the 21st of next month.

"Sunday, December 11. Preached to-day from Isa. 50: 11. Was very barren and dry all day. It seems to be always so with me of late. I have been very much shut up ever since I have been among this people. They are a very wicked people, but I can't tell them of it. — December 14. Had a fast to-day previous to the ordination. Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Sergeant, and Mr. Jenneson were here. Mr. Sergeant made the first prayer. Mr. Hubbard was to gather the church, but there did not a sufficient number offer themselves, so that that business is put by till the ordination. I feel very much discouraged about entering into the work of the ministry. They are a contentious people, and I fear I am no way qualified for such a work.

"December 23, 1743. Have rode out to-day to see who would be embodied and join with the church to be gathered by God's permission, on the ordination day. I find some people very backward, and one told me he did not like

* American Quarterly Register, vol. x. p. 396.

my preaching because I told people to come to Christ, but never told them how to come. I have wondered that they said nothing against my preaching before, but I believe the more is to come. The way looks very dark before me. I am, it is most probable, going to run myself into innumerable difficulties by settling among this people. I dare not [say] that there is one male Christian among them, and most of them [are] opposers to divine grace and the power of godliness. — Saturday, December 24. I have fasted in secret to-day. — Have had some unusual assistance and enlargement. My courage is increased about settling here in the work of the ministry, being willing to go where God calls me, knowing that this life is not the place for happiness. I must wait for that, till I launch into eternity, and leave my corruptions behind. I hope God hath this day given me strength to desire his presence in the great work of the ministry. — December 28. I have this day publicly and visibly given myself up to the work of the ministry, being solemnly set apart to that employment, though I have reason to be ashamed that I have done it no more heartily. The Lord forgive me. [This was his ordination day. He was now twenty-two years and three months old.] — December 29. This day most of the gentlemen that assisted in my ordination set out home, and here I am left engaged in a great work. O that I might be faithful unto the death!"

In the Life of David Brainerd, (Dwight's edition, p. 187,) we read: "December 28, [1743.] Rode about six miles to the ordination of Mr. Hopkins. At the solemnity I was somewhat affected with a sense of the greatness and importance of the work of a minister of Christ. Afterwards was grieved to see the vanity of the multitude. In the evening, spent a little time with some Christian friends, with some degree of satisfaction; but most of the time I had rather have been alone."

Sect. IX. MR. HOPKINS IN HIS PAROCHIAL LABOR.

Gloomy as his forebodings had been, Hopkins at length succeeded in collecting five persons to unite in forming his church. On his ordination day, John and Jonah Pixley, James Sexton, Asahel King, and Jonathan Nash, with himself as their pastor, were constituted a church in this wilderness.* How faithfully he labored for this feeble band, and with how much of a missionary spirit he struggled against the untoward influences of his parish, may be inferred from the following passages of his Journal:

"August 28, 1744. This evening I have had unusual freedom in prayer Had some sense of the miserable state of my people, and some wrestlings for them. Was enabled to give myself up afresh to Christ, taking him with his cross, being heartily willing, if I might have his presence, to undergo all possible hardships and trials. Was enabled with a holy scorn to trample upon and despise the world, with all created good. I have taken some pains to prevent there being a tavern here next year; for which some are offended with me, yea, even rage at me. I have felt for twenty-four hours a calm in my own breast, respecting that, fully acquiescing in the will of God concerning it; and I was enabled this evening, especially, to commit this matter to God, and I choose his will should be done, whatever it is. [Thus it appears that Hopkins began early to be a reformer.] — November 20. Visited four Dutch families to-day. I fear they have not much true religion among them. I asked one, if she thought she could save herself. She answered, 'I don't

* Many of these facts are found in "A History of the County of Berkshire," and in Barber's "Historical Collections of Massachusetts."

know, — I will try.' This is the very language of the natural man, though all don't speak it out. — April 3, 1745. Have been very much discouraged, and things look very dark to me, ever since I came from Northampton last. I have inward difficulties and outward troubles which are too great for me, so that I go mourning all the day. I often fear I have no call among this people, and this day am almost determined to leave them; yea, to leave off preaching. My inward burdens and troubles are inexpressible, almost. Here is a fast to-morrow, and I cannot think of any thing to say to the people.

"Sunday, April 7. Preached to-day from Phil. iii. 18, 19. Had some liberty in speaking in the forenoon, but was enabled to speak with more warmth, vigor, and closeness this afternoon. I hope some one was smitten by the word. — Sunday, April 28. Preached to-day. Had some freedom of speech, *sed non præsentiam Dei.* — Sunday, May 12. Administered the sacrament. I have been very much sunk in my mind to-day and yesterday. Began to catechize the children in public.

"Sunday, August 4. Went to meeting in the forenoon. It raining very hard, but few people were there; therefore only prayed, sung, and read a chapter. Preached P. M. from Rom. vi. 23, without much freedom.

"July 25, 1749. Had freedom in secret prayer this evening. I think I can safely appeal to God, and solemnly declare before him, that I desire his smiles, and acceptance in his sight, above all things else; that I had rather be stripped of every worldly comfort than to be without this; yea, without this all the world is nothing. I am also conscious before God that I am sincere (though, alas! shamefully deficient) in the great work I have undertaken, and have never declined that which I seriously thought was for the spiritual good of my people, for any worldly interest. — May 8, 1753. Visited H. D. to-day, who is very sick, and is not like to continue long; her sister, E., came out of the door after me, appearing tenderly concerned about herself; desired me to pray for her, which I endeavored to do when I got into my closet at home, and was enabled to cry to God for mercy for her soul with freedom and importunity. I cannot but hope that God enabled me to ask converting grace for her; and I humbly hope he will, in his time and way, give it. O, what a sweet duty is intercession, when it is done in faith with the whole heart! Every fervent intercessor has his reward *paid down*, and his prayer immediately returns into his own bosom. — May 9. This day H. D. died. She was a desirable youth, and hopefully converted a few weeks before she was taken sick; and God was pleased to make me a mean of awakening her, which I esteem a greater favor than if he had given me the whole world. This is the first that I have evidence of the conversion of, since I have been in the place; and surely it is well worth while to preach seven years (which is the time I have been here) to be any ways instrumental of the conversion of one soul.

"December 28, 1754. This day finishes eleven years since I was ordained to the work of the ministry. How poorly it has been spent, God knows! Have had no success! Have reason to be greatly ashamed. Kept a secret fast. God only knows my misery.

"November 6, 1755. — A young woman came to me this day, who lives in the parish, with a countenance solemnized and dejected. She says she has been concerned for her soul near half a year, but in a much higher degree about three weeks past; that for two or three nights past, she had little [sleep] or none; that to-day, as she had been some time alone praying, to that degree of engagedness that she knew not where she was, she seemed to hear Christ himself speak these words to her, 'Come unto me,' &c., which was accompanied with such power to her soul, that she hopes she was enabled to believe on Christ. I hope she is born again, but am not without fears. May the kind Redeemer prevent her being deluded.

"Lord's Day, December 29, 1755. Was sent for, in the intermission to-day, to go and see ———. The messenger said she was dying; but when I came there, I found her full of joy and comfort, supposing she had

had saving discoveries of Christ. She admired the goodness of God, and called upon all to praise him. Upon examining her, I was satisfied that she was deceived; that it was only the workings of her imagination. She was confident; but I told her my fears. How exposed to the delusions of the devil are ignorant persons! especially those whose understanding is shattered, and their imagination lively by a fever.

"Monday, November 1, 1756. Attended the funeral of Sergeant John Pixley, who died last night about nine o'clock. Asahel King and John Pixley were members of this church, and both friendly to me and to the interest of religion, [and] were some of the most constant attenders on public worship. Asahel King was a man of more than common good sense, and promised to be a useful man in church and state. I and the interest of religion have received a greater loss in his death than [we should have received, perhaps, in the loss of any other.] I have in him lost my greatest and ablest friend in this place. A prince is fallen, and I am weak."

The preceding quotations indicate the high standard of Christian character, and the habit of plain dealing, for which the pastor of Great Barrington was noted, and by which he gained little popularity with the multitude. He told men just what he thought of them. On one occasion, a friend came to him, and described "*a great* CONVERSION," of which he had recently been the subject. Mr. Hopkins said to him: "After several seasons of great excitement and life, and several of depression, you will probably give up all your hope, and *within two years, or perhaps one, you will be worse than ever.* Go now, I beg of you, and become *truly* penitent for your sins." The predicted apostasy took place. But, after a few years, the same friend revisited Mr. Hopkins, and mourned over his own sinfulness, and wondered that he did not love the divine character, which appeared so amiable. "Ah," said the sagacious pastor, "you will not get rid of this in six months. Your raising God one minute, and depressing yourself the next, — your alternately exalting his law, and falling down at the foot of the cross, — seem to indicate that God's Spirit has been with you." And so it was. Mr. Hopkins's "power of detecting the symptoms of religious decline, and of determining the true state of the heart, formed one of the distinguishing qualifications of his pastoral character. It was this that made him the spiritual adviser of so many; and that induced clergymen at a distance to refer to him, so frequently, doubtful cases of church discipline."*

Here we see another point of resemblance between the pastor of Housatonick and his theological instructor. In his Memoir of that instructor, the pupil says just what we may say of Hopkins himself: "In this world, so full of darkness and delusion, it is of great importance that all should be able to distinguish between true religion and that which is false. In this, perhaps, none has taken more pains, or labored more successfully, than he whose life is set before the reader."†

* See Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, pp. 136–139.

† Hopkins's Preface to his Memoir of Edwards, p. 4, Edinburgh edition.

Sect. X. EXTEMPORANEOUS AND EXPOSITORY PREACHING.

The opposers of Dr. Hopkins have supposed him to be devoid of mental versatility, and have inferred, from his metaphysical tastes, that he preached elaborate disquisitions rather than practical sermons, and wrote his discourses for the press rather than for his audience. He doubtless was tempted to do so, but was too conscientious to comply with the temptation. It is interesting to notice how many expedients he tried to edify his hearers, and how often his mind oscillated with regard to the most effective style of public discourse. He writes, on the 2d of March, 1743, ten months after his licensure to preach:

"*Expounded* this night at my lodging. Was very low and dull all day, so that I could not study; but just before the exercise began, I thought of this place, Isaiah xl. 5, &c. Had words put into my mouth strangely, though not with such a feeling sense as sometimes. Who would not trust in the Lord?

"Housatonick, July 5, 1743. [After preaching a sermon before Rev. Mr. Sergeant, predecessor of Edwards at Stockbridge, Hopkins says:] I perceive that Mr. Sergeant was not well pleased with it. He made several objections against it to me, and though he did not in plain words say so, yet he evidently disliked my preaching without notes. It may be that I am in the wrong in thus doing, but I do not see it yet. O that God would lead me in the way that I should go!

"July 10. I have preached now five Sabbaths altogether without notes, and believe it the best way for me to practise it.

"Thursday, October 4, 1744. I prayed and preached. Had no freedom at all. Used my notes pretty much. I something suspect I had better fling them quite by.

"Sunday, June 16, 1745. Preached to-day. Wrote almost all that I preached, and read all that I wrote. I propose to preach a system or body of divinity; to lay open and explain the fundamental doctrines of the gospel in their order, and have begun to-day.

"Friday, September 28. I was much at a loss about a subject to preach upon to-day, (this morning;) upon which I made a prayer for direction, and in my prayer these words came to my mind, contained in Ex. xix. 10, 11; upon which I immediately made a sermon, and though I had no immediate or special assistance in making or preaching it, yet surely it may encourage me to depend on God.

"Tuesday, November 4, 1755. Attended our quarterly lecture. Finding that but very few people attended it, I did not preach the sermon I had prepared; but as I went into the meeting-house, nobody being there, and expecting but few, it being late, I pitched upon Mark x. 24, and extemporized upon it. There were but about twenty persons at meeting."

In his seventy-fifth year, as he reviews the experiments of his long ministerial life, he thus records their results:

"For forty years or more, since I entered on the work of the ministry, I have made it my practice to read a chapter in the Bible, one in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon; and to say something on the chapter by way of explanation and improvement; in which I have not confined myself as to the time I should spend upon it, but have said more or less, as I thought would be most instructive and edifying. In order to do this in the best manner I could, I have attended to the chapters to be read before the Sabbath,

and consulted those expositors which were within my reach, which has generally cost me as much time and pains as the studying of my sermons. And I have thought this was as profitable a part of the public exercises as preaching, which has not been neglected by thus reading and expounding. And I have had satisfactory evidence that the hearers, in general, have been pleased with, and thought themselves most edified by, this practice. And I have for some years past neglected to preach a sermon, in the common way, in the forenoon, and, instead of it, have expounded and improved the chapter which comes in course in the New Testament. And this, so far as I can learn, has been as acceptable to the congregation in general, as preaching from one particular text, if not more so.

"I have not been confined to my notes in preaching, except for a short time, when I first began; and have not generally written my sermons in full length, but only the heads of them, and some short hints to suggest ideas, which were to be mentioned under the general heads.* I do not, however, recommend this as the best method. I think it would be best, in general, to write all the sermon, and commit it to memory,† with an allowance to deviate in some instances from what has been written, and to add to it what may be suggested to the mind in the delivery. If this practice be diligently followed for a time, the preacher, it is expected, will be able not only to preach without notes, but his mind will be so furnished with the knowledge of divinity, that he will be able to preach without writing his sermons.

"I have not written the sermons which I have preached for some years past. I have written in this time more on the various subjects of divinity than in former years, but not in the form of sermons. And I suppose that a minister cannot improve his mind in the best manner, and make proper advances in the knowledge of divinity, unless he uses himself to write on divine subjects."‡

The fact that Mr. Hopkins persevered so long in the extemporaneous style of address, which was highly unpopular among the preachers of his time, and also the fact that, as early as 1755, he read a chapter of the Bible before his morning and his afternoon sermon,§ — a practice which was then denounced and shunned as "Episcopal," — indicate the spirit of independence and of improvement which characterized the favorite pupil of Edwards. If he had been *born* an orator, his extemporaneous and expository practice would have added much to his oratorical power. As he was born to be a teacher, this practice made him the more interesting to such as loved to be taught.

* Many of the manuscripts from which Hopkins preached are about three inches square, and contain from ten to twenty pages, some of them covered with his peculiar cipher. He says that President Edwards, during the later years of his life, recommended the practice of preaching without notes altogether, but not without writing the sermons, which were to be delivered in great degree *memoriter*.

† It is very obvious that he means to recommend this method as the best for young preachers only, and as capacitating them to preach afterwards, without having written their sermons.

‡ Sketches, etc., pp. 89–91

§ By a record of President Stiles, dated January 8, 1771, it appears that Dr. Hopkins was accustomed, while in Newport, to read a chapter of the Old Testament *in course*, on Sabbath morning, and a chapter of the New Testament *in course*, on Sabbath afternoon, and to accompany the reading with occasional comments.

Sect. XI. INTERFERENCE OF COLONIAL TROUBLES WITH MR. HOPKINS'S MINISTRY.

To a merely human observer, it should seem that a logician, like Hopkins, ought not to have been stationed among a people who were trembling by night and day in fear of the Indian war whoop, and whose Sabbath worship even was disturbed by military preparations. To sow the seed of the word on a battle field is discouraging to any one; especially so to a man of Hopkins's philosophical temperament. It is no wonder, that such a man could not speak loud enough to drown the screams of women and children frightened by the noise of war. When his opposers have triumphed over the meagre success of his ministry, they have forgotten how much he did and how much he suffered in behalf of his country; how often his parochial services were interrupted by the exposure of his frontier residence to the perils of battle. Few ministers of the gospel have sacrificed more than he for their country's welfare. He was a true patriot. A French and Indian war broke out in 1744, about a year after his ordination, and continued until 1749. Another raged from 1752 until 1763. Some might suppose that Hopkins was so much absorbed in metaphysics, as to feel no interest in these commotions. But the following passages of his Journal prove the contrary, and show the importance of our considering the interruptions of his ministry, when we estimate its results:

"Sunday, July 7, 1745. Administered the sacrament and preached in the afternoon. A post came in sermon time, and brought news that Cape Breton is taken. Have concluded to go to Albany to-morrow. — Albany, July 8. Came here to-day with S. King and Benjamin Alvord, the post. The gentlemen of the city met us without the gate, and welcomed us in, being much rejoiced at the good news which we brought. — July 9. Staid in the city to-day, and, being invited, went into the fort, where were all the gentlemen of the city. The guns were shot, and all were treated with wine. Three bonfires were made. — Thursday, July 18. Received a proclamation for a public thanksgiving this evening, on account of our success at Cape Breton. The day appointed was this, and is now past. — August 1. Kept *this day* as a thanksgiving on account of success at Cape Breton. Preached from Mal. ii. 2. Had some liberty of speech. [A conscientious observance.] — October 4. The gentlemen from Boston, who are going to the treaty at Albany, lodge here to-night. — Sunday, October 13. Received news by the post to-day, that the Indians have killed one man and taken another on Connecticut River. — November 22. Some time after midnight last night, there came a man to my lodgings, and cried out with all earnestness, saying that Stockbridge was beset and taken by the Indians — that there were a multitude of them, able to drive all before them; which news was brought by a couple of young men who had fled from Stockbridge. This news alarmed the whole house and the whole town in an instant. But people were soon in some measure calmed, by hearing that the report was false — that Stockbridge was not beset, though they expected them there every hour. This day the most of my people moved off into forts. Having none in this place, I, with my landlord's family, went down to Mr. Hubbard's, and lodge in the fort at Elisha Noble's. — November 23. Had a very poor lodging in the fort last night. The house was

crowded with women and children. There came up yesterday and last night above a hundred men from Connecticut, who returned to-day, having found out, by a post from Kinderhook, that the story which so alarmed the country is false. — Thursday, December 5. This day being appointed for public thanksgiving, I preached from Psalm lvi. 12, 13, without any more sensible freedom than nature will afford. — Sunday, December 8. Went to the fort last night to lie, and some time in the night news came from Stockbridge that a barn was set on fire and burnt up, — supposed to be done by the Indians and French, — which made something of an alarm among us. Went to meeting, and preached but one sermon, from Matt. x. 28. Had some freedom in prayer and preaching. — Thursday, August 14, 1746. Attended the public thanksgiving to-day, ordered on account of the victory of the Duke of Cumberland over the rebels in Scotland, gained April 16. I preached from Prov. xi. 10, with some freedom of speech. — Northampton, Tuesday, August 26. Came here to-day. Lodge at Mr. Edwards's. The Indians killed five men and a girl at Deerfield, yesterday. — Sunday, September 28. Have been strongly urged to go into the woods with a scout of a hundred men, to be gone a fortnight or more. — Stockbridge, Monday, September 29. Came here to-day from home, with the design to go in the scout if Mr. Sergeant should advise to it, and with his advice have concluded to set out with them. — September 30. Set out in the afternoon, with a scout of one hundred white men and nineteen Indians, and travelled about four miles, and then encamped by a large pond. I and some others lodge in a house before made by the Indians. — Pontoosuk, October 1. Rose this morning finely refreshed in my bark house, for which I was in a measure thankful to God, who can give health when means are wanting. Drank a dish of tea in an Indian spoon, made in a tin pot. One man returned to Stockbridge, being out of health. It rained last night, and looked likely to rain to-day; but we set out, and have arrived safe to Pontoosuk. It began to rain before we got here; but there being a house made before, a fire was directly built, and we are very comfortable. Two more Indians came in this night, and bring a letter from Captain Williams, directing not to go above the fort destroyed at Hoosack; and if we do, order his Indians back who are listed for Canada. — December 24. It proving a very cold and windy day, and having no company, I set out home. — Sunday, February 15, 1747. Captain Williams came here before night, and lodged with me.* He has orders to provide for the soldiers on this river, for their march to Albany in order for Crown Point. — Tuesday, March 10. The soldiers in this place are enlisted for Canada. Being called off into the wars, they desired me to preach a sermon to them before they went off. Accordingly, we had a meeting, and I preached from Ps. cxliv. 1. — Sunday, April 12. Preached to-day in Conrad Burghast's fort, (people not being inclined to go to the meeting-house,) from Isaiah xxii. 12, 13, 14."

Letter to Dr. Bellamy. — "September 3, 1754. Reverend and Dear Sir: The dire alarm we have had is like to prevent the proposed journey of myself and wife; yet I shall come down next week, if it can be thought prudent to leave my family. You will doubtless rejoice with me when you hear that the first news we had from Stockbridge was not true; that good Mr. Edwards is yet alive, and, as we hope, safe. His fits of the fever and ague had left him some time ago, but are now returned again, and he has a fit every day. I made him a visit last week. He seemed to be more dejected and melancholy than I ever saw him before; is quite [depressed], and pines at the loss of so much time. On the Lord's [day] P. M., as I was reading the psalm, news came that Stockbridge was beset by an army of Indians, and on fire, which broke up the assembly in an instant. All were put into the utmost consternation — men, women, and children crying, 'What shall we do?' — not a gun to

* Mr. Hopkins often speaks of the military and civil officers lodging at his house during the Indian wars.

defend us, not a fort to flee to, and few guns and little ammunition in the place. Some ran one way and some another; but the general course was to the southward, especially for women and children. Women, children, and squaws presently flocked in upon us from Stockbridge, half naked, and frighted almost to death; and fresh news came, that the enemy were on the Plains this side Stockbridge, shooting, and killing, and scalping people as they fled. Some presently came along bloody, with news that they saw persons killed and scalped, which raised a consternation, tumult, and distress inexpressible, many particulars of which Mr. Wheeler, now at my house, *quorum pars magna fuit*, can relate, which I have not now time to write. Two men are killed and scalped, two children killed, and one of them scalped; but two Indians [have been] seen at or near Stockbridge, that we certainly know of. Two Indians may put New England to a hundred thousand pounds' charge, and never much expose themselves, in the way we now take. The troops that came to our assistance are now drawing off; and what have they done? They have seen Stockbridge, and [eaten] up all their provision, and fatigued themselves, and that's all; and now we are left as much exposed as ever, (for I suppose they are all going.) In short, the case of New England looks very dark, especially of the frontiers. A few savages may be a terrible scourge to us, &c. — I began this letter in the morning, since which time (for it is now past five o'clock, P. M.) I have had thoughts of moving my children to Canaan. If I do, I shall be at commencement, it is likely. My regards to Mrs. Bellamy. From your friend and servant, SAM'L HOPKINS."

"September 12, 1754. This day I moved my family to Canaan, to the house of Mr. Jonas M——, that they may be out of the way of fear from the Indians. — October 23. Moved my family home to-day, and have all got safe to my own house. — November 20. This evening my wife met with a sad accident. A pound of powder, being wet, was set in my oven, last night, to dry. As my wife was lighting a candle just at the oven's mouth, the powder took fire, and burnt her face and neck very much. It was a wonder it had not killed her. Blessed be God for this preservation! — Lord's Day, February 23, 1755. A great number of Connecticut soldiers were at meeting, who are going to Stockbridge and Pontoosuk, to build forts and scout, &c. — Thursday, July 3, 1755. Attended a public fast to-day, which was appointed to seek God for success in the expeditions going on this summer in North America; one against those that used to be neutral French at the eastward; another against Crown Point and a French fort near Oswego Lake; another against the French on the Ohio. Preached, A. M., from Deut. xxiii. 9; P. M. from 2 Chron. xiii. 18. — July 9. Heard to-day that the Indians have taken a man, and woman, and child, about ten miles to the west of us. It was done yesterday, and one Indian was killed by the husband, while he was attempting to carry off his wife a captive. One woman is also wounded. Two or three Indians chased a man about a mile and a half west of my house. Upon this news, we think it not prudent to live at my house, and have therefore concluded to lodge at mother Ingersoll's this night. — September 13. Had news this week that our army going to Crown Point was beset by French and Indians, upon which great numbers set out for their assistance. But last night a post came from the army, with the joyful news that our army has got the victory, with the loss of about an hundred men; that the French have lost nine hundred, and many are become prisoners, &c. May God have the glory! — Lord's Day, September 14. Preached from Psalm cvii. 21, with application to the victory granted last week to our army, over the French and Indians. — December 5. Near twenty soldiers lodged at my house last night, on their return from the camp at Lake George, and a number are here again this night. — Lord's Day, May 16, 1756. A great number of soldiers at meeting, both forenoon and afternoon, who are on their march to Crown Point. Two captains and their companies desired prayers in their behalf in the afternoon."

Letter to Dr. Bellamy. — "August 10, 1757. Reverend and Dear Sir;

You have abundance of news below, I suppose. We have none here from the forts since last Friday night; and the most we can depend on is, that a close siege is laid to the upper fort, and our men are in a distressed situation, if not taken or relieved; that General Webb, with the forces then arrived at Fort Edward, (which Colonel Dwight thinks must be near six thousand,) went on Lord's day or Monday for their relief. People from Westfield and Springfield, &c., have been passing by us ever since Monday evening. Whether the lower counties are in motion, have not heard. The upper part of this county, Northampton, &c., I hear don't stir, because they think themselves in danger! Ah, such colonels! I think it high time to have a change in the ministry here, as well as in England. But I'll suppress invectives. There will be enough without mine. Most men seem to be touchy and waspish, and, in calamity, ready to blame somebody. But few look as high as the heavens, or are sensible that they rule. If the princes in Zoan are become fools, by whose ordering is it? This in a hurry (though perhaps it [will not] get to you so.) No more, but that I am yours, SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Letter to Dr. Bellamy. — "August 15, 1757. Reverend and Dear Sir: The news that you may depend upon is, that Fort William Henry was surrendered to the French, August 9, at seven o'clock, A. M., our men having liberty to march out with their arms and packs, and one brass cannon. That the Indians stripped and killed some of our men before they left the fort, which was the next morning about sunrise, and followed them four or five miles when they marched, stripped them all, and killed hundreds, (how many not known,) in the most barbarous manner. That 'tis not known whether the French design to evacuate the fort or keep it. That General Johnson's Indians say that large parties of the enemy have struck off towards our frontiers since the surrender of the fort. That on this account two regiments, viz., Colonel Williams's and Colonel Ruggles's, (one of which had got to Kinderhook, the other had passed this place,) are gone back to guard the frontiers on Connecticut River, and three companies of Colonel Chandler's regiment (Worcester county) are gone to Stockbridge. That there is an innumerable company of men at Fort Edward, all in a huddle and confusion, doing nothing, and like to be of no service, if the enemy are withdrawn, which (to me, at least) is most probable. That men are still passing by us towards the fort. Some hundreds, now in town, have sent back to Springfield to General Pepperell, (for he is there,) to know what to do; whether go forward or go back. — Current reports are, that Generals Johnson and Lyman, two days before the fort was taken, with tears in their eyes, begged leave to march for the relief of the garrison, but could not obtain. That General Webb sent orders to the commandant at William Henry to deliver up the garrison three days before he did, &c., &c., &c. — Many reflections rise in my mind which I suppress as not worth sending to you. These are dark times indeed, but I predict much darker. But this is with God, and this in some measure supports your friend and servant, SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Sometimes our theologian writes with force on the ill-judged movements of the troops. "As to the army," he says, in 1756, "our general officers are very grand. The particular or private baggage of each one is at least *five cart loads*. The French will support a bigger army, with perhaps one quarter of the company. Mighty preparations, but nothing done. Is not a truly martial spirit departed?" His words, considering that he was a divine, often sound like a trumpet. He strove to stir up his countrymen to high effort. He labored and suffered for us, and we enjoy the fruits of his toil, while we complain of his unsuccessful ministry. His patriotism fitted him to be a theologian, and his theology made him a patriot

Sect. XII. INTEREST IN THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

The self-denying pastor of Housatonick not only felt a deep concern for the political condition of his own country, but also for the spiritual welfare of the Indians. We often find him preaching to the tribes of red men collected at Stockbridge, about an hour's ride from his own house. These Indians became so warmly attached to him, that upon the death of their celebrated missionary, Rev. John Sergeant, they earnestly desired Mr. Hopkins to supply the vacant place. Had he accepted the appointment, he would have received from the government a much larger income than he could ever expect to receive at Great Barrington. The following is his modest narrative:

"It was disagreeable to me to go so far from Mr. Edwards, as I did when I settled at Great Barrington, (being at least sixty miles,) with whom I had studied so long, and who was able to assist me farther to make advancement in knowledge, could I live in his neighborhood, so as to be able to visit him often, and converse with him, &c. But I was relieved and gratified with respect to this, in a few years after my settlement, by his removing from Northampton and settling at Stockbridge, within seven miles of my house. Mr. Sergeant, who was missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, when I settled at Great Barrington, died on the 27th of July, 1749. The next year, the commissioners in Boston, who had the care of the Indian mission at Stockbridge, sent to me their proposal and desire that I would accept of that mission, in which invitation both the white people and the Indians at Stockbridge earnestly joined. And the Indians sent a particular messenger to me to entreat me to come and be their minister. My answer was, that I would take the matter into serious consideration. But as I did not think myself equal to such a situation and business, I should hesitate with regard to accepting the offer, though I should not know of any other man better qualified to take the place. But as I had one in view who was much better qualified, every way, for such a mission, if he could be obtained, as I hoped he could, if I otherwise were inclined to accept, I should refuse, in order to introduce him. Mr. Edwards was the man whom I had in view. He had been dismissed from the church in Northampton in the year 1750. I therefore wrote to the commissioners in Boston, recommending him in the strongest terms, as the most proper person for that mission, and mentioned him to the white people, and to the Indians, as the most suitable man for their minister. Accordingly, he was introduced, and settled there, in August, 1751, not quite eight years after I was settled at Great Barrington." *

As Mr. Edwards had become very unpopular among the churches at this time, he did not regard it probable that he could obtain any where a re-settlement in the ministry. According to Hopkins's Memoir of him, "beggary, as well as disgrace, stared him full in the face, if he persisted in his principles." It is unlikely that he could have elsewhere found so advantageous a residence as Stockbridge; for here he was near to the friend whose opinions and character he highly valued, and their mutual fellowship amid the toils of the wilderness

* Sketches, etc., pp. 53, 54.

would discipline their hearts for the best kind of theological investigation. A picture of Edwards and Hopkins, moving about among the wigwams of Stockbridge Plain, would be instructive. It is also encouraging to remember that the impressions then made by these two divines upon the Stockbridge tribes, are, perhaps, now to be traced upon the descendants of these tribes, on the banks of the Vermillion River.

Between 1760 and 1770, we find our philanthropic pastor engaged in a correspondence with the Commissioners of the Society for propagating the Gospel; and also with Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, in reference to the education of Indian youth. He entered into the details of the enterprise, and took a fresh interest in all, even the humblest individuals, who could further it. He manifests much good sense in his letters; as, for example, in the following to President Wheelock:

September 30, 1751. "Mr. Hawley, in a letter to me of the 20th instant, desires me to inform you of the following particulars, which I will give you in his own words: 'Since I wrote my letter to Mr. Wheelock, I am advised that Mr. Occom is not quite so acceptable to the Indians there' (at Oneida) 'as I heard at first. He tells them they must not cut their hair, but let it grow, as the English do; that they must not wear their Indian ornaments, as wampum, and the like, but put them off, and burn them in the fire; that they must not feast at weddings, ... at the birth and baptism of their children, &c., &c. These are points that he insists greatly upon, which are too unpopular for them.'—I am sorry to hear this of Mr. Occom, which, if true, I think shows him greatly deficient in that prudence which is necessary for an Indian missionary, and renders him unfit to go among Indians; at least alone. We shall be informed of more particulars when Mr. Hawley returns, when I hope he will make you a visit."

Sect. XIII. SERMON TO THE INDIANS.

The subject of this Memoir is called a metaphysical preacher. In his tendencies he was such. But he often resisted those tendencies, and aimed to speak such words as fitted his audience. Even in his old age, still more in the meridian of his life, "his preaching had much *naïvete* when he descended from his abstractions. He used to speak without circumlocution, and in a plain, conversational way. Once, in preaching at Dr. Patten's, he spoke of the "loaves and fishes" as what men were still running after, and his simple, blunt manner provoked a smile from some of his younger hearers. He saw it, and said, "You may smile, but it's true." *

This reminiscence of Dr. Channing solves the oft-proposed query, How could a metaphysician like Hopkins have engaged the interest of the Housatonick and Mohawk Indians? for they heard him gladly. The following sermon sheds more light than would come from a volume of criticism, on his general principle of adapt-

* Extract from a letter of Rev. William E. Channing, D. D.

ing himself to his hearers. What if his philosophical speculations raised him often above his auditory? This is a fault of human nature. The habits of the philosopher thwart sometimes the intentions of the minister. Perhaps this sermon is the only one addressed to the American Indians which has ever been printed. And it is singular, that such a sermon should have come from one of whom it has been said,* that "his love of metaphysics carries him out of real life." There is not in the records of our literature a more interesting old manuscript than has been found among the papers of Hopkins, indorsed with these significant words: "N. B. — These sermons were preached to the Indians the next Sabbath after Mr. Edwards left them to take the Presidency of Nassau Hall, January 21, 1758."! — They are necessarily brief, for each sentence was first spoken in the English language by Mr. Hopkins, and then in the Indian by an interpreter. It is probable, also, that the preacher, as was his wont, introduced extemporaneous remarks at the close of the written paragraphs. But let us not detain the reader from one, as a specimen, of these Indian discourses.

Text. — Luke viii. 4–15. The Parable of the Sower. Our Saviour in this discourse, compares the hearers of the word to four sorts of ground, that the seed which men sow falls on.

One sort of hearers he compares to the highway — the hard path. The seed that falls on the hard, trodden path makes no impression on the ground, but lies on the top, bare and uncovered; and then the birds come and pick it up, and so it is lost. So some that hear the word, don't mind it much. It does not lay hold of their hearts and make them concerned about their souls. Their hearts are as hard as the hard path; and so the word is all lost, and does them no good. As the birds eat the seed that falls on the path, so the devil steals the word out of the mind of such, that he may destroy their souls.

Another sort of hearers Christ compares to a rock that lies just under ground, and has a little thin dirt on it. The seed that is sown on such a rock will fall into the dirt that is on it, and be covered; and because it has a thin covering, it will sprout and come up quick; but because there is not dirt enough for the roots to grow in, when the sun shines hot upon it, it withers away and dies. So, many that hear the word think a great deal about it. They believe it, and are affected with it, at first. They love to hear the word, and are concerned about their souls, for a while, and they intend always to be good, and so go to heaven; but yet their hearts are not really good. They are not truly born again, so as to have new hearts; and therefore, when they are tempted to sin, they turn from all the good they had, and fall into sin. All their goodness withers away, and they are often worse than they were before.

Another sort of hearers of the word Christ compares to ground full of thorns. The bushes are cut off and the ground ploughed a little, but it is all full of the roots of thorns that are not killed. When the seed sprouts and grows, the thorns grow too, and outgrow the wheat, and shade it, and kill it. So, many that hear the word mind it some, and seem as if they intended to become good; but presently the cares of the world, and their lusts and pleasures, root all good thoughts out of their hearts, and they become as bad as ever.

* By Dr. Ashbel Green, in his Memoir, p. 240.

Another sort of hearers Christ compares to good ground — good strong land, which is well fitted for seed. The seed falls into this, comes up, and grows, and brings forth good fruit. So some that hear the word receive it into good hearts. They love the word and obey it heartily, and when they die, they go to heaven.

Now, which of these sorts of hearers are you? What effect do the words of Christ have on your heart? You all hear the word; Christ sends his ministers to sow the word among you. Are not some of you like the path? You don't mind or care any thing about what you hear. Do you not forget what you hear at meeting before you get home, and never think any thing more about it? The word never comes to your heart so as to make you concerned about your souls. Other things come to your heart. You are greatly concerned about them and affected with them; but you don't care about what Christ says to you. Don't some of you mind the devil more than you do Christ, and suffer him to take away Christ's words out of your heart?

Are not some of you like the stony ground? You have been affected with the word, it may be. The word once seemed to come to your heart, and you reformed your wicked practices, and prayed to God. You was concerned about your souls, and wanted to get an interest in Christ. You loved to hear the word, and had great hopes you was good and should be saved. But have you not fallen away, and forsaken Christ and religion? Have you not been like the wheat that comes up on a rock? At first you seemed to grow and flourish, as if you would bring forth a good crop; but have you not since hearkened to temptations, and forsaken the ways of Christ? Is not all your religion withered and dried up? If it is so, the word of Christ never had root in your hearts. Your hearts are like the hard rock, where the seed cannot take root and grow. This stony heart must be broken and taken away, and a new, soft heart given you, or you cannot be saved.

Are not some of you like the ground full of thorns? The word has been sown upon your hearts, and seemed to take some root. You reformed many things, and said you would be good, you would love and serve Christ; but have you not altered your mind and changed your course since? Have not your lusts and the wickedness of your heart turned you away from Christ? Don't you care more about the things of the world, now, than about Christ? Is not the word become unfruitful by your worldly cares and lusts? The good seed cannot grow in such hearts, that mind the world more than Christ. Your wicked hearts must be changed, and the bad things must be torn out of them, as the roots of thorns are torn out of the ground, or the word will do you no good.

Are any of your hearts like the good ground? Has the word fallen into your hearts, and do you keep it there? Do your hearts love Christ and his ways? Do you love to hear of Christ, and do what he bids you? And do you bring forth good fruit by obeying Christ? You ought seriously to inquire how it is with you in these respects.

Christ has been sowing the seed of his word among you. Mr. Edwards has been here a good while, sowing the word among you. He has sowed a great deal of good seed among you, and has watered it with his prayers and counsels, and tried to make it grow. But now he has done sowing the good seed among you, and is gone; and now you ought to sit down and consider what is become of the good seed that is sown. If your hearts are not bad, if they are like the good ground, the word he has sown among you will do you a great deal of good, and bring forth much fruit; but if your hearts are bad, the good seed will all be lost; there will be no good fruit, but 'tis to be feared you will go to hell, after all.

It may be you have been a little affected with the word sometimes, but then it has vanished away and come to nothing. And have not some of you grown worse and worse while the word has been sown among you, rather than better? Are you not worse than you would have been, if you had never heard the word? Many times this is the case. If you cut trees off of land,

and do not plough it and kill the roots, it grows worse than it was before, in a few years, and often gets full of briers and thorns. So it may be with some of you. You are worse than those that never heard the word. If this is the case, the fault is not in the seed sown, but in your hearts.

All good folks in the country are looking on you, and inquiring about you, whether the word sown among you is fruitful. They will inquire of Mr. Edwards whether you have received the word into your hearts, and bring forth fruit in your lives. The good angels, that come down from heaven to earth, are looking on you, to see what effect the word has upon you; and news is carried to heaven about you, and it is there known whether the word sown brings forth good fruit. Christ is every day looking upon you, to see what effect his word has among you. Surely, then, it becomes you to inquire and see how this matter is. How must we answer this question? Does the word sown at Stockbridge grow and flourish, or is it all lost? Must it not be said there are a great many who receive the word no better than the highway does the seed, where it makes no impression at all? — that many that made a hopeful appearance, and promised to be good, are fallen away and come to nothing? I hope it can be said there is some good fruit; but who of you are fruitful, so as to be an honor to Christ and a credit to religion?

And now let me entreat you to hear the word and receive it into your hearts. He that has been sowing the word among you is gone, but we hope Christ will send another still to sow good seed among you. You ought to pray earnestly every day for this. But how will you pray heartily for this, if [you are not willing] to receive the word? You ought to be concerned, therefore, to get good hearts. Though you have never so good a minister, if you have no heart to receive and obey the word, he will do you no good. Yea, it would be better for you if you had never heard of Christ, than to hear and refuse to mind what he says to you. So St. Peter says, (2 Pet. ii. 21,) Christ will be exceeding angry with you, and cast you into hell, if you will not mind what he says; and you will be more tormented than those that never heard his gospel. The devil is trying to catch the word away, and hindering its laying hold of your hearts; and if you hearken to him once, he will have more power against you.

Sowing time will be over by and by; and they that bear good fruit, Christ will take to heaven, but the unfruitful he will burn in hell, as men burn briers and thorns. O, then, root every wicked thing out of your hearts. Cross and kill every lust. Pray earnestly to God, that he would make your hearts soft and good. God only can change the hearts of men, and make them good, and fit, like the good ground, for seed. If he does not change them, they will bring forth briers and thorns. Cry earnestly to God, then, for this mercy, as David did: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me."

Observation 1. Men may hear the word, may have it sown among them a great while, and yet get no good by it. The devil and their own wicked hearts may join to reject it all. Their hearts do not grow softer and better, but harder and more wicked, under the word. How sad is the case of such! They will be cast into a fire that never can be put out, and tormented by devils forever and ever. The devil will laugh at them, in hell, for being so foolish as not to mind what Christ said to them, and they will be angry at themselves and curse themselves for their own folly.

[Obs.] 2. Many may do a great deal in religion, and come to no good at last, but fall away when they are tempted, &c.

[Obs.] 3. The best way to know whether the word does good, is to see what fruit is brought forth.

[Obs.] 4. They who fall away when temptations come have reason to think they have no goodness. When they have no temptations, they will be very good, and resolve always to be so; but every time they come into temptation, they fall away. This is because goodness has no root in their hearts.

Men that have good hearts can resist temptation, and they [will remain good in spite of temptation]; but when the heart is not right, men will lose all their goodness in the time of temptation.

[Obs.] 5. The word of Christ and they that sow the word, are not to blame that men are not good, and do not bring forth fruit. They sow good seed; and it does not prosper because the heart is not good. If men sow good seed on bad ground, it will not grow, though they sow it never so well, and never so often. So it is with those that sow Christ's word. If it is sown in bad hearts, it will not grow and bring forth fruit; but wickedness will grow up and choke the word of Christ.

[Obs.] 6. They that hear the word are in great danger of going to hell. Most that hear the word live wickedly, and go to hell. You have all need to be afraid of this. You had need to be concerned to have your hearts made soft and [mellow],* that the word may take root there, and bear fruit to eternal life.

Sect. XIV. SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

It must not be supposed, that while his parishioners at Housatonick remained poor, and ignorant, and fearful of savage invaders, their pastor was deprived of all congenial society. He was regular in meeting the clergy at Yale College commencement. Sometimes he attended the election at Boston, where he had several wealthy friends. Often we find David Brainerd coming to see him; sleeping with him, preaching for him, etc. Often we find Hopkins at his uncle's parsonage in West Springfield. Still oftener we read, in his Journal, such notices as the following:

"Northampton, July 23, 1743. Am kindly received by Mr. Edwards and his family. Made Miss Jerusha a present of a Bible. Mr. Edwards is desirous that I would preach for him part of the day to-morrow, but I cannot be willing.

"Sunday, July 24, 1743. Heard Mr. Edwards preach all day. I have been very dull and senseless; much discouraged about preaching. Hearing Mr. Edwards makes me ashamed of myself. — Brookfield, Thursday, May 24, 1744. Set out to-day from Northampton for Boston, in company with Madam Edwards and her daughter, who rides behind me [on horseback]. We lodge at Colonel Dwight's, at Brookfield;" [afterwards the well-known General D., of Great Barrington.]

After Mr. Edwards had removed to Stockbridge, and was within about one hour's ride from Mr. Hopkins, we read, on almost every page of the Journal, such notices as these:

"Bethlem, October 13, 1754. Mr. Edwards not being able to travel, I am yet with him at Mr. Bellamy's. — Friday, October 18. Having done my business at Waterbury, and Mr. Edwards continuing to have a severe fit every day, I left Mr. Edwards at Waterbury, and set out homewards to-day. Lodge at Mr. Bellamy's. — Thursday, August 28. This day being attended as a public Fast, Mr. Bellamy preached for me all day. I believe there is not a better preacher in America, on all accounts. — August 30. Rode with Mr. Bellamy yesterday to Stockbridge. — February 12, 1755. Mr. Bellamy came to my house last Tuesday, with whom I went to Stockbridge, and staid there two

* Some of the words enclosed in brackets, throughout this discourse, were left by Dr. Hopkins in cipher. They are here inserted, after a careful comparison of his short hand with the context, and with his own glossary.

nights and one day to hear Mr. Edwards read a treatise upon the *Last End of God in the Creation of the World.* Returned home to-day. Mr. Bellamy came with me, &c.

"March 9. Went to Stockbridge to-day to borrow some books, and returned.

"September 2, 1756. Rode to Stockbridge to-day on an important secret errand, and returned. — September 3. Mr. Edwards and Madam, and their son Timothy, at my house to-day."

These and similar records have a theological value. Many of them show that, in regard to their professional literature, Hopkins, Bellamy, and Edwards "had all things common;" and each was in the habit of loaning to the others all the books, pamphlets, theological epistles, which they desired to borrow; that they were also in the habit of submitting to each other's criticism the manuscripts which they intended to publish.

"In one instance," says Dr. Patten, "from some inconvenience in consulting Mr. H., he [Mr. Edwards] published a work without his [Hopkins's] previous inspection. After it was in print, he inquired of Mr. H. if he saw in it any thing objectionable. Mr. H. replied by asking him if he had considered such a particular proposition in the work. Mr. E. answered that he had not; that it was a current expression among divines. Wherein was it not correct? Mr. H. pointed out an objection, which Mr. Edwards immediately perceived and acknowledged, and remarked, 'I am sorry that you did not see the manuscript; but this I promise, that I will never publish another book without showing the manuscript to you, if you are in life.'

"Long after this, Dr. Hopkins observed to the writer, that the very few errors of Mr. Edwards's writings were owing to the" fact that "some things were taken for granted as true, because they had appeared in the earlier writings of divines, and in creeds. They were admitted as first principles, which, as to correctness, required no examination."*

Before Dr. Bellamy published his "True Religion Delineated," Dr. Patten says that Bellamy "requested Mr. Hopkins to make him a visit of two or three days, that he might attend to the manuscript, and make his remarks upon it. When Dr. B. had proceeded some way in reading, Mr. H. said, 'Stop.' 'Why,' said Dr. B., 'what is there here?' 'I would not, for five hundred dollars,' replied Mr. H., 'publish that sentence, with the sanction of my name to it.' 'But it is a quotation from Edwards,' said Dr. B. 'I know it, but it is wrong.' 'We are brought to a strange pass, indeed, if we cannot adopt the sentiments of Edwards!' The quotation referred to self-love. It had been the opinion of divines, that the self-love of the natural man is sinful only in its excess; that in regeneration it is brought down to its proper level in principle; like a fire, which, unrestrained, spreads over the house, but is useful when reduced to burn on the hearth. This opinion, as a matter of course, and without examination, had been adopted by Mr. Edwards. The criticism of Mr. H. was, that in the exercises of one who is not sanctified, there is nothing holy; that holiness depends on the nature of the exercise, and not on the degree in which it is exercised; that the love of the sinner for himself has nothing of that love which the law requires, more than his love for God or his neighbor; as his love for God has nothing of the nature of loving him with all his heart, and as his love for his neighbor has nothing of the nature of loving his neighbor as himself, so his love for himself has nothing of the nature of loving himself as he does his neighbor; that in regeneration he has but one love, which is new in each of these relations. Dr. B. admitted the justice of

* Reminiscences, pp. 41, 42.

the criticism, and corrected that part of his work. And during the examination, both entirely concurred in approving of that which was published. This distinction of the new love which one is brought to exercise for himself in regeneration, Mr. H. considered as having occurred to him without meeting with it in any commentator, and as more original in this sense than any other doctrine in his system." *

As Bellamy confided in the criticisms of Hopkins, so did Hopkins confide in the criticisms of Bellamy; and writes to him very frequently in a style like the following: "July 9, 1756. The enclosed letters to Dr. Mayhew lay themselves at your feet and wait your sanction. Please to say whether either of them shall be sent. If one, which? And with what corrections and emendations? Please to give the sanction, *et eris mihi magnus Apollo.*" More than once he sends his manuscripts to Bellamy with such deferential words as, "From your sentence there will be no appeal." Beautiful, indeed, was this mutual confidence of Edwards, Bellamy, and Hopkins in each other.

Mr. Edwards lived nearly seven years within seven miles from his beloved pupil. When he was invited to the Presidency of the College of New Jersey, Hopkins was the leading member of the council which advised him to accept the invitation. It has often been said, that if Hopkins had expressed a different opinion, that invitation would have been rejected. With his usual disinterestedness, he parted with his revered teacher.

"When the council," he says, "published their judgment and advice to Mr. Edwards and his people, he appeared uncommonly moved and affected with it, and fell into tears on the occasion, which was very unusual for him in the presence of others, and soon after said to the gentlemen who had given their advice, that it was matter of wonder to him that they could, so easily as they appeared to do, get over the objections he had made against his removal to be the head of a college, which appeared great and weighty to him. But as he thought it his duty to be directed by their advice, he should now endeavor cheerfully to undertake it, believing he was in the way of his duty." †

In less than three months after this result of the council, Edwards was in his grave. The death of so dear a friend had a depressing influence upon Hopkins, whose temper was too despondent. He became more and more distressed with the fear, that he had sinned in advising the removal to Princeton. Its calamitous issue was unwisely interpreted into a sign of its original wrongfulness.

Sect. XV. STUDIOUS LIFE AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

Having a giant frame, he could endure a great amount of severe mental application. His plain diet and his rural abode aided him in his intellectual processes. True, the fever and ague and other dis-

* Reminiscences, pp. 49, 50.

† Hopkins's Memoir of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, p. 94.

eases of the wilderness shattered his system, as also that of President Edwards; but he retained vigor enough to rise above his maladies, and says, in his seventy-fifth year:

"My bodily constitution, I believe, has been much better than most of those who live a sedentary life. In the former part of my life, indeed, from the twenty-first to the thirty-fifth or fortieth year of my age, my constitution was rather slender and infirm, but not so as to prevent my attending to business and my study, as much or more than is common among ministers. Since that time of life, my constitution has been better, and I have enjoyed generally a good state of bodily health, and have been able to study fourteen and frequently eighteen hours in a day, generally rising at four o'clock in the morning, or between four and five, especially in the winter season. I have had several fits of sickness, in which I have been brought very low, and have been thought by my friends to be near death; but these ill turns have not broken my constitution, but have appeared to be the means of my better health, as this has generally been the consequence; and I now enjoy more bodily ease, health, and strength than is common to men of my age." *

Dr. Patten says, that "probably, with his portion of the patrimonial estate," he obtained "a decent but commodious dwelling-house, and thirty or forty acres of land, [about a mile from his meeting-house.] The land he brought under the best cultivation, and as the soil was good, it was very luxuriant in its productions. He cultivated trees, especially apples, which he grafted with a great variety of the best of this species of fruit." Dr. Patten adds, that these "labors and cares engrossed much of his attention, and interfered with his studies and ministerial duties." † That there may have been a few instances of such interference, is possible. There are many testimonies and incidents, however, which prove that he *usually* labored on his farm less than his health required; and that his literary progress was aided, rather than impeded, by his muscular exercise. Indeed, a subsequent remark of Dr. Patten affords physiological evidence that this very period of Hopkins's life was marked by his sedentary habits, and that he ought to have been longer out of doors, so as to have required more generous repasts. He was, says Dr. Patten, "very temperate in his diet, breakfasting and supping on bread and milk, from a bowl containing about three gills, never varying from that quantity, whether his appetite required more or not so much. He thought that this regularity of eating tended to render his appetite uniform, and to confirm his health." ‡ The Journal and correspondence of Mr. Hopkins show him to have been far more deeply interested in politics than in his farm. Indeed, there are very few instances of his even alluding to his pecuniary affairs; and these few are exceptions, which prove that his *rule* was, to look above the earth. The following is one allusion:

"Friday, January 20, 1744. Have spent this week but poorly hitherto. Have been making a clock-reel, which seems not to be my business. I can-

* Sketches, etc., p. 84. † Reminiscences, pp. 30, 31, 33. ‡ Ib. p. 33.

not live to any profit, unless I live free from the world. I design never to undertake such a piece of business again, under the circumstances I am now in."

The uniform testimony of his survivors, who once knew him, is, that during the last thirty-three years of his life, he did not, from January to December, take so much as an hour's exercise, except on parochial business, or in journeying; and that his *confirmed* habits were those of a reader and writer. From these later usages, we may infer his earlier; and may presume that he would have studied more effectively at Great Barrington, if he had spent more time than he did spend among his apple-trees. Nothing would have sooner cured him from complaining of his discourses as "senseless," than the performance of a daily work on his "thirty or forty acres."

The common impression is, that the studies of Hopkins were chiefly metaphysical. What if they were? They were not entirely so. He was a diligent reader of commentaries, particularly of Poole's Synopsis. He read through the whole of Poole's five folios in Latin. He commented three several times on every chapter of the Bible in his expository discourses; and this extensive exposition required of him, what he pursued, a diligent perusal of the critics. He had not been ordained much more than two years, before he, with Rev. Mr. Hubbard, of Sheffield, and Rev. Mr. Sergeant, of Stockbridge, formed a plan for each to study and comment upon the Epistle to the Galatians, and to present his Commentary to the other two for criticism. Mr. Hopkins's Exposition is still preserved, with Mr. Sergeant's Review of it. Among the authors which are most familiarly mentioned by him, are Calvin and Van Mastricht, (both of whom he studied in their original Latin,) Saurin, Owen, Manton, Goodwin, Bates, Baxter, Charnock, Prideaux, Sharp, Matthew Henry, John Locke, Whitby, Dr. S. Clark, Dr. John Taylor, Mosheim, Doddridge, etc., etc. Nothing, then, can be more inaccurate, than to affirm that he restricted himself to metaphysics. Few, if any, clergymen of his day were so conversant with the various criticisms upon the sacred text. Upon that text he aimed to form his theological system. He once remarked to Dr. Tenney,* "that there was not a passage in all the Scriptures which had not been the subject of his particular meditation; nor one, the meaning of which he had not endeavored, by his own reflections and the aid of commentators, to understand."

* See Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, p. 146.

SECT. XVI. DOMESTIC LIFE AND FAMILY AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

In less than a year after his ordination, Hopkins began to be severely afflicted. He writes:

"Waterbury, December 5, 1744. Received news this morning that my mother lay at the point of death yesterday morning. Set out towards noon, and got to Waterbury about bed-time, where I received the sorrowful news of my mother's death. Came to my father's house; — find it in mournful circumstances; — no mother to welcome me home, as she was wont to do. — December 5. This day my dear mother departed this life, about one o'clock in the afternoon; by whose death God has touched me in the most tender place. She was, in many respects, nearer and dearer to me than any other relation, and was one that had the most tender and affectionate love for me, which she abundantly expressed by words and actions. My natural affection now shows itself; and though I am sensible of no murmurings, yet I can't but mourn. Some time ago, I was especially concerned for my mother, and my thoughts ran particularly upon her, which was the occasion of my writing the following letter to her, which she received about three weeks before her death:

"'Kind Mother: . . . . . I take this opportunity to express my gratitude and thankfulness for all your care for and kindness to me, which is very great, which I hope I am in some measure sensible of, and never shall forget it; yet I know I am in a great degree unthankful, and have reason to be ashamed of my misimprovement of what I have received of my parents. I desire to see the hand of God in it, and hope that it is both for your advantage and mine, that your hearts have been thus opened to me, and that God will reward you for your trouble and expense of temporal or carnal things, by bestowing upon you spiritual and saving blessings, which are infinitely better; and that your end in it, so far as it has been good, will be answered by my being made a great blessing in my station and calling, for which I desire the continuance of your prayers. — I am engaged in a difficult work, and how difficult it is you never will know, because it can be known only by experience. My business is with the souls of men, and therefore I am called to unwearied diligence, and my time seems more precious than theirs who labor for this world's goods. — I wish I might say something, before I end this letter, that might tend to your spiritual edification. O, think of eternity. It is just at hand. We shall shortly be in it. I cannot bear to think of parting with you forever; but it must be, unless we are both truly religious. The things of religion are as real and certain as they were two or three years ago, though, alas! the land is asleep. I am, dear mother, your obliged, dutiful son, SAM'L HOPKINS.

"'Sheffield, October 22, 1744.'

"Methinks the hand of God is to be seen in this thing, in that I should send her a letter at this time, though I never sent one particularly to her before. I desire to be thankful that I was then led to express my thankfulness to her, seeing I had no opportunity to do it face to face.

"December 6. Attended the funeral of my deceased mother. Doubtless we had many to mourn with us. O that I might mourn aright, and suitably improve God's dealings towards me and my father's family! — Attended a lecture after the funeral. Mr. Levinworth preached upon the great duty of resignation to God's will, from those words, 2 Kings iv. 26. — Returned home to my father's house, and find it as it were empty. — Sunday, December 9. Was called up this morning with news that my young brother was dying. I got up, prayed with it, and baptized it. After that, it had some revival. I left it and went to meeting; — received the sacrament, and preached in the afternoon from Psalm xxxix. 4. Had no great sense of things, though some freedom in preaching. Came home and found my brother dead, and my brother's wife, to all appearance, taken just as my mother was before she died. O that God would sanctify his dealings to this family! Surely he is frowning upon us.

"Monday, December 10. Attended the funeral of my young brother. He was about three weeks old when he died. Alas! I am a stupid, senseless creature."

Mr. Hopkins preached more than four years at Great Barrington, previously to his marriage. A matrimonial engagement, which he had formed at Northampton, was broken off in a way honorable, but afflictive to himself. Another, which he formed at Great Barrington, was equally inauspicious. "He paid his addresses," says Dr. Patten,* "to a young woman interesting in her appearance and manners, and of a bright intellect, who was also rather a belle in the place. She favored his suit, and, so far as appeared, there was a mutual attachment, and the time of their marriage was not far distant. But a former lover, who had been absent some time, returned, with the design of renewing his attentions, and, by indirect or explicit manifestations of it, excited in her the expectation of an offer to be his wife. These intimations engaged her affection, and when he made known to her his disappointment and his desire, she frankly disclosed the truth to Mr. Hopkins, and assured him, 'that however much she respected and esteemed him, she could not fulfil her engagement to him from the heart.' This, he said, was a trial, a very great trial; but, as she had not designed to deceive him in the encouragements she had given him, he could part with her in friendship."

At length, on January 13, 1748, he was married to Miss Joanna Ingersol, daughter of Moses Ingersol, of Great Barrington. Dr. Patten says of her,† "She was delicate in her person and features, of a sprightly disposition, intelligent, possessing great decision of character, and apparently a Christian." Her constitutional tendencies were consumptive. During the last twenty years of her married life, she was an intense sufferer. About the year 1786, her physical pains were so great as to occasion a temporary insanity. In less than a year, she recovered the tone of her mind, but still her distressing maladies remained a source of deep grief to her husband. The evenness, patience, and unwavering benevolence of his temper were a great solace to her amid her afflictions. He "never retired to study," says Dr. Patten,‡ "or indulged in rest," till he had made every provision for her comfort which kindness could suggest."

In one year from his marriage, he was again bereaved. He writes:

"February 4, 1749. Reached my father's house late in the night. Find my father very sick, and two brothers and two sisters, with the measles. My father knew me, and asked me why I was so long in coming; told me he sent for me that I might see him once more before he died, [and] asked me if I did not think he was dying. I told him no. I asked him if he was willing to die. His answer was such as gave me great concern for him. I was quickly willing to part with him, if he might but give me evidence of his comfortable hope in Christ, before he died; but was soon brought to give up this

* Reminiscences, pp. 31, 32. † Ib. p. 23. ‡ Ib. p. 113.

point, if he might but have a saving interest in Christ, and the comfort of it in his own soul, which my soul longed for; and I was enabled to seek God earnestly on his behalf, having my mouth filled with arguments; and after all, was obliged to resign, and acknowledge God to be the sovereign potter, having a right to do what he would, and that he could do no wrong.

"February 5. We apprehend my father is dying. I made two prayers with him. He, having been some time before speechless, revived a little, and said *he had more hope now*, referring to the discourse I had with him before. These were almost the last words which he spake, and the most comfortable. I had some views of the infinity of God's mercy, and expressed it in prayer, and hope his soul felt it."

The mother of Hopkins died at the age of about forty-three years; the father, at the age of fifty-seven. Samuel was the executor of his father's will. Ultimately, the education of his three youngest brothers was devolved upon himself. He took them to his house, and fitted them all to enter college. In so doing, he performed a good service to the State. His brother James was admitted to Yale College in 1753, when he was twenty-one years old. In less than a twelvemonth, however, he died at New Haven. Samuel hastened to his death-bed, grieved, but submissive.

Daniel, the next brother, educated by Samuel, entered Yale College in 1754, and was graduated in 1758. He interested himself in the early struggles of his country for independence, and is said to have received some peculiar marks of confidence from General Washington. He was a member of the Colonial Congress, and in that capacity signed large quantities of the Continental paper money. One who knew him well says:

"He was ordained pastor of the Third Congregational Church at Salem, Massachusetts, in the year 1778,* and he remained over the same church until the day of his death, in December, 1814. He was a discriminating, faithful, and interesting preacher, a devoted and excellent pastor, and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the affection of his people, and the respect of the community. His theological opinions agreed with those of his brother Samuel, except on the subject of submission; and there he differed chiefly, if not wholly, on the mode in which his brother explained it. He entered deeply into the theological speculations of his brother, and was acknowledged by that divine to have originally suggested his argument on the Doings of the Unregenerate. Mr. John Norris, the benefactor of Andover Theological Seminary, was, with his wife, during many years, a member of Dr. Daniel Hopkins's congregation, and they were strongly attached to him until the day of their death.† Mr. Norris was also very strongly attached to the theological system of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, and testified his respect to him by giving to one of his [Dr. H.'s] granddaughters a permanent home in his [Mr. N.'s] own family." Other intimate friends of Mr. Norris say that he "became acquainted with Dr. Samuel Hopkins during the frequent visits of the latter to Salem, and often made him valuable presents." An inmate of his family writes that Mr. Norris "often conversed on the Hopkinsian doctrines, and seemed to take great pleasure in the thought that they were to be taught at Andover."

* He is said to have been introduced to that church by his brother Samuel, who had preached a number of weeks at Salem, in 1766 and 1767.

† Mr. Norris died December 22, 1808, aged fifty-seven years. Mrs. Norris died March 21, 1811, aged fifty-four years.

But the subject of this Memoir expended his greatest care upon Mark, his younger brother. When Mark was in his tenth year, he became a member of Samuel's family, and continued such about five years, until he entered college. He was a classmate at Yale with his brother Daniel, and with Silas Deane. He commenced the practice of law about 1761, at Great Barrington, and resided about ten years a near neighbor of Samuel, who had trained him for usefulness. He was eminent in his profession. He instructed many law students, and among them the celebrated Judge Theodore Sedgwick. In 1765, he married Electa Sergeant, a daughter of the well-known Stockbridge missionary. He left four sons and one daughter. Archibald, his oldest son, was the father of President Mark Hopkins, and Professor Albert Hopkins, of Williams College. In the revolutionary war, Colonel Mark Hopkins distinguished himself as a patriot. He entered the army; was taken sick with a fever at White Plains, and died there, October 26, 1776, only two days before the memorable battle at that place. He was thirty-seven years of age at the time of his death.

Dr. Hopkins also educated for practical life two of his brothers-in-law. He had five sons and three daughters, all born in Great Barrington. He was reserved before his children, methodical and strict in his discipline, yet remarkably free from a morose and irritating treatment of them. His attachment to them and to his grandchildren was deep, and they all felt an unbounded reverence for him. As a father, he belonged to the old school. A single incident, narrated by one * who lived, for a time, in the family of Mr. Hopkins, will let us into the general course of things in the parsonage of Great Barrington. "In his strict attention to the Sabbath, he [Mr. H.] excelled the most of devout Christians. From evening to evening he celebrated the Christian Sabbath; and to impress his own mind and the mind of his family with the importance of observing holy time, he uniformly, at sunset, introduced and concluded the exercises of the Sabbath by family prayer. This domestic signal of holy time, he found, by long experience, to be attended with peculiar advantage."

His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, received much of her education in Boston. She was an accomplished lady, and an engaging Christian. She married Dr. John Sibley, a man of wealth, of eminence in his profession, and of extensive usefulness. In his early life, he was a surgeon of the revolutionary army, and distinguished himself by his patriotic spirit. After the close of the war, he removed to Fayetteville, North Carolina, at which place Mrs. Sibley died, October 25, 1790, leaving two sons. Of late years, their descendants have resided chiefly in Missouri and Louisiana. Several members

* Dr. Samuel Spring. See Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 363.

of their family belong to the United States army, and have been recently brevetted for their achievements in our late Mexican war. His second daughter, Mrs. Joanna Fisher, of Medway, Massachusetts, died June 15, 1786. Her father says of her: She was "a peculiarly dear and amiable child," and appeared to be "graciously prepared for heaven." She left one daughter, who subsequently resided with Dr. Hopkins. — His third daughter, Rhoda, wife of the excellent Captain John Anthony, of Newport, was also an exemplary Christian. She lived in the house with her father, relieving him throughout the prolonged sickness of her mother, but, deeply to his grief, died, September 22, 1792, in her twenty-seventh year. She left one child.

His oldest son, General David Hopkins, was a man of large property and influence, near Baltimore, in Maryland, where he died, leaving several children. — Dr. Hopkins's second son, Moses, was a highly respected magistrate and yeoman, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He was eminent for his strength of mind and his sterling virtue. He had nine children, and many of his descendants are now useful members of society. Having been county register more than fifty years, he died at the age of eighty-four. — Dr. Hopkins's third son, Levi, was a member of Princeton College two years or more, but was compelled to leave, through ill health. He subsequently lived and died in Virginia. He left six children. — Dr. Hopkins's fourth son, Samuel, resided on the homestead at Great Barrington, was a thriving farmer, and left three children. — The fifth son, Daniel, died in Maryland, in 1788, at the age of twenty-four. — The personal appearance of these eight children is said to have indicated a strong and decided character. They were all well instructed. Some of them inherited the frail constitution of their mother.

Sect. XVII. INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC MEN.

In the preceding section has, been disclosed the formative power exerted by Hopkins on several noted individuals related to him by blood. He was a still more conspicuous benefactor to the world, in moulding the character of a few other individuals, related to him by a spiritual affinity.

The first of these is Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, President of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., a divine who will be honored in succeeding ages, for having given so much of its present excellence to the New England theology. It has been said that he, more than Dr. Hopkins himself, was the father of the Hopkinsian system. He was certainly not so in all respects. Nearly all of the following narrative is from Dr. Patten: *

* Reminiscences, pp. 45–47. See also Ferguson's Life of Hopkins, pp. 53, 54. The same relation, for substance, has been given by various other persons acquainted with Drs. Edwards and Hopkins.

"When Edwards was in his twenty-first year, and had been graduated at Princeton College, 'he had not examined' the theological system adopted by his father, but objected strenuously, and with much confidence, to some of its leading doctrines. Mr. Hopkins, from regard to his [Edwards's] father, and concern, as well as affection, for the son, invited him to make his house his home for the winter, offering him a room with a fire, and every facility that he could give him in the pursuit of his studies; and, as a particular motive, mentioned that he had the manuscripts of his father, which he would have opportunity to peruse.

"Young Mr. E., without much persuasion, accepted the offer. He was amiable in his temper, but prompt and self-opinionated. Mr. H. soon put into his hands a manuscript of his father's, maintaining a doctrine which he had controverted. When he had read it, he brought forward objections which he appeared to think conclusive. But Mr. H. attempted to correct his misapprehensions, and to explain and strengthen, by additional proof, the arguments of his father. Young Mr. E. was not convinced, though his zeal was in some measure abated. He retired for reflection and the adjustment of his ideas, expecting to bring new force in the morning. But in the next conversation he became more embarrassed, and found that the subject required a deeper investigation than he had ever paid to it. Under a conviction of his conscience, he became docile as a child, and made rapid proficiency in that belief in doctrines for which he could give a reason." "He ever retained a filial respect and affection for Mr. Hopkins, and contributed to his support when he feared he might be in want, and Mr. H. felt a kind of pride in him as a son. In the hearing of the writer, when some one was highly praising Dr. E., Mr. H. said, 'Me make him,' alluding to an aged Indian minister, who used this expression on hearing a young Indian preacher commended, who was very popular, and who had been brought up under his instruction." *

The second individual on whom Hopkins exerted a formative influence, and through whom he has made a deep impress on the public, is Rev. Dr. Stephen West, the successor of President Edwards at Stockbridge. He was ordained on the 13th day of June, 1759, and "has been heard to acknowledge, that for eight years he attempted to preach a Saviour whom he knew not." † He was a decided opposer of the doctrines which President Edwards had

* "Dr. Edwards was graduated in September, 1765, and after a very short visit at Stockbridge, went the same autumn to Dr. Hopkins's, at Great Barrington, and remained there through the winter, till the next July; and then went to Dr. Bellamy, with whom he remained till October of the same year, when he was licensed by the Litchfield Association." So writes Bellamy's biographer, who has also communicated the following letter of introduction, sent by Hopkins to Bellamy, at the time of young Edwards's going to complete his studies at Bethlem: "July 7, 1766. Sir Edwards [this was the usual designation of the young men studying with Dr. Bellamy and Dr. Hopkins] will, I hope, get a great deal of good at your house. He will take it kindly if you converse with him particularly about his personal religion, and act the part of a father to him, in freely giving him your best counsel and advice. He is, I think, an honest, conscientious lad, and in consequence of my kind treatment of him, he trusts in me as a father. He has a high taste for good speaking, and will be of service to your pupils with respect to this, if you promote the matter. I would humbly propose that every day, or frequently, at least, some time should be spent in *pronouncing*, by reading some book, or their own composition; and let them correct each other, or stand corrected by you." When Samuel Hopkins requests Joseph Bellamy to discipline Jonathan Edwards in elocution, our young ministers may well begin to discipline themselves.

† Dr. Alvan Hyde's Sketches of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of Rev. Stephen West, D. D., p. 9.

advocated; but being inquisitive, critical, studious, he cultivated an intimacy, and sought frequent opportunities for discussion with Hopkins, his clerical neighbor. He first studied the subjects on which he intended to converse, and then visited that neighbor, with a fond expectation of subduing him in the argument. Day after day, however, he rode back discomfited. Still, day after day, he renewed his onset; until, at length, Hopkins made one of his strong appeals to the moral sensibility of West. The appeal was decisive. "Convicted in conscience that he stood as a blind leader of the blind, he [West] was brought to a solemn pause. His solicitude was great, and his compunctions for sin were powerful and indescribable." * Soon, however, he began to see the consistency of doctrines which he had previously imagined to be irreconcilable. He rejoiced in the truth. He changed his style of discourse. A revival of religion followed the change. During his subsequent ministry, his preaching was attended with five other revivals. He admitted to his church five hundred and four apparent Christians, retained for fifty-nine years the pastoral care of an intelligent people, wrote more than three thousand sermons, published nineteen books, and instructed many students in theology. President Kirkland, Dr. Hyde, Dr. Catlin, and Dr. Samuel Spring, were his theological pupils. He was a Coryphæus of Hopkinsianism. As the pastor of Great Barrington exerted a controlling influence over Dr. West, so West had great power over Samuel Spring; and this is the divine who accomplished more than any one man for the establishment of Andover Theological Seminary.

Dr. Spring, however, pursued his theological studies not altogether with Dr. West, but partly also with Dr. Hopkins himself; and, according to one account, with Dr. Bellamy and Dr. Witherspoon likewise. He was a profound admirer of Hopkins, paid frequent and reverential visits to him as long as he lived, was related to him by marriage, and received from him in personal intercourse, as well as through the medium of Dr. West, that influence which he intended to transfuse, as far as the moderate Calvinists who formed a "union" with him would allow, into his cherished seminary. Here is another point of indirect communication between Hopkins and a seminary which began its existence nearly five years after his death.†

A third individual, over whom the minister of Great Barrington exercised a decisive influence, was Rev. David Sanford, of Medway, Massachusetts. This gentleman "had at an early age received a

* Dr. Hyde's Sketches of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of Dr. West, pp. 7, 8.

† Dr. Patten gives an account of Hopkins's agency in transforming the life of West; but the fullest account is given in Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, pp. 46–52. See also the Sketches of the Life, Ministry, and Writings of Dr. West, by Rev. Dr. Alvan Hyde, of Lee, Massachusetts. When it is said that West and Spring were Hopkinsians, it is meant that they were Hopkinsians of the Emmons type.

liberal education. The intention of his parents was, to prepare him for the ministry; but being destitute of religion when he arrived at manhood, his attention was directed to agriculture. As a farmer, he was located in the town of which Mr. Hopkins was the minister. They married sisters. But although thus nearly related, Mr. Sanford was a bitter opposer of the religion and preaching of his brother Hopkins. To him the preaching of Mr. Hopkins appeared contemptible and foolish; and on this ground he justified himself in giving only an occasional attendance on his ministry. But although he thus sought to justify his neglect of the instituted means of grace, his conscience was by no means easy. As an evidence of his state of mind at this time, and the rankling opposition of his heart, he afterwards mentioned, that while at work on his farm, on removing a log which had become imbedded in the ground, his attention was directed to a number of [interesting] and to him uncommon animalcules. After observing them for a moment, he thus expressed the rankling feelings of his heart: 'Hopkins says that nothing was made in vain, and for what were you made?' At the same moment crushing them beneath his feet, he continued, 'There, that is what you were made for.' 'Yes,' said a voice within, which spoke the language of conscience, 'they were made to show forth the enmity of your heart against God.'"*

In this state of hostility to his pastor's theological opinions, it became necessary for him to have frequent interviews with Mr. Hopkins, in reference to some property which was to be divided between their respective wives. Mr. Sanford was determined to irritate, if possible, the minister who was so much noted for his equable temper. He longed for one victory over that Christian patience. Aiming at this result, he proposed such a division of the property as was glaringly unjust to Mrs. Hopkins, and he accompanied his proposal with biting raillery and sarcasm. He succeeded in his plot. Hopkins was excited, and, late in the evening, left his brother's house in anger. But he was unused to such irritation. He soon became ashamed of it. He could not sleep at all during the night. The next morning was very cold, but at an early hour Mr. Sanford looked out of his chamber window, and saw the injured man approaching. On entering the house, Mr. Hopkins requested that the family might be called together; and when all were convened, he acknowledged his resentful words during the last evening's interview, implored forgiveness for them, and consented to any reasonable division of the property which his brother might propose. Mr. Sanford was overwhelmed. He knew that he had inveigled the unsuspecting Christian

* Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, p. 41, seq. The remainder of the narrative is taken from Ferguson, Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 50–53, and from the private correspondence of several gentlemen who were familiar with the scene. In substance, all the narratives agree, but differ somewhat in form.

into the resentment of the last evening; he knew that he had given him reason to be indignant; and, although he had felt a transgressor's triumph during the night, he was now assured, by this humble confession, that a pious heart is nobler than worldly tact. He never forgot that morning's visit. He spoke of it till his dying day. Under the influence of it, he became a man of God. His father, (who was a friend of David Brainerd, and named this son in honor of that pious missionary,) had originally designed him for the sacred office, and had once sent him to pursue his theological course with Dr. Bellamy. The son, however, then felt his unfitness for the work, and soon relinquished the preparative study. But now he recommenced the delightful preparation. For thirty-seven years he satisfied and delighted one of the largest churches in Massachusetts. He became a theological author and teacher. He was honored as an instrument of many religious revivals. He has now several descendants in the ministry. He was an intimate friend of Samuel Spring and Nathanael Emmons. The latter divine, unused to extravagant praise, says of him: *

"The Author of nature endowed Mr. Sanford with a rich variety of rare and superior talents. He possessed a quick apprehension, a clear and sound judgment, a lively imagination, and an uncommon knowledge of human nature. These intellectual powers, sanctified by divine grace, fitted him to shine with peculiar lustre in every branch of his ministerial office. But perhaps he appeared to the best advantage as a speaker, for which his body, as well as his mind, was peculiarly formed. He had a piercing eye, a significant countenance, a majestic appearance, and a strong, clear, melodious voice, which he was able to modulate with ease and propriety. I know no man, of any profession, in the circle of my acquaintance, who surpassed him in natural eloquence. He was able to move any passion which he wished to move, whether love or hatred, hope or fear, joy or sorrow. He knew every avenue to the human heart, and could make the deepest impressions upon it."

It was often said, that if Hopkins had possessed the oratorical gifts of his brother-in-law, he would have been another Whitefield. But although destitute of Whitefield's power, Hopkins would have been a benefactor to his race, if he had done no more for them than that which he did through the medium of the eminent divines just named. How few have accomplished more than the younger Edwards in exhibiting the truths of the Bible, free from the admixtures of a false and bewildering metaphysics.

One secret of the power which the subject of this Memoir wielded over his theological adversaries, lay in his general self-possession. When past the age of fourscore years, he confessed to his friend Dr. C. J. Tenney, that in his early life he had found it difficult to

* See Emmons's Works, vol. i. p. 341. A Discourse at the Funeral of Rev. David Sanford, A. M., Medway, who died April 7. 1810, aged 73. See also Dr. Emmons's Discourse at the Funeral of Mrs. Bathsheba Sanford, wife of Rev. D. Sanford, and sister of Mrs. Dr. Hopkins; Works, vol. iii. pp. 9–18.

preserve an even temper; but he added: "For more than thirty years [referring to his interview with Mr. Sanford], I have not felt an angry emotion, nor do I think it probable that I shall ever feel another." It was this command over himself which gave him his command over others. His equanimity qualified him for successful debate. He was wont to hear his opponents patiently, and when they had stated all their objections without being interrupted by him, he would make his calm, but sometimes pithy reply. Dr. West, who knew, for he had keenly felt, the power of Hopkins's logic, makes the following ingenuous, and, in itself, very probable statement: *

"Honored as I was with his friendship, I may be liable to prejudice; but, on long and intimate acquaintance, it has appeared to me that he possessed a *candor of mind* which is rarely to be found. Men of the first abilities and acquirements, like others, are apt to be tenacious of opinions they have once imbibed. Having formed them, as they apprehend, on mature thought and deliberation, they soon become possessed of a prejudice unfavorable to light and evidence which might correct them. Rare it was, that any one was capable of detecting an error in the sentiments of Dr. Hopkins on moral and religious subjects. But he was remarkably open to conviction, whenever evidence was exhibited of the incorrectness of any of his opinions. Truth appeared to be so much the object of his search, that he discovered an unusual readiness to admit it, from whatever quarter it came; and that even though he might find error in himself detected by it. Did we all search the Scriptures without *any* prepossession or prejudice, we should undoubtedly imbibe truth without error. As might be expected with such candor of mind, his manner, in verbal dispute, was unusually mild, fair, and moderate. Far from being overbearing, he ever gave every just advantage to his opponent, patiently hearing whatever he advanced in favor of his opinions, and giving him full opportunity to vindicate them by every argument he thought favorable. And as the Doctor had a happy talent of expressing his own arguments with peculiar perspicuity, by these means he often convinced and gained over his opposers; when, had his manner been austere and overbearing, however conclusive his arguments, the opposite party would have remained unconvinced, and received no benefit. He had a mind peculiarly formed for friendship, and appeared to be indeed the faithful friend. No one entered into greater nearness and intimacy of Christian friendship, or gave, or seemed to enjoy, greater pleasure in the society and friendship of Christians. And his unaffected ease and openness, together with the instructiveness of his conversation, were such as made his company greatly sought, and his friendship highly valued, by the lovers of religion and truth."

It was in view of such facts as those above recited, that Hopkins closed his Autobiography in 1796, with the words of joy:

"I have particular reason to be thankful and rejoice that I have been the means of the conversion of more than one who are now in the ministry, (which they themselves think is a fact,) and of enlightening and removing the prejudices of others, who were before in a great measure blind to those truths which they now see to be evident and important. May I not rejoice in this? And may I not hope 'to rejoice in the day of Christ that I have not run in vain, neither labored in vain?' May God have all the glory. Amen." †

* West's Sketches, etc. pp. xii.–xiv. † Ib. pp. 103, 104.

The influence of Dr. Hopkins on public men has been, of itself, enough to call forth the gratitude of posterity. Many of the most prominent individuals in the early benevolent operations of this century were his pupils or disciples. For instance, on the 28th of May, 1799, thirty-eight men formed the Massachusetts Missionary Society, of whom the greater part were firm Hopkinsians, and the first two names subscribed to the constitution of that society, were David Sanford and Daniel Hopkins. Dr. Emmons was the first, and Dr. Daniel Hopkins was the second president; Dr. Austin was the first secretary of the society. Dr. Emmons was the first preacher before it. Mr. Sanford and Dr. Daniel Hopkins were the first two on the list of trustees. Dr. Emmons, Mr. Sanford, Dr. Daniel Hopkins, and Dr. Spring were the first four on the editorial list of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, a periodical projected by the society in 1802, and in 1808 united with the Panoplist, and in 1817 merged into the Missionary Herald. The object of this society was, "to diffuse the knowledge of the gospel among the *heathens*, as well as other people in the remote parts of our country, where Christ is seldom or never preached." Dr. Samuel Hopkins evinced the liveliest interest in it. His missionary spirit animated his disciples. He manifested this spirit in his intercourse with them, and in his public addresses: see particularly his "Farewell to the World." *

Sect. XVIII. GENERAL INFLUENCE IN THE COMMUNITY.

A parish minister is a city set on a hill. His light radiates over the surrounding vales. While Mr. Hopkins resided in Great Barrington, he gave a decided impulse to the formation of every Congregational church, beginning its existence at that period and in that neighborhood. For a quarter of a century, he did more than all others in establishing the new churches on the right basis, with regard to the Half Way Covenant.† In this particular he "fought a good fight" for modern Christians, some of whom, forgetting the conqueror, rejoice in the victory. He was regarded as a champion for the unpopular doctrine, that persons exhibiting no evidence of a renewed heart should not be admitted to the Lord's supper, and that persons not coming to the Lord's supper should not offer their children for baptism.‡ Having been urged by some of his friends

* It may here be mentioned, by the way, that the American Doctrinal Tract Society, which now publishes Dr. Hopkins's works, was at first formed exclusively by Hopkinsian divines.

† Testimony of Rev. Samuel Shepard, D. D., of Lenox, Massachusetts.

‡ Many clergyman, on ordaining councils, opposed the ordination of any candidate who adopted the Edwardean theory on this subject. Mr. Hopkins was often summoned to contend against them, in behalf of religious liberty. He sometimes came as near

in New Jersey to discourse on this subject in that colony, he writes, December 21, 1764:

"I am not clear that it is worth while or prudent to raise all that fire which will unavoidably be kindled up in the Jersey, for many miles round, both among ministers and people, if I should go and declare and inculcate my sentiments, in the present situation of affairs. Is it not a pity to break in upon that peace and harmony they now enjoy? I am sure, if it may and ought to be done, it is an ungrateful task. I should be stigmatized through all that world, as a *stiff*, rigid, imprudent mischief-maker; and all the ministers would sincerely wish me back to New England, if not to the moon. And what good would be done? The maxim our Saviour acted upon, (John xvi. 12,) is perhaps applicable to this case."

It is obvious, from his correspondence, that he was often consulted by clergymen in New Jersey with regard to their theological interests; and the following letter to Bellamy shows how important his services were regarded by some friends of the college at Princeton:

"Great Barrington, March 25, 1767. I have a number of letters to you from Jersey, which were brought by Mr. Timothy Edwards, [eldest son of the President,] last week. I don't send them with this, because I have no direct and safe opportunity, and because I expect to come myself and see you, the second Monday in April, (if God will.) I have letters from Messrs. Caldwell, McWhorter, Chapman, and Jonathan Edwards, importing that they, with a number of others, are now in high zeal about a professor of divinity at the college; that Mr. ——— is not chosen, nor generally esteemed fit for that place; that no way is yet provided for the support of one; that if they don't get one, and one of the right sort too, and equal to the business, the college will die a natural death; that some of the trustees of principal influence have been consulted, and they manifest an approbation of one of your friends in New England, from what they have heard of him, and encourage that he shall be undoubtedly chosen, if a support for him can be provided by subscription; that a larger subscription can be procured for him, than for any other. Therefore they have sent to him, to know if he will accept, if chosen, and to desire him not to put himself under any engagements inconsistent with this, till they can make a fair trial, which cannot be completed till next fall; to effect which, they now intend to pull every string and turn every stone; the subscription to be but for five or seven years at first, concluding that another can more easily be filled up, if needed, when that term expires, than a longer one can be procured now. They want to know whether 'tis probable any subscriptions for this design can be procured in New England, especially at Boston. And [they] want your judgment, advice, and assistance in the affair. They have engaged the messenger to treat with your friend more

as a man of his habitual tranquillity need come, to a loss of his patience with these men. One of the most impetuous sentences in his correspondence is the following: "July 8, 1756. I value a correspondence and intercourse with you, by writing and conversation, more than ever; as I have lately had an uncomfortable interview with three neighboring, senseless, stupid, wilful, ignorant, blind, illiterate, thoughtless, confident, suspicious, disdainful, —— (forgive me, dear sir; I have a great sense of it.) — He that says, '*I see*,' and yet is blind, has no sort of notion about seeing, and knows not what it means. How great and immovable is that blindness! I pray God to deliver me from such blindness and infatuation! I had need to look to myself, for I am charged with having no thoughts of my own, being wholly ——; with contradicting myself; with being so dark and confused as that I neither know myself, nor can any one else know what I mean or aim at, &c., &c."

particularly on the affair, than they could write; have [written] you on the head, I suppose, and tried to engage the messenger to go to you on his return; but he says he can't. Edwards writes, that all the officers at college are warmly engaged in the affair, &c. They are so sanguine, as to think the fall of the college and of the religious interest of all those provinces turns upon this affair. I write these hints, that your thoughts may perhaps be more ripe upon the head when I shall see you, which I hope will be in less than three weeks from this time. 'Tis thought that the proposed coalescence (perhaps it might be more properly called a *collision*) of the Old side and New, with respect to the college, must and will take place. And I think, if Dr. Witherspoon don't come, (and the Old side will hinder it if they can,) Dr. ——— will be President, and that this is what they are, *at bottom*, driving at. But this is conjecture." *

The name of the individual who was thus proposed for the Professorship of Divinity at Princeton may be easily conjectured. This proposal casts some light upon the statement of Dr. Patten, that after President Edwards's death, in 1758, Mr. Hopkins was named by some as the successor to the Presidency.

"But before the proposition was laid before the Board of Trustees, one of the members was requested to visit Mr. H., that by actual observation he might form an opinion of his qualifications for the office and station. Mr. H. had not the least apprehension of the object of the gentleman in making him a visit; but received him with great courtesy, and entertained him with liberal hospitality, not only according to his custom, but as he considered due to a gentleman of his standing, and a friend of Mr. E. This gentleman, on his return, reported unfavorably to the appointment, and assigned, as a reason, the country style in which Mr. H. lived, and the correspondence of his manners to such a state." †

For this statement, there is now, perhaps, no other authority than that of Dr. Patten; yet the assertion that Hopkins was a candidate for the vacant Presidency may seem not improbable, from the fact that some of the most active men in founding and sustaining the college at New Jersey (as, for instance, Hon. W. P. Smith and Rev. T. Arthur,) were the associates of Hopkins at Yale; and Governor William Livingston, one of its firm friends, was his classmate. The gentleman first appointed to succeed Edwards in the Presidency at Princeton was Rev. James Lockwood, a Connecticut minister, whose tendencies were to the New Divinity. Hopkins was not formed for such an office; but it is grateful to record that the

* After the Professorship of Divinity, spoken of in the text, had been filled by the appointment of Rev. John Blair, of Fogg's Manor, Pennsylvania, Mr. Hopkins continued to manifest the same interest in it. Thus, after having visited Boston, he writes to Dr. Bellamy: "July 23, 1767. Mr. Blair [Rev. Samuel B., pastor of Old South Church, and nephew of the newly-appointed professor] and others are beyond expectation friendly and zealous, with respect to the professorship. Mr. Blair tells me he can easily get thirty pounds sterling *per annum* subscribed in Boston. My friend Mr. P. thinks you ought to go to New York, to forward the matter there." As early as April 5, 1769, there is a record that Mr. William Phillips and his two brothers, of Boston, had subscribed three hundred pounds, *i. e.*, a thousand dollars, for the college at Princeton.

† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 44, 45.

objections against him related not to "the substance of his doctrine," but to the style of his address.

Still, in despite of his inattention to the outward graces, he became the spiritual adviser of multitudes beyond the circle of his own parish. One of the many incidents illustrating the deference which was paid to him by the sex which is ever the quickest to discern spirituality of character, is thus related by Dr. Patten:

"Mr. Hopkins was highly esteemed by many pious persons, [in Boston.] There was a female praying-meeting in the place, which had been long established, and which was in high repute, as consisting of some of the most intelligent, and discreet, and pious women belonging to the church. Of this meeting Mr. H. was appointed chaplain, while residing at Great Barrington. By this office it was expected that he would meet with them, when he came to Boston, and that he would answer by letter, when at home, any question they might transmit to him on the doctrines or prophecies of Scripture, on cases of conscience, or other subjects relating to the kingdom of Christ. His answers, as one who belonged to the society informed the writer, were very instructive and profitable." *

Sect. XIX. MINISTRY AT GREAT BARRINGTON,—ITS TERMINATION AND RESULTS.

Amid the ecclesiastical commotions which followed the revivals under Whitefield, amid the ravages of Indian warfare, amid the distracting influences of a society composed of Dutchmen and Puritans, in a new settlement, Mr. Hopkins found no more trouble than he expected. Any prosaic, straightforward, doctrinal preacher of high Calvinism would have met similar embarrassments.

The town of Great Barrington flourished somewhat during his pastorate. In 1761, it was selected as the seat of justice for Berkshire county, and had become the residence of some eminent civilians. Notwithstanding the modest confessions of Mr. Hopkins, that he had effected no good in his parish, (confessions that have been believed, while the modesty of them has been unhonored, for modesty in this age is a dangerous virtue,) he "admitted to his church, during his ministry, one hundred and sixteen members; seventy-one from the world, forty-five by recommendation from other churches." † This was not a useless ministry. It is often said, however, that his Hopkinsian peculiarities destroyed his influence at Great Barrington, and effected his dismissal from the place. His dismissal was occasioned by a variety of causes; *some* of which would have operated in like manner against the greater part of orthodox teachers at the present day.

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 56, 57. This prayer-meeting, which is still continued, was originated in 1741. Ten or fifteen years afterward, the members of it signed a written covenant, like that of the Osborn prayer-meeting at Newport. This was probably done through Hopkins's influence.

† History of the County of Berkshire, p. 228.

In the first place, a large proportion of his own friends in the parish were poor, and could not contribute much to his support.

Secondly, a large proportion of his townsmen were parsimonious, and would not contribute what they could. "A number," he says,* "turned churchmen, apparently, and some of them professedly, to get rid of paying any thing for the support of the gospel."

Thirdly, some of Mr. Hopkins's parishioners were dissatisfied with the terms of church communion which he enforced, and which are now so commonly sanctioned. A prominent civilian of Stockbridge, who had there opposed Mr. Edwards on the Half Way Covenant, removed afterward to Great Barrington, and transferred his opposition from Mr. Edwards to Mr. Hopkins. Many unconverted parents, particularly among the Dutch, insisted on having their children baptized; and when the number of unchristened children amounted to sixty or thereabouts, an Episcopal clergyman was invited to administer the rite. Here we see another occasion of the Episcopal church, which was formed at Great Barrington, in 1760, and which materially lessened the resources of the old parish.

Fourthly, some of his hearers disliked his frank and honest way of unfolding the doctrines of Calvinism, particularly the doctrine that God decrees all events, sin not excepted.

Mr. Israel Dewey addressed a letter to his pastor, Mr. Hopkins, December 14, 1757, and represented him as having preached one sermon on the text, "The Lord reigneth," &c., and as having asserted "the decrees, the eternal plan, and that nothing could possibly happen but what was right and ought to be rejoiced in, because all was exactly as *God would have it*, even events the most vile and enormous." Mr. Dewey further represents his pastor, Mr. Hopkins, as having preached a second sermon, on "using the world," &c., and as having declared that we abuse the things of the world only when we use them in opposition to "the interest, end, and design for which they were given." Here Mr. Dewey aims to involve his pastor in a dilemma, and says: "If God ordered and appointed all the wickedness that comes to pass among men and devils, then, certainly, it must be allowed that the wickedness of man in abusing the world could not be contrary to the intention, end, and design of God the Giver, but exactly agreeable to the appointment and determination of God." Mr. Hopkins replied to this letter, February 4, 1758; to which reply Dewey rejoins, and represents Mr. Hopkins as having taught that God does, and does not, hate sin infinitely; and that if he did infinitely hate its commission, he would be the most unhappy of all beings. Mr. Dewey infers from his pastor's discourses, that "God and the devil are of one mind, and are united in carrying on that work which God has eternally willed and planned out for him." At length, he concludes his letter by the following significant annunciation: "And now, reverend and dear sir, I would just observe that the plain and manifest design of the Scriptures is to declare against sin. Nor can it be true, that sin should be contrary to God's law, nature, and will, and at the same time be perfectly agreeable to his good will and pleasure, and exactly as he would have it, (as you are pleased to express it.) And now, sir, as you stand in the relation of a pastor to me and mine, and also a teacher, I think it my duty and interest to oppose you, as long as you oppose the truth.

* Sketches, p. 49.

If I live, and you don't dismiss your principles, you may rationally expect I shall oppose you and endeavor your dismission."

Fourteen years after this correspondence, President Stiles writes in his Literary Diary: "Some persons printed Mr. Hopkins's letter in answer to the first of Mr. Dewey. This prompted Mr. Dewey to print both his. I have not seen Mr. Hopkins's letters. He tells me he has them all, and says Mr. Dewey, on a sick bed, seemed to be sorry for his letters; but, recovering to health, returned to his former sentiments again. Ten years after this dispute, Mr. Hopkins asked [his dismissal], and was dismissed. I consider the foundation of it partly laid in this dispute with Dewey." This foundation of it, then, was laid in Calvinism, and not in Hopkinsianism as a distinct and different system; for Calvin makes a hundred assertions like these: "The first man fell, because the Lord determined that he should;" * "I confess that all the children of Adam have fallen by the will of God into this miserable condition in which they are involved; and this is what I said at the first, that we must always return at length to the mere pleasure of the divine will, the cause of which is hidden in himself." †

Fifthly, in addition to the above-named troubles came those of politics. The irritability of feeling which preceded the revolution, was ill fitted to promote the harmony of a parish. Mr. Hopkins was as strong in his Whig principles, as in other things. As early as March 18, 1766, he writes to Dr. Bellamy:

"We have nothing very new this way. Town affairs engross the thoughts of many. The battle is to come on next Monday, they say. If the Tories get the victory, which they are zealous to do, the town will lie in ruins, and I must soon leave preaching here, it is probable. I look on, and wait the event with some degree of calmness, I hope." — The battle came on. The Tories triumphed. But the town meeting was adjudged to be illegal. The General Court ordered another meeting to be held in July. Major Hawley, of Northampton, was to be moderator. "But the Tories are determined to carry the day even then," writes Hopkins, "and are turning every stone, and my friends are ready to give up the case for lost. If they prevail, it seems I have done here. 'The Lord reigns; let the earth rejoice.'"

He writes again, July 26, 1766: "Last week we had a town meeting, which lasted three days. The spirits of each party were raised to a very high degree. In the issue, the Tories carried the day, and have got all town affairs in their hands, just as they had before; with this aggravation, that now they have a vastly higher degree of resentment against me and the party that adheres to me, than before. They say they will withhold a great part of my salary, if not all; and it appears that they intend to get me out of town. Query: Since my salary seems to be the great bone of contention, the strife at bottom being about money, (Who shall have the government of the money voted for preaching? or, in one word, Whether the Dutch, &c., shall pay any part of my salary?) had I not better give my salary up, and, if those who adhere to me will not maintain me by subscription, either leave them or preach *gratis*?" A characteristic proposal from this advocate of disinterested benevolence.

Sixthly, many of his parishioners became *jealous* of Mr. Hopkins, and imagined that he was desirous of leaving them. Their suspicions were inflamed by the fact that he had been invited to preach

* "Lapsus est enim primus homo, quia Dominus ita expedire censuerat." Inst. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii. § 8.

† Inst. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii. § 4.

in several vacant pulpits, and had spent several weeks preaching, with much acceptance, in 1766 and 1767, at Salem, Massachusetts.* He was annoyed by this jealousy; still he assured his people, that he had no wish to forsake them if they would give him an honorable support, (by which he meant about two hundred dollars *per annum*.) Having no wish to "drive a good bargain," he confessed that his pecuniary interests would be better if he continued at Great Barrington than if he left it; and then added, in his frank and blunt way, that if they desired him to preach, they must be more punctual in their attendance upon his ministrations. So many of them lived at a distance from the meeting-house, were unable to own carriages, and were not attracted to walk far over rough roads for the sake of hearing his monotonous tones, that he was often discouraged by his meagre auditories.

Seventhly, the spirit of the town remained, as it was at first, adverse to true religion. A great majority of the pious citizens were his warm friends, but immorality abounded. In 1767, he requested the church to refer the question of his continuance among them to a council. But they refused, for they were resolved to retain him. They adopted various expedients to raise his salary; but after an effort of two years, they despaired, and then united with their despondent pastor in the summoning of a council. He writes to his confidential friend Bellamy:

"December 20, 1768–9. I have but a minute, just to inform [you] that last evening this church agreed to call a council, to sit here on the third Wednesday of January next, to advise whether it is expedient for me to continue here, as circumstances are, or be dismissed. The members of the council are to be Dr. Bellamy, Messrs. Brinsmade, Farrand, West, Collins, and the messengers the churches shall send with them. The church have appeared as forward to take this step as myself, and have led the way in advising to it; and they generally have higher expectations of my dismission, I believe, than I have, — wholly grounded in want of support. And now, sir, I hope you will be willing to go through some difficulty to assist your friend and a poor people."

On the day appointed, (January 18, 1769,) the council met, and advised, in a style very laudatory of Dr. Hopkins, that the connection between the discouraged pastor and the afflicted church be dissolved. He had been the minister over that people twenty-five years and twenty-one days. This fact attests his perseverance; for even at this late day, not one of his successors at Great Barrington has

* In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 7, 1766, Mr. Hopkins writes: "The people [of Salem] urged me to stay another Sabbath, and tried to get encouragement that I would come and settle there. The congregation is pretty large, and they say, the only one in town that receives and will bear sound doctrine; that 'tis of the greatest importance they should have a man who is able to defend the doctrines of the gospel, &c.; and they choose to settle, *not* a young man, but one whose character is established and known. I gave them no encouragement." He did not believe that the people would endure his preaching when they fully understood it. "Besides," he adds, "baptism would probably be an insuperable difficulty. — Great Barrington seems to be the place for me."

remained there so long. Indeed, there was no pastor over that church for eighteen years after Mr. Hopkins left it. His departure let in evils, which his presence had kept out. After the war of the revolution, in 1787, a minister was stationed there, but he remained only three years, when the flock was again left without a shepherd for sixteen years. In 1798, President Dwight visited the place, and remarked:* "It is probable that there has been more horse-racing in these two towns [Great Barrington and Sheffield] than in all the State of Massachusetts beside." Twenty-five years after his dismission, Mr. Hopkins visited Great Barrington, with his friend Dr. Patten, who thus describes the town:†

"The people were without a minister, nor was there any convenient place in which to assemble for public worship. Dr. H. inquired if his former meeting-house could not be fitted for the purpose for one Sabbath; but it was found to be impracticable, as the windows were broken, the door had fallen down, and the floor had long been occupied by sheep, who resorted to it from the common at night, and in storms. It was further said, that if a meeting should be appointed any where else, there would be but little interest taken in it; but few would attend. It was common for those who regarded the Sabbath and public ordinances to go to other towns to enjoy them; while others devoted the day to visiting, to sitting in taverns, to horse-racing, and other amusements; and Mr. Hopkins supposed they expended much more in these ways, and the consequent dissipation and extravagance, than would be necessary for the support of the gospel ministry among them."

In his seventy-fifth year, looking back upon his dismissal, which occurred in his forty-eighth year, this advocate for disinterested benevolence expresses himself thus:‡

"I then had a wife and eight children, and owned a house and good farm, and could, by leaving my study and attending to my farm, have supported myself and family, and continued to preach to those who would come to hear me, after a sort, with little study. But I then thought, and it was the judgment of the council, and of the church, that as I could not be supported there, so as to be able to give myself wholly to the work of the ministry, and pursue my studies without any great interruption from worldly cares and labor, it was my duty to leave them, and go where I could be supported. And if no such place presented, I could, by turning my attention to farming, support myself. But since I have seen the unhappy consequences to that people of my leaving them, many of which might probably have been prevented by my staying with them, though I had studied but little, and spent great part of my time in attention to my worldly concerns, I have sometimes been ready to call in question the reasonableness of that conclusion, and have thought it probable we were all wrong in judging as we did, and that it was my duty to stay with that people in those circumstances. It is certain this would have been greatly to my *worldly* advantage. But I then thought I did right, and took the most prudent and proper steps, in taking the advice of a council."

Could the good man arise from his grave, and look out upon the beautiful villages and the enterprising population which now dis-

* Dwight's Travels, vol. ii. p. 379.
† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 55, 56.
‡ Sketches, pp. 49, 50.

tinguish that romantic town, he would rejoice that he once struggled there against the obstacles to its civilization, and prayed there for the children and children's children of the pioneers who subdued its wild forests.

Sect. XX. DEPTH OF MR. HOPKINS'S RELIGIOUS FEELINGS DURING AND AFTER HIS RESIDENCE AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

In his thirty-third year, December 26, 1753, the good man writes:

"I have lately had distressing apprehensions of the badness of my state, being ready to conclude that such a sinner as I am cannot possibly have any grace. This evening my spirit labored under an unsupportable load of sin, and my spirits were drunk up with anguish. As soon as I could, I shut myself up in my study, and fell upon my knees before God.

"And first, I felt and told God that I had nowhere else to go but to him, though I had sinned so greatly against him. I felt and expressed the extreme folly of forsaking him, — that it was beyond all conception. I reflected on the aggravations of my sins, and saw they were so vastly multiplied and numerous, that it was impossible my mind should ever have a full view of them, or be able to reckon them; yea, that there was not one aggravation but what exceeded all my thoughts and conceptions. I thought it a wonder that I was not in hell, and confessed that God might justly send me there immediately; yea, he might justly do what was unspeakably more dreadful, viz., continue me in the world till I had filled up the dreadful measure of my iniquities, and become a great and remarkable vessel of wrath, fitted for that destruction for which I was before appointed, that I might sink down unspeakably below *Judas*, and bear a more awful weight of wrath than any other who should go to hell.

"Under these shocking apprehensions of the weight of wrath which belonged to me, it came into my mind that Christ could save from all this; he could deliver from such a weighty wrath.

"Immediately upon which, my soul applied to him for help, and this was the language of my heart: 'Lord Jesus, I come, I come, I come to thee; I come for deliverance from this distinguished place in hell, this uncommon weight of wrath.' I thought I might hope in him for deliverance, though others went to hell, whose sins were unspeakably less than mine; and the truth contained in those words, '*I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy*,' seemed sweet and wonderful. I felt confounded, and my soul was filled with blushing and shame, saying from my heart, 'Righteousness belongeth unto thee, O Lord, but unto me shame and confusion of face, because I have sinned.' In the conclusion of my petitions, when I mentioned Christ as the person in whose name I presented myself and offering, I felt that he was the only Saviour, and ground of hope for sinners. Had it not been for him, the least sin must have damned infallibly; and it seemed wonderful, even that the least sinner, and especially such a sinner as I was, might have hope. When I came to conclude my devotions with ascriptions of praise to God, my heart dwelt upon this, and I longed that the angels might praise God. I saw that God could glorify himself by saving me, but the tribute of praise which I could offer was mean and inconsiderable. I wanted to lisp out his praise in some humble place. I rose from my knees, lightened and comforted; all nature put on a more pleasant aspect, and those words, 'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy,' dwelt on my heart with pleasure and delight."

In his forty-eighth year, a few months after leaving Great Barrington, he writes:

"Monday, June 12, 1769. Spent Saturday in fasting and prayer; had a variety of exercises, more strong than common; was in tears great part of the day, so that I was obliged to shut myself up, not fit to be seen. If ever I knew what it was to cast myself upon Christ, I did so now. Sovereign grace was all my plea and all my hope. I had unspeakable pleasure in thinking that in me there was a proper foundation for the *greatest* exercise and display of sovereign grace, even in my infinite, distinguished guilt, vileness, and misery; this afforded opportunity for the exercise of divine power, wisdom, and goodness, in all their infinite height and latitude; that in *me*, there was a *broad bottom* for the trial of divine grace, on which it may have full scope, as it were, and erect the greatest monument to the praise of the glory of God's grace to all eternity! My soul seemed to rejoice and exult in this, more, unspeakably more than in my own salvation, considered as separate from this. Yea, the latter was as nothing, of no account, and not worth asking for, in comparison with the former, or aside from that.

"My exercises were uncommon and remarkable in one respect, viz., in the quick succession of light and joy, and dejection and gloom. I was sometimes lifted up, and then soon cast down, and my exercises, as it were, obliterated.

"The chief things I proposed to seek God for to-day, were, first, his direction and smiles, with regard to my future circumstances and usefulness in the world; with respect to which I have had a variety of exercises, which would fill a volume were they all recorded; secondly, for my Christian friends; thirdly, for the church of Christ, &c.

"This morning, awoke with the words of Christ in my mind, 'He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him and will manifest myself unto him.' I seemed to long to keep Christ's commandments, and thought the great one was to *love one another*. This led me, when I was up, to read the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of John. And O, how full of sweet instruction are they! There is an additional, inexpressible sweetness in the Bible, now, which I never tasted before.

"Saturday morning, July 1. Purpose to spend this day in fasting and prayer. The day is to be spent in the following manner: 1. In attending to my sins, and confessing them before God; 2. In praying for pardon and holiness; 3. That God would make the path of duty plain before me, form me for his service, and improve me in it; 4. In seeking mercies for my wife and children; 5. Praying for direction and assistance while with this people, that some good may be done here; 6. For my Christian friends and kind benefactors; 7. For the church of Christ in general, and for the world of mankind. — Close the day with thanksgiving.

"When I first rose this morning, read the seventy-first Psalm, with some exercises of heart and pleasure. Many passages in it seemed applicable to my circumstances, and I thought I could make them the language of my own heart. The imprecations on enemies (verses 13, 24,) I could apply to invisible enemies; the devils, and wicked men, considered as enemies to me, because enemies to Christ, and so far as they are such, they may be consumed and destroyed. This is consistent with their being converted and saved.

"'Their feet are swift to shed blood, but how to do good they know not.' This is the very character that I have been of, all my days. All sin of omission or commission is shedding blood; it is mischief, it is murder. In all my connections, I have been constantly guilty of omitting something which I ought to have done for their good, or doing something which tended to their hurt. I have missed ten thousand opportunities to do good, and have not seen them till they were past, through the stupidity and wickedness of my heart. If I have ever desired to do any good, it has been the effect of sovereign grace.

"I have been longing to get rid of sin. The thought of living as I have is dreadful. In this sense, I groan, being burdened!

"July 5. I have had a sweet hour between nine and ten. Surely, if the highest enjoyments on earth were all laid at my feet, to have them to all eter-

nity without God, I would not give this hour's enjoyment for them all. Yea, I would despise them. 'It is good for me to draw near to God.' How swift and how sweetly do ideas pass the mind, when it is in any measure in a right frame! It is impossible to express all the thoughts and ideas which have passed my mind in this hour on my knees before God. 'There is none on earth that I desire *besides thee*,' were words to which my soul did echo, and which I could espouse with all my heart. *Besides thee*, that is, aside from thee, or without thee, and not in union with thee. I concluded with a solemn and I hope *hearty* dedication of myself to God, believing that he could, and in a degree of confidence that he would, do more than I am able to ask, or conceive.

"July 6. Rose early this morning, and O, astonishing that I may say it! have had a gracious and most sweet visit from God. When I first attempted to bow before God, I felt myself, all at once, in the presence of the all-seeing, infinitely wise, good, and every way most excellent and glorious God, who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working. My soul adored, and loved, and rejoiced in him. My soul was drawn out in strong and sweet exercises of love and praise, in a view of what God is in himself, and as manifested in his works. My soul would praise God, let him do what he would with me. I said, I will praise thee as long as I live, and bless thy name while I have a being. O, how did my heart rejoice and exult that there is *such a God!* Words cannot utter it, nor can I write a thousandth part of my exercises. It appeared something wonderfully great, and inexpressibly desirable, to be the instrument of bringing but one soul to the knowledge of this glorious God — of turning men from darkness to this marvellous light.

"This morning I have been led to view and address God, considered in his absolute, divine perfection, and address him in and through Christ, more than is common for me. I generally, when I have the greatest freedom at the throne of grace, speak directly to Christ, as if he was, in a sense, the only object of worship, being God, and having all power in heaven and earth; but now it was otherwise.

"I have sometimes been troubled about this matter, and feared I had no right ideas of the Father and the Son, of God and Christ, as I seemed not to know how to conceive of them, and address them in my devotions. And [I] have been hence led to ask, that I might know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent; might have ideas and conceptions of the glorious God and Saviour, agreeable and answerable to the revelation he has made of himself. I have been more satisfied about it this morning. I now believe that Christians may have different views with respect to this, and yet all be right. Sometimes their minds may be fixed on Christ, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead, and he may be more immediately the object of their adoration and worship, addressing him more directly, in which he is considered as set up by the Father, and invested with all authority, and so comprehending *all that is called God.* At other times, they may have their minds more especially fixed on the divine perfections, more absolutely considered, yet not exclusively of Christ the Mediator, and so more directly address God over all, blessed forever, as exercising mercy through a Mediator. And I believe different Christians may, in a stated way, differ in this respect in their view and addresses, and so be naturally led to talk of their exercises in a little different language; some speaking more of God, others more of Christ. Our ideas are very scant at best, and we see but by parts and in a very partial manner. Hence, when we view God in one attitude, if I may so express it, his other relations and attitudes are more out of sight, and less attended to. Yet when all our ideas and views are compared together, they are perfectly uniform and consistent, however various and different they may be.

"Three o'clock. Have had a sweet time in a walk in the woods [in Topsham, Maine]. Had more hope and confidence before God that I should dwell with him forever in his kingdom, than I ever had before. Christ appeared great and glorious in redeeming his people from all iniquity, and even in

redeeming one such soul as mine. I said, 'I will praise thee forever;' but this tribute appeared nothing. Then I said, 'Let all the angels praise thee for thy wonderful works to me.' But this also appeared to be little, which led me to say, 'Glorify thyself.'

"Saturday, September 30. Have been reading the twenty-fifth Psalm, with application to myself. Have particularly attended to the seventh verse, where the Psalmist desires that God would give what he asks for, *for his goodness' sake*, that is, for the sake of the display of his goodness, as there must be a great and wonderful exercise and display of it in showing mercy to him who was so sinful, unworthy, and ill-deserving. This has been often my only refuge and plea. God shows mercy, *for his goodness' sake*. This is a reason, then, why he should show mercy to me; for his own goodness cannot be more displayed and honored than in his being good to *me*. Blessed be God for this plea. I can now say, 'Pardon mine iniquity, *for it is great*.'

"November 10. Had a pleasant season this morning, soon after I rose. It began with desires after the Holy Spirit. I saw this was all I wanted, all I could ask for, and pleaded the promise, 'Ask, and ye shall receive.' These words of Christ were on my mind, 'He that forsaketh house, or lands,' &c., &c. I thought I had a heart to do this, and blessed Christ that he had given such a heart, as the greatest possible gift, infinitely greater than to have the whole world bestowed on me. I know I ought to be willing to suffer and die in the cause of truth. O that Christ would give me such a heart!

"January 6, 1770. I have been walking in a ropewalk [at Newport, Rhode Island] by myself. There I dedicated myself to Jesus Christ, with strength of heart and with unspeakable joy. I felt it to be an amazing privilege that I might be devoted to him, and that he would accept such an offering. I felt that I was under infinite obligations to this, and that the obligation is every way unbounded, and that there is a peculiar happiness in being thus obliged to him.

"I have promised that, by his grace, I never will recall this dedication of myself to him, praying him to subdue every thing in my heart that opposes this consecration, and that he would cause it to rise higher and higher continually.

"Saturday, near sunset, January 13. Have had some sense of God's mercies to-day, and some disposition to praise him for his wonderful goodness. I have had a degree of confidence that I am devoted to God. I cast myself, and all my concerns, the concerns of the church and the world, on him, with some degree of sensible resignation and cheerfulness. Have had more strong desires than ever for the good of the congregation I am preaching to, and have been enabled to plead for it with God. My mouth has been filled with arguments, and [I] have had strong desires to be the instrument of building of it up.

"Monday morning, four o'clock. Have been worried about my preaching yesterday. I believe it was the truth, but perhaps I had better not have preached it then; but I suspect the devil has a hand in my uneasiness and perplexity. O that Christ would deliver me from this roaring lion, and baffle and confound him! I know he will, and that however imprudent I am, and whatever advantage the devil gets by it at present, it shall all turn against him at last, and he shall be most effectually disappointed and confounded. This is some comfort to me, I think; but it is unspeakably dreadful to me, to think of giving him advantage by my imprudence and sin. O Lord, in thy righteousness deliver me from this subtle, powerful, cruel, unjust, injurious foe! He has no right to seek my ruin or the ruin of others. So far as I am against him and desire to oppose him, and sincerely cry to thee for deliverance, and his overthrow, I am in a *righteous cause*. O, deliver me in thy righteousness. Let him be blasted forever.

"Saturday evening, February 10. Have had freedom in thought and prayer. Have been enabled to cast all my cares and burdens on God, as an infinitely full fountain, and the portion which my soul desires. I have some-

times seemed to have nothing to pray for; every thing is right, and just as I should desire to have it be. So long as Christ reigns and has every thing in his hands, I seem to have nothing to do but praise.

"It seems to me I have some higher sense of what is meant by *living by faith on the Son of God*, than I used to have. It is to make Christ ALL, to seek him for *every thing*, and live entirely on his expense and charges, having nothing of our own but emptiness and poverty."

SECT. XXI. SECOND CANDIDATESHIP.

We are now to turn over a new leaf in the history of Mr. Hopkins. One half of his ministerial life has passed away; the more eventful half is yet to come. When dismissed from Great Barrington, he doubted whether he should ever again become the pastor of a church. He was engaged in writing a work for the press; and, spending the week at home, was accustomed to ride twelve miles every Saturday, to North Canaan, and after preaching there on the Sabbath, return home on Monday morning. In the ensuing April and May, (1769,) he preached several Sabbaths at the Old South meeting-house, in Boston. Many of the most earnest Christians in that church desired that he should be installed over it * as a colleague with the venerable Dr. Sewall; but the more popular members of the congregation frowned on the movement and checked it. He was then invited to Topsham, Maine, where he preached to a Presbyterian society, from the early part of June to the early part of July. He was strongly urged to remain there, and assured that he would receive a unanimous call. From Topsham, he was invited to Newport, Rhode Island. He arrived at that town, July 21, 1769, and preached his first sermon there, July 23. Having been heard five Sabbaths, he received a call to settle over the First Congregational Church and Society in that town. Seven members of the church voted in his favor, three voted against him, and two voted neither way. He took the call into consideration, returned home, and after several weeks went back to Newport with a purpose to comply with the desires of the church. He had become strongly attached to its members. But a change had come over the people. A sarcastic pamphlet had been circulated against him, and a committee of the church now requested him to withhold his answer to their call, to continue his ministerial labors among them, and wait in hope that the prejudices excited by the pamphlet might subside. He yielded to the wish of his friends, and as the day for the decisive vote drew near, he makes the following records:

"Saturday, March 3, 1770. I think I have given up every point but this, viz., that the path of duty may be made plain. If I have a call to leave New-

* He had been somewhat intimate with Rev. Mr. Cumming, a former pastor of the Old South, and with some wealthy individuals in the church.

port, and shall see it to be so, I think I can cheerfully go forth, not knowing whither I am to go. And I have a pleasing hope and confidence that the way will be made plain. Why should I not trust in that God for this, who has hitherto led me in a *plain path*, especially ever since I have had a heart to seek this in a more particular manner, making it my great petition, not caring so much what God called me to, if his call might be made clear and plain?

"God's goodness has been increasing upon me continually, and I will hope in him, for I shall yet praise him. I will now praise him for all his wonderful goodness to me, which is indeed beyond all account. God has forgiven me from my youth unto this day, and why may I not trust in him now? By his grace I will; on him I cast myself; on him I rely for pardoning and upholding mercy.

"Lord's Day evening, March 4. Had some uncommon exercises this morning. I longed to be improved in the work of the ministry, that Christ would be with me and make me a blessing. I offered myself, desiring that he would send me, since he had so much work to do in the world, and since he must employ unworthy, guilty sinners. I offered myself as such an one; and since he glorified himself in improving such, the more unworthy and vile, the more he would be glorified. I therefore made this an argument that I might be improved, as I was the most guilty and vile that could be found.

"March 7. Feel calm, resigned, and in some degree thankful. O, what consolation is it that God reigns, and will take the best care of his own honor and interest! And what an infinite mercy that I may hope and be confident that *this God* is my God and Redeemer!"

On Monday, March 12, the congregation met; and after having heard him nearly eight months, decided by a vote of thirty-six to thirty-three that they did not wish his services as their pastor. His opposers had circulated a paper for signatures against him, and by dint of personal address had secured a majority against his settlement. His friends were surprised and grieved.

"When this vote was communicated to him," says Dr. Patten,* "he inquired if the society had any supply engaged for the pulpit, the following Sabbath. On their answering, 'No,' he further inquired, as he could not reach home that week, whether the prejudices of the people were such that they would not be willing to hear him preach. They replied, 'O no; there is no such prejudice against you as that; they will be pleased to hear you.' The writer has seen, in manuscript, the sermon delivered in the afternoon on that occasion. It was appropriate as a valedictory discourse. It was expressive of no irritation; it manifested by implication no desire to have the call renewed. It appeared to be his great solicitude to guard the people from prejudice against the truth, and, in this light, against him as a minister of the truth. He said that he 'held no doctrines, the substance of which he had not preached to them before they gave him a call; that it was his object, by study of the Scriptures and by prayer, to ascertain the truth, and thus to preach no doctrine to which any one could object without objecting to the word of God.'"

He preached this sermon, March 18, and at the same time communicated to the church his letter declining the call which he had received from them on the 21st of the preceding August. He then expected to return home during that very week, and to "live a private life on his farm."

* Reminiscences, pp. 59–61.

"But," he says,* "the congregation appeared attentive and solemn, [during my farewell discourse,] and numbers were observed to weep. The next morning, [March 19,] it was reported, where I lodged, that there appeared to be a revolution in the congregation; that several of the leaders in the opposition to me appeared to repent of what they had done, and said that their consciences accused them so severely of their wickedness in what they had done, that they had little or no sleep during the night, and were now determined to do all they could to prevent my leaving them. And, accordingly, they went to those whom they had influenced to subscribe against my staying, to persuade them to retract. And that evening, two or three of those who had been at the head of the opposition to me came to me, and confessed they had opposed my settling in the congregation, and influenced as many as they could against me. But now [they] were convinced they had done wrong, and had taken pains to undo what they had done, and persuade those whom they had influenced to appear against my settling among them, to alter their sentiments and conduct; that they now sincerely desired that I would stay and be their minister, &c. And I was at the same time informed that a number of the congregation, who had been in a great degree indifferent with regard to my staying or going away, now appeared to be aroused and engaged in favor of my staying, and said they would do all in their power to prevent my leaving them. The next day, the committee of the congregation applied to me, and said that it appeared that those who had been in opposition to my settlement among them had retracted, and were now desirous that I would stay with them; at least, this was true of the most of them. And they believed, if the church and congregation were now to meet, they would be unanimous, or nearly so, in renewing their former invitation to me to settle with them in the ministry. They therefore desired me to stay till the church and congregation could be called together, and renew their call, if they should appear, when met, disposed to do it. I consented to this, and in the beginning of the next week, [March 26, 1770,] the church and congregation met, and renewed their invitation to me to settle in the ministry with them. In this they were almost unanimous; but two or three of the congregation dissented, who had little or no influence in the congregation. And two or three of the church chose to be neuters, and vote neither for nor against it."

This is but one of many instances in which there seems to have been a real eloquence in the homely words of Mr. Hopkins. On the following day, he writes in his Journal:

"March 19. This day I had news brought me that three men, who had been most steady in opposing me, declared last evening that they were sorry they had opposed me, and they were now desirous that I would stay and settle with them. They were brought to this by my farewell sermon. It is said this sermon has had greater effect than all my preaching before. Some who have thought it not best for me to stay, now appear zealous for my staying. This is all wonderful. I desire to stand still and see the hand, the salvation of God! How greatly are my obligations increased to trust in God, to live to him, and follow him in the dark! What matter for praise and gratitude!

"March 21. My mind has been full of comfort and joy this morning. Have had unspeakably sweet exercises, more than can be mentioned. The success of my preaching last Sabbath is an instance of God's goodness, beyond any thing of the kind I ever experienced before. The walls of Jericho are fallen down by the blowing of rams' horns.

"Friday, March 23. The amazing instance of last Sabbath dwells on my mind, though I fear it will not be improved by me as it ought. When the walls of Jericho fell flat before the people of Israel, an accursed thing was

* Autobiography, pp. 72–74.

soon found in the camp. All was not dedicated to the Lord, and he was displeased. How justly displeased may he be, if this remarkable interposition of Divine Providence should not be all consecrated to his praise and honor! O Lord, keep me back from coveting any thing of the spoils of this victory to myself, to be improved in the gratification of my pride and worldliness. This I am in the utmost danger of, and shall do worse than Achan did, unless the Lord hold me back. O, may all be consecrated to thy glory."

Speaking of his installation, he says, after the lapse of a quarter of a century:*

"This event appeared to give satisfaction to all. And it was a time of peculiar gratitude and joy to my Christian friends, of whom there was a considerable number who had steadily adhered to me from my first acquaintance with them. And their pious affections, gratitude, and joy were greatly heightened, by the dark and trying scene which preceded, in my being apparently rejected by the congregation, and consequently determined to leave them; and the remarkable manner in which a revolution took place in favor of my staying, in which the hand of God was so conspicuous. And it was a peculiar satisfaction to me, that God had in such a manner opened the way for my settling here, and made the way of duty so plain, and that such a number of very dear and excellent Christian friends were hereby so greatly gratified. And I considered myself to be under new and greater obligations to devote myself to the service of Jesus Christ, and to faithfulness to him and the church and congregation to whom I now stood related as their pastor and minister. And now with shame I reflect upon my great deficiency. I said I would be wise, but it has been far from me! O Lord, enter not into judgment with me, for I cannot stand, or answer. I fly to pardoning mercy, through the atonement of Christ, as my only refuge."

Sect. XXII. CONNECTION OF MR. HOPKINS WITH DR. EZRA STILES, HIS CLERICAL NEIGHBOR AT NEWPORT.

Both of the above-named gentlemen exhibited the most interesting traits of their character in their intercourse with each other. President Stiles had been pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Newport nearly fifteen years when Mr. Hopkins was installed over the First; and he remained more than six years a colaborer with that self-denying divine. He was a man of extensive learning† and of a transparent honesty. He was a moderate Calvinist, and would not hesitate to express his disapprobation of any man, who "was so very Orthodox as to be a little inclined to the New Divinity." His church had not been separated from the First on account of doctrinal differences, but still was less strict and severe than the First, both in its theology and its religious life. It contained more of the aristocratic and less of the Puritan element. It was more noted for general intelligence, but less for theological information. President Stiles was not at all in favor of Mr. Hopkins's settlement over the First Church. In his Literary Diary he

* Sketches, pp. 74, 75.

† "This country has not, perhaps, produced a more learned man." — Dr. W. E. Channing, Works, vol. iv. p. 340.

gives a less favorable, and, we have reason to believe, a less accurate account than that which all other writers have given, of the changes effected by the "Farewell Sermon." He says that "no alteration was made in more than seven men" by that sermon. "Mrs. Osborn and the sorority of her meeting are violently engaged, and had great influence. They and the two deacons, and two thirds of [the] church were warmly engaged for Mr. Hopkins."

It is interesting to read that Dr. Stiles's church had some queries with regard to the propriety of installing Samuel Hopkins as a minister of the gospel! There has certainly been some progress within the last seventy years! Dr. Stiles writes in his Church Records:

"It having been suggested as Mr. Hopkins's opinion, that it was not the duty of the unregenerate to use the means of grace, their guilt being increased, the more light they resisted, under even the highest convictions, the church insisted, and unanimously charged us in council, to know from Mr. Hopkins whether he held that it was a sin for the unregenerate to use the means of grace. And in case it was his principle, they desired the pastor not to proceed nor assist in his instalment. Accordingly, when the council met, this was agitated; and, after some discourse, Mr. Hopkins declared, before the council, 'that it was the duty of the unregenerate to pray to God, to read the Scriptures, attend public worship, and, in general, to use all the means of grace.' This was to the satisfaction of the council, Mr. Hopkins being of good moral character."

Dr. Stiles was the scribe of the council, and thus describes the manner of the instalment:

"Repairing to the meeting-house about eleven [o'clock,] A. M., [April 11, 1770,] where was a large assembly, Mr. Campbell opened the solemnity with prayer; then I preached from John xviii. 3: 'This is life eternal,' &c. Then I read the result publicly, with the votes of the church and of the congregation. Then I turned to the brethren of the church, (who sat together in a body by themselves,) and put it to vote, whether they now continued to call, &c. Then I turned to Mr. Hopkins for his answer of acceptance; which being done, I retired from the desk, and Mr. Ellis ascended it and prayed; and after prayer, he turned to Mr. Hopkins, the pastor elect, and addressed him with a charge, which was done without imposition of hands, (as he had been once ordained,) so that the design of this was only to give him the pastoral charge of this flock. Then Mr. [Levi] Hart gave him the right hand of fellowship, and made the concluding prayer. Then Mr. Hopkins gave the Psalm, and dismissed the assembly with a blessing."

At the time of Hopkins's installation, Dr. Stiles was at the height of his intimacy with the Jewish Rabbies and other *literati*, at Newport. This is very obvious in his installation discourse. Its theme was, "Saving Knowledge." It abounds with Latin and Greek sentences from the fathers, with biblical quotations also, in the original Hebrew, to some of which are appended Latin translations; with references to Selden, Croijus, Le Clerc, Basnage, Monis, Simeon ben Johauy, Zeno, Plato, Parmenides, etc. He seemed to think it fitting, that the sermon at *Hopkins's* installation should have a marked

character. The following are a few of his sentences on the "Trinity in Unity," and they must have caused a peculiar expression of countenance in the pastor elect:

"To adduce a few passages. Isaiah xli. 4, *Ani Jehovah rashon vat acharonimani hu.* Here is *acharonim* plural predicated of *I*, oneness, repeated unity — *I am he* — and yet this *I am he* is the *first and last Gods*, or pluralities. Again, Jeremiah xxiii. 36; Joshua xxiv. 19; Isaiah xxxvii. 16; Jeremiah x. 10; as also Deuteronomy iv. 35; 2 Samuel vii. 26; Amos iii. 13; Hosea xii. 5; Malachi i. 9, — *im adonim ani*, (*si Domini ego*,) *If I am your Lords.* Deuteronomy xi. 4, *Jehovah elohinu Jehovah ahaud*, (*Jehovah dii nostri Jehovah unus*); *Jehovah our Gods is the one Jehovah*, or, *There is but one self-existent being.* I think every one, who understands these passages in the original, must see PLURALITY IN UNITY; that in Jehovah there are *Elohim, Gods*; and yet that they all make *He* singular or unity; for Moses expressly asserts Jehovah is a most absolute unity, — a unity to which no other unity bears any resemblance; agreeable to Rabbi Moses ben Maimon and the Igdal, *ahaud vain jachid kajichudo*, (*unus nec unitas similis unitati suæ.*) Now this plurality in the divine essence is the only thing (under a numeral idea) which distinguishes it from other unities. All unities are alike, *except that of God.* Rabbi Akiba, ix. Mishna, says, *Chajim Elohim ruach ahaut*, (*unus est spiritus Deorum viventium*)." *

In one of his learned notes to this discourse, p. 18, Dr. Stiles recommends to young clergymen the study of the Platonic writers and of the Rabbinical literature. So different was he in his mental texture from his new co-laborer. † His friendships, too, were by no means the same with the friendships of his "new-divinity colleague." He was intimate with Dr. Dana, of New Haven, Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, and Rev. William Hart, the author of the pamphlet which delayed Mr. Hopkins's settlement at Newport. Can we wonder, then, that he recoiled from being shut up on an island with the ablest living champion of the Edwardean theology? — Still, both Dr. Stiles and his new neighbor were sensible men, and did not press their speculative differences into social life. It has been said by Dr. Channing, ‡ that they "held no ministerial intercourse" with each other. This were sad, if true. But President Stiles writes in his Church Records, that he exchanged with Mr. Hopkins on the Sabbath preceding the installation of the latter. He afterwards alludes to frequent instances of the like fellowship. After he became President of Yale College, he went to Newport often, and, in his Literary Diary, thus notices his visits:

"October 1, 1780. Attended and heard Mr. Hopkins in the Sabbatarian meeting-house, who administered the sacrament to about thirty communicants, when I partook. — P. M. I preached [from] Rom. xii. 2, my congregation

* Inst. Sermon, pp. 13, 14.

† Still, our metaphysical divine caught some Hebraistic inspiration from Dr. Stiles; for in less than three months after this "instalment sermon," Hopkins writes to Bellamy: "My friends in Boston are ready liberally to contribute for the support of a *student of Hebrew*, if a proper person could be found."

‡ Works, vol. iv. p. 350.

attending." [The two congregations worshipped together for a time after the revolutionary army left Newport.]

"September 29, 1782. Lord's Day, at Newport. Preached all day to my dear flock in the Sabbatarian meeting-house. I notified a sacramental lecture at Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house, he expecting to be absent, and proposing and desiring that the two churches should unite in communion together."

"October 3. I preached a sacramental lecture."

"October 6. I preached all day at Mr. Hopkins's meeting, and administered the sacrament to both churches, united on the occasion, and for the first time," [i. e. the churches, although worshipping together, had not previously communed together.]

In his Memoir of Stiles, Dr. Holmes writes:* "Dr. Hopkins held a stated evening lecture every week, which Dr. Stiles usually attended. On one of these occasions, having read his text, he was taken with a bleeding at the nose, and sat down. The blood not stopping, he requested Dr. Stiles to preach. Furnished to all good works, he took the same text and preached extemporaneously."

It is interesting to notice the regularity with which Dr. Stiles records from week to week his attendance upon the Thursday lecture of Hopkins, and the gratification which he expresses, now and then, at the "many fine and judicious observations" which the lecturer made.

When he lost his wife, he wrote, May 30, 1775: "I desired Mr. Hopkins to make a prayer at my house, before the corpse was carried out," and "Mr. Hopkins walked as a mourner" to the grave. "When I settled in the ministry at Newport," he says,† "Mr. ———, the Congregational minister of the other church, was suspicious and cold toward me. I disarmed him by silence and benevolence. When his ministry was ended, I hoped for a successor in whom I might be happy as a cordial brother. There was a prospect of this in an ingenious young man, Mr. A———. But the church finally settled Mr. [Hopkins], of some sentiments very different from mine, while we agreed well in the general system of orthodoxy. As the providence of God had brought us into a connection, I determined to learn and get all the good I could from him, treat him with respect and benevolence, and endeavor, as far as we were agreed, to coöperate with him in building up the Redeemer's kingdom. And we lived together in peace and love."

There were many particulars, indeed, in which these two divines felt a cordial union. They were both decided patriots, and both contended, shoulder to shoulder, against the Tory influence which made many of the Rhode Island clergy adverse to the revolution.‡ They were both thorough-going Congregationalists, and had sagacity enough to fear, and manliness enough to oppose, the growth of the Anglican church among the descendants of those who had fled from it to our shores. Above all, these two men were benevolent Christians, and as such they went before their age in pushing forward various schemes of philanthropy.

It deserves to be remembered, in proof of Dr. Hopkins's catholicism of temper, that not only during the six years of his connec-

* Dr. Holmes's Life of President Stiles, p. 195.

† Ib. pp. 273, 274.

‡ Dr. Stiles gives a graphic account of the spinning matches, or "voluntary bees," which were held at his house, and also at the house of Mr. Hopkins, in 1770 and 1771. "Ninety-two Daughters of Liberty spun and reeled, respiting and assisting one another," etc., etc.

tion with Dr. Stiles, but also during the thirty-three years of his pastorate at Newport, he lived in uniform friendship with the minister of the Second Church, and the relations between that church and his own were less hostile than they had been before his installation, or than they were for a quarter of a century after his death. Notwithstanding all his controversies, he was a "lover of peace."

Sect. XXIII. EARLY PROSPECTS AND SUCCESS AT NEWPORT.

To go from the hilly region of Berkshire to the ocean scenery of Rhode Island, was a great change. Greater still was the transition from the society of Massachusetts yeomen, to that of the nautical and mercantile community at Newport. In his forty-ninth year, and with the habits of rural life, Mr. Hopkins was not well fitted for such an alteration of his social intercourse. When he was installed at Newport, the town was larger than it is now, and far more enterprising. It was the second town of New England in commercial importance. Although the census taken in 1774 gave the place only 9209 inhabitants, yet the place is supposed to have actually contained about 11,000;* more than twice as many as Providence at that time. Newport has now only 9563 inhabitants,† less than one fourth as many as Providence. In 1773, New York had but 21,876 inhabitants, being only about twice as large as Newport, and having in many departments a much less extensive foreign trade. The merchants of what is now the commercial emporium then sent often to Newport for their foreign goods, as Newport sends now to that emporium. A mercantile house in London is said to have directed a letter to "New York, near Newport." The town was noted, not only for the charms of its natural scenery, but also for the beauty of its private residences, for its fashionable and luxurious, as well as its intelligent and enterprising society, its culture of the fine arts, its scientific clubs, its refinement of taste and manners. Hence it was the favorite resort of learned men. The painters Stuart and Malbone were natives of the town; it was the favorite residence of Bishop Berkeley, and its medical practitioners were famed throughout the land. Not even in Virginia did there prevail a much more elegant hospitality, a much more sumptuous and baronial style of living, than among a class of the Narraganset planters. Dr. McSparran, a celebrated Episcopal clergyman in Newport, said, in 1752, that "neither Epiphanius's nor Sir Richard Blackmore's catalogues contain more heterodox and different opinions in religion than are to be found in

* Ross's Discourse, embracing the Civil and Religious History of Rhode Island, pp. 67, 68.

† Still, it has at present eighteen churches — one for every five hundred and thirty inhabitants; whereas, in 1770, it had only ten churches.

this little corner." * When Mr. Hopkins went there, he found two vigorous Baptist churches, each more than a century old. Three hundred Jews, many of them eminent for wealth and commercial skill, added interest to the town. Both Jewish and Sabbatarian worship had been maintained there for about a hundred years. A large number of Moravians, a still larger number of Quakers, diversified the social habits of the people. President Stiles loved to walk over the Parade with the Jewish Rabbies, learning from them the mysteries of the Cabala; but was this a place for Samuel Hopkins? He could not harmonize with the Dutch farmers; what will he do with the French fashions? He was too severe for the moderate Calvinists of Connecticut and Massachusetts; will he not be a foreign element among the formalists and *dilettanti* of Newport?

Still he found here many attractions. He felt more religious liberty in Rhode Island than he could feel elsewhere, and religious liberty he loved. He had access to the rich library of Dr. Stiles, and to the still more extensive Redwood Library,† which was then, as now, a treasure to the town. But, above all, — for this he valued more than all, — he "found here a number who appeared to be excellent Christians, and the best regulated church that he had seen." ‡

To the care of this church he addressed himself with fresh zeal. He says, in condensed language:

"I preached a lecture every Thursday evening, which was well attended. I invited the young people to meet at my house, the males on one week and the females on the next; and so to continue to meet every week alternately, to have questions proposed to them, which they were to answer, &c. Above forty young men subscribed to an engagement to attend those meetings; and more than seventy young women. After those meetings were attended a considerable time, I proposed that instead of these, which began to decline, I would attend a lecture every Sabbath evening at six o'clock in the meeting-house, in which I would explain to the young people the Shorter Catechism, composed by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; the young people to sit by themselves in the body of the meeting-house below, and elder people, who were disposed to come, to sit in the gallery and the pews round the sides of the house below. These lectures were crowded; the congregation being larger then than at the meetings in the former part of the day, as numbers attended them from other congregations in town. And the young people appeared attentive, gave constant attendance, and behaved decently. — When I had gone through the Catechism in this way, I undertook to give a ***history of the Bible***, in a course of lectures, endeavoring to join entertainment with instruction, and religious, profitable reflections, particularly applicable to young persons. These lectures were continued, and well attended, till they were broken up by the war between Britain and America." §

In the year 1771, he admitted fifteen members into his church;

* See America Dissected, &c., in Sundry Letters from a Clergyman there. Updike's History of the Episcopal Church in Narraganset, pp. 483–533.

† He was made an honorary member of the Redwood Library Company, in 1770. His own church also possessed a valuable collection of books.

‡ Sketches, p. 69.

§ Ib. pp. 75, 76. He established his Thursday evening lecture July 6, 1770.

in 1772, four members; in 1774, three; in 1775, five; and, during his whole ministry, fifty-nine members, of whom six were received by letter. At the time of his death, thirty others were expecting to be soon added to his church. He catechised, weekly, more than a hundred children. Before he became pastor of the church, it had been numerically declining.* Its more pious members considered its existence as dependent upon his connection with it. His correspondence and church records evince that a new impulse was given to it during the first six years of his pastorate; new rules of ecclesiastical order and a new creed were formed; new arrangements were made for the care of the poor, for the music of the sanctuary, etc. This was evidently the sunniest period of his ministerial life. In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated January 8, 1771, he says:

"My lecture is well attended yet, and there are some instances of awakening among us. Several hope they have been converted lately, in my congregation. So far as I can judge, my congregation in general are more and more pleased. But many of the . . . . . are more and more alarmed, as some doctrines which I preach are destructive of the religion most in vogue among them. While you are all in quarrels, in Connecticut, and *Hopkintonians* are cursed with bell, book, and candle, Divine Providence has led me out of the noise, and provided a quiet retreat, where all is peace, and I receive more kindness from the hands of my friends in one year than I ever received in my life before."

On the 2d of April, 1773, we find him at the ordination of Mr. Sanford, at Medway, and, on the 21st of that same month, at the ordination of Mr. Emmons, at Franklin — two young men over whom he was destined to exert a long-continued power. We often catch glimpses of him walking with his guests, Dr. Bellamy and Dr. West, to dine with President Stiles; or else calling on President Stiles's guests, Mr. Whittlesey and Dr. Dana, of New Haven. Still, even at this most comfortable and most flattering period of his ministry, we find him faithful as ever in purifying the house of God. He sought not his own ease. He might have retained a pleasant degree of popularity, if he had aimed to please men. But he was artless as a child. In a little more than two months after he was installed, he became engaged in a process of discipline with a member of his church. The entire process continued until December 5, 1774. It resulted in the exclusion of the delinquent member from the Lord's table. But that member was himself a clergyman, and enlisted other ministers in his favor. He insisted that his own conduct and that of Mr. Hopkins, and of prominent individuals in the church, should be reviewed by a council. The council unanimously decided that the offending clergyman ought to have been excluded from fellowship, and that he had proved nothing

* May 31, 1770, his congregation consisted of a hundred and thirty-five families; his church, of seventy members, and of these, less than twenty were males.

"in any measure" injurious to the "ministerial or Christian character" of Mr. Hopkins. It is easy to see, however, that such unflinching perseverance, and such rigid faithfulness, as were manifested in this disciplinary process, were fitted to exalt the moral feelings of a church, rather than to make its pastor a favorite with the world. He exposed himself to the charge of severity in his treatment of offending brethren, and particularly in requiring of them a public confession of their sin. It must be confessed that he abhorred iniquity, and expressed his abhorrence with decision, and thus, even if he had been identified with no peculiarities of doctrine, would have given offence. But his severity came from his benevolence. "My desire," he says, during the tedious process of this discipline, "my desire of usefulness to this congregation is so great, that I am willing to sacrifice every personal and family interest to this. In this cause I think I am willing to give my life, and every thing dear to me in this world."

Sect. XXIV. VISIT FROM MR. WHITEFIELD.

It is pleasant to open the curtains of the past, and look upon our Newport minister, as, four months after his installation, he was enjoying a visit from Mr. Whitefield. Hopkins had listened with delight to Whitefield thirty years before, at New Haven; and on the 3d of August, 1770, welcomed him as a guest at the old Newport parsonage. At five o'clock, on the afternoon of August 4, Whitefield "preached to a very crowded audience at Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house," from Ps. li. 11: "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me." A young Jewess heard him, "and greatly admired his preaching the gospel of Christ." On the next morning, the Sabbath, he preached for Dr. Stiles, from Job xxii. 21: "Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace." At six o'clock in the afternoon, he preached from 1 Cor. iii. 11, in the fields adjoining Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house, to a thousand or fifteen hundred hearers. While preaching, he stood on a table, which is still reverently preserved. On the 7th of August, he preached at five o'clock, P. M., from Zech. ix. 12, at Mr. Thurston's Baptist meeting-house, to an audience of thirteen hundred within the walls, and four or five hundred without. After preaching, he dined at Major Otis's, with Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Thurston, and Dr. Stiles. At six o'clock on the next morning, he preached, from Gen. i. 2, to eleven hundred hearers, in Mr. Hopkins's meeting-house. After service, he dined with Messrs. Hopkins, Thurston, Stiles, and Rusmeyer, the Moravian pastor in Newport, at the house of Mr John Wanton, a Quaker.* In the afternoon, he left for Providence, and before two months had passed away, he died in Newburyport.

* The facts above stated are taken from Stiles's Literary Diary. The calculations, perhaps extravagant with regard to the number of Whitefield's hearers, were the common calculations of the time.

While Mr. Whitefield was at Newport, he was invited, with Mr. Hopkins and others, "to breakfast with a religious family, about five miles from town. On their way, Mr. Whitefield said to Mr. H., 'I am sorry that you New England ministers employ so much of your time in controversy. [A remark often repeated since Whitefield's time.] I wish you would devote your attention more immediately to the conversion of sinners.' Mr. H. replied, 'I have not published so large a pamphlet in the way of dispute as yours against Mr. Wesley.' [A fit reply, to which Whitefield rejoined,] 'O, the doctrine of Mr. Wesley was so contrary to the faith, and so dangerous, that a regard for the cause of Christ compelled me to attempt its refutation.' 'The same motive,' said Mr. H., 'may have influenced others; it certainly did me in what I have written.' [An apt retort.] After a considerable pause, Mr. Whitefield said, 'Is it not surprising, and much to be regretted, that good Mr. Edwards should deny the witness of the Spirit?' Mr. H. replied, 'I did not know that he had. What do you understand, sir, by the witness of the Spirit?' Mr. W. paused in apparent study for a definition. Mr. H. said, 'Do you mean by it an impression on the imagination, by some immediate communication from the Spirit, that your sins are forgiven, and that you are a child of God?' 'No,' said Mr. W., 'that does not express my opinion.' 'Do you then mean,' said Mr. H., 'an influence of the Spirit of God, exciting such a love for God and Jesus Christ, such clear views of their character, as that the subject of it knows from experience and from Scripture, that he is a child of God and an heir of salvation?' 'This,' said Mr. W., 'more accords with my views.' 'Yet this,' said Mr. H., 'is that witness of the Spirit for which Mr. Edwards pleads, in distinction from the former, which he represents as a species of enthusiasm.'" *

This conversation well illustrates the Socratic method of Mr. Hopkins in conducting a dispute.

Sect. XXV. AFFECTIONATE INTERCOURSE WITH FRIENDS.

More is known of Mr. Hopkins's inner life during the first six years of his residence at Newport, than during any other period of his history. And the first impression which his correspondence during this period makes upon the mind is, that he was a man not only of glowing love to his Maker, but likewise of warm and deep affection to his fellow-men. As he delighted in unreserved submission of all his interests to God, so he chose to sacrifice himself for the welfare of those who were made in the image of God. The germ of his theology lay in his benevolent spirit. He was an embodied refutation of the saying so often quoted from Edmund Burke,

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 67, 68. See likewise Ferguson's Memoir, pp. 52, 53.

that there is no heart so hard as that of a thorough-bred metaphysician. One reason why he loved to press certain articles of Calvinism to their logical sequences was, that he loved to contemplate the happiness of his fellow-men as they were swallowed up in the glory of their Father in heaven. True, he had so much of the philosophical temperament that he expressed his feelings less easily and readily than some do, and he often appeared, to men who did not know him, impassible and stern; but that there was a heart beating with strong and quick pulsations in his giant frame, is shown in many of his letters, and especially in those which he wrote during the meridian of his life. It must be acknowledged that some of his correspondence is too affectionate to be spread out before the multitude, who choose to complain of him as dried up and ossified. It is delightful to notice the style in which he often begins or closes his epistles, and which betrays his unconscious struggling for words to express his pent-up attachments. The following are specimens, from his letters to various friends.*

" . . . I am, with great sincerity, high esteem, and constant, warm affection and gratitude, your real friend and ready servant, S. H."

" . . . Suffer me to say, I prize the interest I have in your heart more than the possession of the whole world; and hope always to be, with growing esteem and affection, your obliged friend, S. H."

" . . . My heart is affected with [this] fresh instance of your generosity, benevolence, and friendship. I give you thanks; and would have you believe that my breast glows with a gratitude which words cannot express, and that I prize the gift chiefly for the sake of the giver, and as a fresh token of your love and friendship. Verily, you *shall* have your reward. I please myself with a particular remembrance in your prayers, while absent on my proposed journey; and may assure you that I shall remember you, with other dear Christian friends, so far as I remember myself, at least. With the best wishes I am capable of, and tender affection and gratitude, I am your very unworthy, greatly obliged friend and servant, S. H."

" . . . As words only will not tell how much I esteem and prize you, how dear you are to me as a Christian friend, — and all words are vain without a conduct answerable, — I think not to attempt to tell. May all my conduct in the station in which God has set me, testify how much I esteem you, and prize your friendship and prayers. O, how wonderful is God in his goodness! I have been affected with his goodness for many years, in giving me such Christian friends; which I valued as the greatest favor in life, and for which I have daily blessed God, and have had ardent desires to continue in this his goodness. That you should have such exercises and pleasure, in giving thanks to God for his goodness to and by me, is greatly pleasing and affecting. May all your pious, benevolent wishes and prayers be answered! Want of time forbids my adding, except that I am, with high esteem, and constant, tender affection, your obliged friend, and willing servant, S. H."

" . . . I thank you a thousand times for your last kind letter. I only write a line now, to ease and give a little pleasure to my own heart, by expressing a little of my esteem and love, and the great obligations I feel

* The affection of Mr. Hopkins for his fellow-laborers, drew from them a like affection. We are pleased in seeing that Dr. Samuel Spring becomes even poetical in expressing his love to his instructor; and not only commends his obituary notice of Mr. Hopkins "to candidates for the ministry, to whom he imparted his advice and heart," but also "to his attending angels, who guarded his bed when he fell asleep." See Massachusetts Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 364.

myself under to you, and the sense I have of the privilege and happiness of this dear friendship."

" . . . God's goodness to you does give me joy. For this I have many times greatly rejoiced, and hope to rejoice in it forever."

" . . . If there is any thing right in my heart, it often most sensibly appears in its readiness to unite to the dear people of God, and desiring and delighting in their love and friendship."

" . . . I thank you a thousand times for your kindness, and [for the] freedom you use in writing. I pray you to continue it. My heart is disposed to love, esteem, and honor you, and I hope I shall forever be your much obliged friend, S. H."

" . . . I rejoice in the exercises and enjoyments of my dear friend, while your kind Shepherd is feeding you in green, soft pastures, and leading you by still waters. I trust God is with me in some sense and degree at times, in answer to your prayers; which requires the most humble, thankful acknowledgments from me, while I confess and lament my awful barrenness. It has often been observed, that God can feed his children by a raven. How disagreeable is separation! — not being allowed to meet my dear friends as usual! How happy they who know what true friendship is, and shall be brought together never to part again! In hope of this happiness, I rest, yours, in the bonds of the most sacred friendship, S. H."

" . . . Excuse the scantiness of this, and suffer me yet to place myself among your most sincere, cordial, obliged, affectionate friends. I hope and trust I shall be so, as long as I am S. Hopkins."

Can we wonder, that a man who had so strong attachments to his fellow-men, delighted also in using the strongest expressions of love to the great King; in surrendering all interests to him, for this world and the next; in exalting him as a Sovereign, high above all creatures? This is Hopkinsianism, as it appears in its original defenders. We have heard much of "the Arctic regions of Hopkinsianism," of its "hyperborean wildernesses." Such remarks are forcible. But the men who originated the Hopkinsian peculiarities were men of warm hearts as well as cool heads. The doctrines and the spirit of their system are indicated in the following statement of one who knew the private habits of the Newport divine, and testifies that "he would sometimes come from his study, where he had been intensely engaged in the contemplation of the law made honorable and magnified by the atonement, and would walk across his parlor floor for the space of two or three hours, pressing his hands together in the most ravishing delight, and seemingly in such an ecstasy as to be unable to contain himself."* Stern as he was in his logical processes, he would often weep in the pulpit and at the communion table, so as to make his utterance indistinct.

Sect. XXVI. EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR UPON THE MINISTRY OF MR. HOPKINS.

The discouraging influence of the Canadian wars upon the minister of Great Barrington has been noticed already. His heart was

* Statement of Mrs. Hopkins, as found in Ferguson's Memoir, p. 131.

far more saddened, however, by the effect of the revolutionary war upon his pastorate in Rhode Island. He was in a patriotic and resolute little colony. It claims to have struck the first blow resulting in the revolution. The British armed sloop Liberty was scuttled and burned, in defiance of the crown, by the people of Newport, as early as August, 1769. The armed schooner Gaspee was destroyed by them in June, 1772. The tea was not thrown overboard in Boston harbor until 1773. Newport burned with a revolutionary spirit, during all the disputes which preceded the general resort to arms. Its harbor was early blockaded by the British. In December, 1776, the British troops, numbering eight or ten thousand, commanded by General Clinton and Lord Percy, took possession of the town. There were many Tories in the place; but the Whigs, as many as were able, fled to the inland retreats. It was of no use for the clergy to remain. Dr. Stiles left on the 13th of March, 1776. Mr. Hopkins sent his family to Great Barrington two years before; but, true to his instinct of holding on to the last, he himself clung to Newport until the December of '76. Some of his congregation, who remained in the town, were imprisoned by the enemy. His parsonage was destroyed by the British troops. His meeting-house was used as a barrack and hospital. Its pulpit and pews were demolished, its windows were broken or lost, and its bell was carried away by the enemy evacuating the town. In the same manner did the British treat every church edifice, except the Episcopal, in the place. During the cold weather, they were quartered in the private houses of the town, and did much to annoy those inhabitants who had not escaped from the siege. They cut down for fuel the groves of forest-trees, and the rich fruit and ornamental trees which had every where adorned the island. They injured or destroyed the fences and wharves of the town. When they left it, in October, 1779, "the general appearance of the greater portion of the buildings was truly distressing; sashes and glass mostly gone, and windows boarded up, with here and there a solitary square of glass cut into the boarding, and often not more than one square to a window." * About four hundred and eighty buildings had been destroyed. In the spring of 1780, Mr. Hopkins returned to his desolate parish, after an absence of more than three years. If, like Dr. Stiles, he had never returned, he would not have been blamed by the world. Many of his congregation had made their permanent homes elsewhere. The remainder were impoverished and dejected. The town, also, having lost its wealth, a full half of its population, and nearly all its eminent capitalists, lost therewith its public spirit. All the religious societies received a severe shock, under which some of

* Memoir of Rhode Island, by Henry Bull, Esq., in the Rhode Island Republican, No. 1460.

them, as the Sabbatarian and the Jewish, languished until they died. Nor was poverty the sole evil. After the British had retained possession of the place nearly three years, the French army were stationed there about nine months. The French officers instilled their infidel principles into some of the best minds of Newport, and thus left an influence which Mr. Hopkins toiled through his remaining life to counteract. Thus at Newport, as well as at Great Barrington, did this patriotic minister suffer with and for his country. After the revolution, he was obliged to accommodate himself to a new style of character and of manners. The old, rich families had been scattered, never to reässemble at Newport, or else had been denuded of their possessions, or else had been supplanted by the young republicans whom our independence had called up from obscure life. At the age of sixty, he was not supple enough to comply with those peculiar democratic changes which the revolution introduced into the Narraganset country. He lived through a part of two singularly different ages there. He could have labored more effectively had there been no such transition; for he was less flexible than strong.

When this indefatigable man returned to his parish, he conducted public worship at first in a private house, afterward in the Sabbatarian meeting-house. But, complying with a vote of his church, he wrote, in 1782, a pathetic appeal to his Christian friends, "in Boston and Connecticut States," for aid in repairing his own church edifice, and also sustaining in it the ordinances of the gospel. Dr. Spring's church at Newburyport responded to this appeal, in a donation of eighteen pounds; the Federal Street Church, of the same place, sent him twenty-eight pounds; and the church of Professor Peres Fobes, of Raynham, sent a pulpit. Still the poor man received no regular salary for himself. During the first year after his return, his society did not even dare to take up a contribution for his support. At the close of that year, he was invited and urged to settle in the ministry at Middleboro', Massachusetts, where he could be well remunerated. His affectionate people, however, entreated him to remain, and promised to make sacrifices for his sustenance. He complied with their wishes; but, at the end of three and a half years from his return, when the expenses of living were unusually high,* he wrote to his church a pitiful letter, informing them that he had been, during their past discouragements, "loath to complain and make known [his] wants to the congregation;" and had been compelled to use for his

* In his letters written during this period, Mr. Hopkins often describes the suffering of the Newport poor, especially for fuel. The British had made such havoc with the forests, that, during the winter after their departure, wood was sold for twenty dollars *per* cord. Corn was sold at four dollars *per* bushel. See Memoir of Rhode Island, by Henry Bull, Esq., in the Rhode Island Republican, No. 1460. This, however, was an uncommonly severe winter, and expenses were subsequently reduced.

"*house-rent and a suit of clothes*," and for the support of his family, a portion of the ninety-eight pounds which had been sent by Christians in other places for the support of the gospel at Newport. His church, burdened with the care of its poor laymen, justified its pastor in this appropriation, which he had been compelled to make for the sustenance of his household; yet how humiliating that such a man should be reduced to such penury! *

It is well known that Mr. Hopkins has been blamed for not raising up his church from this depressed condition, for not rolling back the tide of infidelity which had set in from France, for not rousing the energies of his dispirited people. He has been thus blamed by the very men who believe that God is a Sovereign in the bestowment of spiritual, as well as temporal blessings. All preachers have not the same gifts; and although we may suppose that a Bellamy would have attracted large audiences in Newport, after the revolution, we cannot think it strange, that a student, like Hopkins, between the age of sixty-three and that of eighty-three, failed to restore his congregation to its former prosperity. They remained poor. He lived and died poor. Let us now consider his "disinterested benevolence."

Sect. XXVII. CONDUCT IN THE MIDST OF POVERTY.

He was an optimist. His theology made him such. "He was an illustration," says Dr. Channing, "of the power of our spiritual nature. In narrow circumstances, with few outward indulgences, in great seclusion, he yet found much to enjoy. He lived in a world of thought, above all earthly passions." — "It has been my privilege to meet with other examples of the same character; with men who, amidst privation, under bodily infirmity, and with none of those materials of enjoyment which the multitude are striving for, live in a world of thought, and enjoy what affluence never dreamed of, — men having nothing and yet possessing all things; and the sight of such has done me more good, has spoken more to my head and heart, than many sermons and volumes. I have learned the sufficiency of the mind to itself, its independence on outward things." † There is something truly sublime in the record which Hopkins has left of his scholarly and Christian independence, after his church had been enfeebled by the war. His words are:

"I then concluded to stay at Newport, and my wife and one daughter came to live with me, as the rest of my children were otherwise settled. There was

* We feel a humiliation of the same kind, when Hopkins describes to us the pecuniary prospects of President Edwards, and says: "His correspondents and other friends in Scotland, hearing of his dismission, and fearing it might be the means of bringing him into worldly straits, generously contributed a handsome sum, and sent it over to him."

† Works, vol. iv. pp. 352, 353.

no particular sum mentioned which they [*i. e.*, my society] would give; and thus I have lived ever since, receiving what has been given by a weekly contribution and donations which particular friends have made. I have taken care not to run in debt for the necessaries of life, though frequently if a dollar extraordinary had been called for, it would have rendered me a bankrupt. I have endeavored to live as cheap and low as I could, and be comfortable, and answer the ends of living in my station and business; and have experienced, through a course of years, remarkable interpositions in divine Providence, by which I have been supplied with the necessaries of life in ways unthought of; and have been preserved from suffering, for want of food or raiment, whether I received less or more.* When more than common has been given, calls for living have been equally greater; and when I have received but little, there has been a less demand for necessaries to support the family, and less has been as sufficient as more. This has made me often think of what is said of the children of Israel, with respect to the manna on which they lived: 'He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack.' I have been saved from anxiety about living, and have had a thousand times less care and trouble about the world, than if I had [enjoyed] a great abundance, and been in high life, attended with servants, equipage, much company, entertainments, and high living. Being thus freed from worldly care and anxiety, endeavoring to cast my care on God with respect to living, not seeking *great things* in the world, and being in a great measure unconnected with the great and rich in the world, and gay, unprofitable company, I have had more time to attend to my studies, in which, and in a retired life, I have taken the greatest pleasure; and particularly have had leisure to write my 'System of Divinity,' which I hope will not prove useless." †

There was, indeed, a close connection between his "System of Divinity" and his freedom from avarice. He was not tempted to shape his books for the market. No divine has been more free from even a latent wish to trim his words, so as to suit or to get purchasers. He felt no inducement to discard a plain term, or to adopt a vague term, to search out ambiguous phrases on critical questions, to favor a popular, when he did not regard it a true, doctrine, for the sake of gaining that filthy lucre which, in the theological world, is the root of much evil. This fact gives an immense value to his writings. They are the writings of a spiritual and honest man. Their authority would be lessened, if they had come from a soul blunted and debased by a passion for wealth; if they had been published, not to be the fair exponents of his inward faith, but to be sold, — as Voltaire confessed that he himself "wrote history, not to be believed, but to be read."

Equally noble does this freedom from avarice appear in Hopkins, as a pastor. He was frequently receiving offers of eligible stations in Massachusetts and Connecticut, but he chose to suffer affliction for the good of his people. A few weeks after his return to Newport, during the revolutionary war, he writes to Dr. West:

* Mr. Ferguson says that Hopkins was never inclined to inquire into the "sincerity of those who solicited charity. It was enough for him, if they were willing to beg; and in his own deep poverty, he thanked God that he was never solicited when he had nothing to give away." — MS. letter.

† Sketches, pp. 79–81.

"I am fallen into new trials by coming here. My people are poor, and have but little courage. The other inhabitants of the town, almost to a man, are enemies to our prosperity. The leading people of Dr. Stiles's congregation have heartily wished I might never return again, and hoped my congregation would join with them in settling a man whom they should like. They are resolved not to hear me, as they dislike my doctrines in general, and especially my opposition to the slavery of Africans. They are determined to have preaching among themselves, and have applied to Dr. Stiles to send them a candidate. My people have not courage enough to attempt to fix our meeting-house, so as to be fit for us to meet there. We hold public worship in the Seventh-day [Baptist] meeting-house, which, though small, is big enough for us, in our diminished state. But what is worst of all, there is a general stupidity and carelessness about the important things of religion, and the minds of the people are more filled with the cares of this world, than they were when I left them! In a word, we are as a valley of dry bones, very dry, and God only knows whether we shall live."

Still he continued, without faltering, to preach the same unpopular doctrines, in defiance of penury. After a brief interval, he had Dr. Stiles's congregation as his hearers. Unable to sustain a pastor for themselves, they continued to worship with the First Church * until 1786, when they invited Dr. Patten to become their minister. But Dr. Patten was unwilling to be an instrument of reducing the audience and the pecuniary support of Dr. Hopkins, and therefore "waited on Dr. Hopkins, and informed him of the call, and assured him, if by accepting it he should injure his interest, or hurt his feelings, he would refuse. He replied, that he wished him to accept; that it was best for the two societies to be separate." † How easy it would have been for Hopkins to deprive the Second Church of their expected pastor, and thus continue them as subscribers to his maintenance! But he was disinterested. And it is here deserving of remark, that he soon attached Dr. Patten to himself, as a son to a father; and never were two colleagues better united than they, in belief as well as affection.

It is a pleasing fact, that nearly all the letters of Hopkins to his friends are either theological, or else contain some benevolent proposal for the relief of the poor or distressed. About a half century after his death, he was thus mentioned by one who, when a child, was acquainted with his manner of life:

"The doctrine of disinterested benevolence, which was the deep-lying principle of his system, had, in his life and his character, constant and practical illustration. His society was small, and its means not large. Well do I remember the simple, unpainted parsonage, and the testimony every body bore to the daily and self-sacrificing charity of the pastor. He accepted literally the saying of St. Paul, that he was ready to be [accursed] for the glory of God: how willing was he to 'sell all, and to give to the poor!' It was the custom then to go to 'look on the face of the dead;' and though very young, I went with others to see this patriarch saint in his coffin. The memory of him then, and of his exhaustless love, kindness, and charity, is fresher

* See p. 82 of this Memoir. † Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 91, 92.

with me than are any of the peculiar doctrinal views which, in his great infirmity and age, he gave to us from the pulpit." *

Sect. XXVIII. THREE YEARS' ABSENCE FROM NEWPORT.

From December, 1776, until the spring of 1781, Mr. Hopkins labored in Massachusetts and Connecticut. We have already seen † that a large donation was sent to his church from Newburyport, in 1783. This was, in part, an acknowledgment of his services there during the summer of 1777. On the 19th of June in that year, he writes to Dr. West:

"I have engaged to preach here to the congregation [now Federal Street] to which Mr. Parsons used to minister, for some time, perhaps all summer. It is, I suppose, the largest congregation on the continent. A great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries. I have concluded I have a call to stay here for the present, as there seems to be a prospect of doing good among a people who are not so much prejudiced against the truth as many are, and yet most of them are much in the dark. I hope there is a considerable number of good Christians here. I am disposed to make the prayer of the Psalmist, [cxix. 79,] 'Let those that fear thee turn unto me, and those that have known thy testimonies.' If I may be useful to these, by expounding unto them the way of God more perfectly, I shall be happy; and who knows but the heart of some poor sinner may be opened by Christ to attend to the truths that shall be spoken? As I have now, in some degree, the charge of such a multitude of souls, it has brought a new burden upon me. Who is sufficient for these things? The affair of baptism seems to be settled between Mr. Spring and the people, who have given him a call, they having nothing wherewith to oppose him. But another peril yet more dreadful, if possible, is come into view, viz., *unregenerate doings*. Mr. Spring is determined to preach on the subject next Sabbath, and open his mind fully. It is most probable they will not set up against him in this, and that he will settle among them, and I hope will be greatly useful in this town." ‡

The hope which Mr. Hopkins indulged, of being useful to some one of his new charge, was gratified; and it is curious to trace the lines through which his influence upon a single hearer was disseminated, at length, over multitudes whom he never knew. That hearer was Miss Abigail Goodhue, then a young lady of twenty-one years. Her biographer says of her:

"She had a mind to appreciate, and a heart to receive instructions like those communicated by Mr. Hopkins — clear, deep, comprehensive, and

* A Lecture delivered before the Mechanics Apprentices' Library Association, January, 1845, by Walter Channing, M. D., Boston, Massachusetts.

† See p. 91.

‡ Both Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Spring encountered much opposition in the town during this summer. Rev. S. P. Williams says, in his Historical Account of the Federal Street Church, that "although some few of his [Mr. H.'s] tenets were peculiarly odious to the church and congregation, he was heard with candor during the whole period of his engagement." The subject of baptism was one of the main causes of dissension; and on that subject the majority of evangelical Christians would now coincide with Mr. Hopkins, rather than with his opponents in that controversy.

strongly doctrinal. She heard him with profound attention, and was greatly affected with his preaching. Though a stranger, he soon marked the interest with which she listened to the word of life, and concluded that she was either a young disciple or a serious inquirer on the subject of religion. He sought an acquaintance with her.

"The first interview is thus described [by Miss Goodhue]: 'My mind was solemn, but not quite free from perturbation, which being noticed by Mr. Hopkins, he conversed for a few moments in a free and condescending manner, when my fears left me. He was now ready to introduce the subject he had so much at heart. He asked me how the truths I had heard him deliver affected my mind; whether I had any hope that I had experienced a renovation of heart; how long I had been serious; whether I did not think it my duty to unite with some church. In person he was large, in mien dignified, and his open, manly countenance beamed sweet benignity and benevolence. I loved him as a father, and revered him as a messenger of God, sent to comfort my desponding heart. I wanted to conceal nothing of my spiritual trials; and he attended to all my perplexities with paternal interest.' This interview, and others, were remembered by her with gratitude during life. Speaking of a pastoral visit made by Mr. Hopkins at the house of Mrs. Coombs, she says, 'His conversation was condescending and kind, and before he left us he prayed in a feeling and solemn manner. Indeed, he seemed to me more like his divine Master than any one I had ever seen.'" *

After Mr. Hopkins left Newburyport, he wrote a letter to Miss Goodhue, and enclosed in it one from his daughter. Miss Goodhue thus speaks of the incident: "I was affected with this token of fatherly affection, and soon returned an answer. Is not this good man's finding a poor, disconsolate orphan, as I was, in a large assembly, and pouring cordials into my fainting heart, a token for good? Trust in God, O my soul, for I shall yet praise him."

"How long the correspondence by letter continued," remarks her biographer, "I do not know; but the Christian friendship between this servant of Christ and 'a desolate orphan' continued so long as he lived, and, doubtless, is since perpetuated in a better world. She confided in his friendship and judgment, drank in his instructions, and followed his counsels. And certainly they had a decided influence upon her future life. In accordance with the advice of Mr. Hopkins, she attended meeting in the North Church, where Rev. Samuel Spring had been settled." †

After listening to the discourses of Dr. Spring about thirteen years, Miss Goodhue spent a winter in the family of his brother-in-law, Dr. Emmons, and there was affianced to Rev. K. Bayley, then a theological student of Dr. Emmons. After her marriage to him, she lived nearly twenty-seven years at Newcastle, Maine, where she adorned the vocation of a pastor's wife. She was particularly useful to the young men in Newcastle Academy, more than a hundred of whom boarded, at different times, in her house, and some of whom became interested there in religious truth. She was a friend and correspondent of some distinguished *literati*. She was among the first to labor for the establishment of a theological school at Bangor. Her husband "had as much agency, perhaps, as any other man, in the founding of our seminary," says one of its most intelligent friends. And Mrs. Bayley's biographer records of her and of two other ladies with whom she coöperated: "But for their prayers and influence, perhaps the theological institution of Bangor might not have been established." ‡ In 1814, she writes: "Blessed be God for honoring me, unworthy as I am, with giving the first mite to the treasurer for [Bangor seminary.] This was the freewill offering of a number of females in different places, whose hearts the Lord has made to feel for their

* See Memoir of Mrs. Abigail Bayley, [formerly Miss Goodhue,] a Pilgrim of Ninety Years, by Daniel O. Morton, A. M., author of "The Life of Rev. Levi Parsons," pp. 32–34.

† Ib. pp. 34, 35.

‡ Ib. p. 145.

fellow immortals. The Lord bless them individually with his special love. The little sum was one hundred and sixty dollars. The Lord make it to increase a thousand fold. Blessed be God for making me his almoner." * "Mrs. Bayley persevered," adds her biographer, "in this labor of love, till she had collected and paid to the treasurer of the Maine Theological Seminary, nearly two thousand dollars."

It is an interesting fact, that four others who were among the first in projecting that school of the prophets were Hopkinsian divines. Still more interesting is the fact, that all the professors who have taught systematic theology there, have been recognized as Hopkinsians. Is it too much to say, that the Rhode Island pastor, when he spent the summer of 1777 in Newburyport, was exerting an influence, real, though indirect and remote, on the seminary of Maine? He made deep and lasting impressions, when he made any; and when we remember the wonderful modes in which moral influence is perpetuated and diffused, is it visionary to surmise, that he also gave some impulses, then and there, which affected the seminary at Andover?* He aided the most vigorous projector of that institution, Dr. Spring, in his incipient troubles at Newburyport. He maintained, until his dying day, a regular correspondence with friends in that goodly place. He made an impression on the community to which Moses Brown and William Bartlet belonged, and these two men were munificent founders of the seminary. They revered his memory,† and their interest in the Andover school resulted from impressions *like* those, if not precisely and in any degree from *those*, which he made upon themselves and their townsmen.

The winter of 1777–8 he passed in Canterbury, Connecticut, "preaching to a destitute congregation there." During the spring and summer of 1778, he supplied the pulpit of his deceased classmate, Rev. Dr. Noah Wells, at Stamford, Connecticut. From the autumn of 1778 to the spring of 1780, he preached in North Stamford, which was then a missionary field. He endeavored to cultivate it by a system of pastoral visitation. But he found here, as elsewhere, that the people were afraid of him. "On one occasion he called on a family, and as soon as he was descried by the younger members of it, they all fled. After sitting some time, he told the father that he wished to offer prayer, and to have the youth and children called into the room. After much lingering and many expressions of timidity, on his part as well as on theirs, he began to pray; and he manifested so much pathos and tenderness, that all the members of the family were affected to tears, and one or two of

* Pp. 162, 163.

† When Hopkins preached at Newburyport, Mr. Brown was in his thirty-fifth year, and Mr Bartlet in his thirtieth. The last-named gentleman often expressed to the writer his profound regard for Hopkins, Spring, and Emmons. He contributed largely to the circulation of Hopkins's works.

them became, from that interview, personally interested in religion." * From his correspondence we learn, that he adopted measures for organizing a church in this parish. One was formed soon after he removed to his Newport home.

Sect. XXIX. CHRISTIAN EDIFICATION: THE OSBORN SOCIETY.

Although the church of Mr. Hopkins was reduced by the revolutionary war, it still comprised many eminent Christians. His ministerial success was in edifying saints, more than in converting sinners. He may have been a means of as much good in deepening the piety, as other ministers are in augmenting the number, of the converted. "Men are to be weighed, not counted;" and he is a useful man, who so cultivates the mind and heart of others, as to make them models to surviving generations. The world have not known how joyful Mr. Hopkins was, in perceiving that the faith of the faithful was strengthened, and the wisdom of the wise was increased, by his instructive sermons. "I *know*," he writes to one who had been reänimated by him in the divine life, — "I *know* I am utterly unworthy of your esteem and friendship, and yet I take a peculiar pleasure in it. Your expressions of the benefit you have received by my means, are peculiarly affecting, and give me inexpressible pleasure, while they excite thanksgiving to God, and recall to my mind the strong cries and tears with which I sought God when coming to Newport, that I might be a means of good to his dear children here, and feed his sheep and lambs. O, what obligations am I under to God! What encouragement to wait on him, and ask the greatest things! He will outdo all our desires."

This modest man, in despite of all his charges against himself, went even so far as to confess, once at least, in public, that he had done some good; for he says in his Autobiography:

"But few persons have appeared to have been awakened and converted by means of my preaching. The most apparent good it has ever been the means of doing, is the instruction, quickening, and comfort of Christians. Many of this character, and especially those who have appeared most eminent in discerning and Christian experience, have highly approved of my preaching, which has been a great support and encouragement to me; though I have been often disposed to attribute their satisfaction and approbation to their high relish for the truth, however poor and defective the delivery and exhibition of it may be." †

Among those who received especial benefit from the discourses of this humble preacher, were several pious women, who gave character to the religious society of Newport. He had learned of their excellence before he ever visited Newport. He had been rather

* MS. Letter of Rev. H. Fuller. † Pp. 88, 89.

afraid of them, as he was apt to be of famous women. But he gave up his fears, as soon as he saw their worth and usefulness. We have already seen that President Stiles alludes to a certain "sorority," who favored Mr. Hopkins's settlement. This was a religious association, formed by some females of the First Church, as early as 1741. The design of the association was, to promote the spiritual good of its members, and the general interests of religion, by reading, conversation, alms, and especially by prayer. Its meetings were held every Wednesday or Thursday afternoon. It had a regular presiding officer, and a constitution embracing many excellent moral rules. In 1772, it contained more than sixty members. Three years before Dr. Hopkins's decease, Mr. William Gyles gave "the south end of his house" to be the property of the society, so long as it should continue to meet "for praying." In 1806, it was incorporated by the General Assembly of Rhode Island, with the name of the Religious Female Society. This name was changed by the same Assembly, in 1826, to the "Osborn Society." The association still survives in vigor, after an existence of a hundred and ten years, and still holds its regular meetings in the Osborn house. The General Assembly of Rhode Island is, perhaps, the first legislature in our land, which gave corporate powers to a distinctive "Praying Circle."

The society was formed under the auspices of Mrs. Sarah Osborn, a niece of the celebrated Dr. John Guyse, of London. She remained the first president of the society more than fifty years, and had its meetings at her home. She was a remarkable woman. Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston, seeing one of her letters to a female friend, in 1755, was so much interested in it, that he secured its publication in a pamphlet of fourteen or fifteen octavo pages. It passed through three editions. Long before Mr. Hopkins went to Newport, Madam Osborn had been esteemed as the spiritual adviser of the church. She retained the delicacy of a woman, and yet was consulted by whites and blacks, as if she had been a minister. When she had become almost blind, her conversations on theology were instructive to her pastor, and her Christian example was his great joy. Every Saturday afternoon, as long as her decrepitude allowed the privilege, he took tea at her house. She, as well as himself, had been wont to spend the last day of the week as the "preparation day" for the Sabbath; and at the close of her "fasting and prayer," she gave the results of her solitary meditation to him who was on the morrow to address the people of God. At her death, she left more than fifty volumes in manuscript, the smallest of them containing nearly a hundred pages, the larger part of them containing more than two hundred; and some, more than three hundred. Dr. Hopkins spent a year in perusing this mass of

manuscript, and compiling the Biography of its author. This Biography has been useful to multitudes.

In the same house with Madam Osborn lived Miss Susanna Anthony, her most intimate friend for more than fifty years. Miss Anthony, although inferior to Madam Osborn in personal attractions, was equally eminent for her spirit of devotion. Dr. Patten was informed by a member of the Praying Circle, that she "would continue an hour in prayer, without any hesitance or repetition; without any thing redundant or defective; but [all was] appropriate to what appeared to be the objects of prayer, so that they who united with her were sensible of no weariness, nor even conscious of the lapse of time." Mr. Hopkins learned from the same source, that "it was impossible to convey an adequate idea of the copiousness, the pertinence, and the spirit of her prayer." * She, too, was an uncommon theologian, and held a protracted correspondence with Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut, Dr. West, of Stockbridge, and other divines. Her Memoir was published by Dr. Hopkins, soon after her death, and an abridged edition of it has been since published by Dr. Pond, of Bangor Theological Seminary. A collection of her letters was also prepared for the press, by the widow of Dr. Hopkins.

Of Madam Osborn and Miss Anthony, their biographer says:

"They were, in my judgment, the most eminent female Christians with whom I have had any acquaintance. The public, and even Christians, who never were acquainted with them, will not, by reading what is published of them, have a full and adequate idea of their excellent character. I think it a great happiness to have been intimately acquainted with them for near thirty years, and to enjoy their friendship and prayers. I hope that what is published of them will be of great benefit to the church, not only in this generation, but in ages yet to come." †

There were nine or ten other Christians, of rare excellence, in that Praying Circle; as Miss Mary, sister of Susanna Anthony; Mrs. Mason, Miss Elizabeth West, and Miss Mary Donelly. Of the person last named, a good judge of character has said, that "she continued until her death," which occurred many years after that of Dr. Hopkins, "to exert an influence over the church, which greatly abridged the labors, while it eminently promoted the usefulness, of her pastor. Assembling the sisterhood around her, she exerted a controlling influence over them; it was an influence, too, of the most lovely kind, — an influence which brought them around her by the ties of affection, which entered into all their sympathies, and which appeared to be solely exercised in doing good. Might I be allowed to bear the same testimony to her memory, which Dr. Hopkins bore

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 63, 64. See also Ferguson's Life of Hopkins, pp. 92, 93.

† Sketches of Hopkins's Life, p. 105.

to the memory of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Osborn, I would say, she was in person, manners, and character, the most interesting and excellent female Christian with whom I have ever been acquainted." *

When we catch a glimpse of Hopkins, walking through one of the green and narrow lanes of Newport, to meet these pious women at their hour of prayer, and when we afterward think of him as the champion of high Calvinism, as putting his adversaries to the rout by his stubborn argument, we must feel that he had a great character, and combined in an unusual degree the stout antagonist with the meek Christian.

Sect. XXX. HOPKINS MISREPRESENTED.

"He was thought by some, who had but a slight acquaintance with him, to be stiff and unsociable; but this was owing to want of better acquaintance." How groundless the imputation was, "his known and tried friends best knew. They always found him easy of access, kind, and condescending; and though not talkative, yet affable and free. Among such, whose candor and friendship he had experienced, he threw off the reserve, and was most open and free; quite patient of contradiction, while the utmost opposition was made to his sentiments that could be by any plausible arguments or objections. And, indeed, he was, on all occasions, quite sociable and free with all who had any special business with him."

So writes Hopkins concerning his theological instructor; † and had he himself not been equally uncommunicative to strangers who had no "special business with him," he would have avoided some of the misrepresentations which he actually suffered.

He may be defended against the charge of being "stiff and unsociable," just as he defended his theological teacher. Although the home of Dr. Channing had been for twenty years within a few feet of Hopkins's parsonage, although for a short time he had sat under Hopkins's ministry and attended his catechetical exercises, yet Channing says:

"It was not until I had left college that I became acquainted with him, and a short intercourse dispelled all the fear and reserve which my early impressions had left in my mind. His conversation was free, rather abrupt, blunt, and often facetious. We saw, at once, that he had lived in his study, and borrowed very little from the manners of the fashionable world. He took pleasure in talking with me of his past life, his controversies, &c., and I regret that I took no notes, and did not, by questions, acquaint myself with the progress of his mind." ‡

A Baptist clergyman of some celebrity writes:

"When I commenced my residence in Newport, I determined not to go near Dr. Hopkins; for, like many others, I had formed from his writings an unfavorable opinion of his character. But I was obliged, by some peculiar

* Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, pp, 94, 95.
† Memoir of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, pp. 48, 49.
‡ Letter of February 14, 1840.

circumstances, to alter my determination; and before I had been in his presence one half hour, I was completely disarmed of my aversion, and won over to the love of him. And now, in my old age, I say that if I have ever been instrumental in doing any thing for the Redeemer, I owe it all, under God, to my intercourse, which has been long and frequent, with Dr. Hopkins." *

There were many persons, however, who did not penetrate through the seeming reserve of Mr. Hopkins's manners, and who, therefore, never appreciated his real worth. He had an original character, and this is always misunderstood. The following incidents, which occurred at Newport, will illustrate the general style in which his person, as well as his theology, has been treated. It is the less surprising that he should have been thus misrepresented in the State of Rhode Island; for that worthy State was, in the days of Hopkins, more famous for its enchanting scenery, and for the generous enterprise of its citizens, than for their attachment to the strict principles of Calvinism, or to any kind of *metaphysics* in theology.

"A gentleman of respectability said to the writer [Dr. Patten], Have you heard the report of the unfeeling, the almost inhuman conduct of the old Doctor? I replied, I had not; what is it? He answered, I do not know that it is true, but it is reported that there was a child of a widow near his house, and whom he might have occasionally seen in his house of worship. This child was taken sick, and on hearing of it he went to see her. He found her mother in the sitting-room, and inquired if her daughter was sick. On being informed that she was, he said he wished to see her. The mother, from his known severity, feared the interview might be injurious to her daughter, and wishing to evade his design, told him that her daughter was on the bed, and attempting to compose herself to sleep, and hoped he would call some other time. But he observed, that he was an old man, and it was difficult for him to leave home, and that he must see her then. On this, arising, as though he would find her, he inquired, 'Where is she?' Her distressed mother, under this constraint, requested him to follow her, and introduced him to the sick chamber. The child, on seeing him, manifested alarm. He approached her bed, and said, 'You are sick, child.' 'Yes, sir, I have a violent headache.' 'But do you not know that you may die by this sickness?' 'Yes, sir, I know I may.' 'And do you know that if you do not repent, and believe in Christ before you die, you will go to hell?' The alarm, it was supposed, increased the disease of the child, and in three or four days she expired. This was the report. Wishing to know the circumstances of the case, I called on Dr. H. in his study, and the following conversation ensued: 'I have heard, sir, there was a funeral in your neighborhood a few days since.' 'Yes, a child was buried last week from a house not far distant.' 'Had you any acquaintance with the child?' 'Yes, she lived in my family some time, and had returned home but a few days before she was taken sick.' 'Did you know of her sickness before her death?' 'Yes; when her case seemed fixed, her mother came with a request from the child that I would go and see her, and I went immediately.' 'In what state did you find her?' 'Her fever was high; but, to my surprise, she appeared acquainted with her heart, and the way of salvation, and was calm and resigned; and I think there is reason to hope she was a true Christian.' 'But was there nothing unpleasant occurred during your intercourse with her?' 'Not any thing; why do you ask?' I then related the rumor. He appeared struck with unusual surprise and grief, and exclaimed, 'O, the blindness and wickedness of

* Ferguson's Memoir, p. 134.

some men!' The only ground of the slanderous report was, that a child in the neighborhood had a fever, that Dr. H. visited her, and in a few days she died.

"Another instance: the writer was in the house of a woman who belonged to a different denomination of Christians; but being situated near Dr. H.'s meeting-house, I inquired if she had ever gone into it to hear him preach. She replied, 'No, I hope not; a man of such doctrine I never wish to hear.' 'What doctrine?' I inquired. 'Why, that *there are infants in hell not a span long*.' 'You never heard him preach it; did you ever find it in any of his writings?' 'No, I never read any of his writings, nor would allow one of his books to be in my house.' I then assured the woman that she had been misinformed. What she stated had been the common calumny, for several centuries, against the ministers of the gospel who had preached the natural depravity of mankind. The doctrine of Dr. H. was nothing more. So far from believing that 'there were infants in hell not a span long,' I had heard him repeatedly declare that he did not believe there was one infant in hell. Though it was difficult for her to resign her prejudice, yet, confiding in my veracity, she did not persist in vindicating it." *

One cold morning, Dr. Hopkins went out early, "to purchase a piece of flannel, and called at the first store in his way, which was kept by a young gentleman of undoubted integrity, and of a very respectable family. He measured the flannel and threw it on the counter, and while he was making change of the money for pay, Dr. H. cursorily said, 'Is that a yard?' The young man resentfully replied, 'Yes, sir; I am not such a rogue as to keep a short yardstick.' Dr. H. added, 'I had not the least suspicion of it.' But thinking he placed too much confidence in himself, he rejoined, 'Though you are now honest, you are not out of danger of falling, for many young men who were as confident in their integrity as yourself, have committed greater crimes, and been brought to the gallows.' The next day, his deacon called on him, and informed him that a rumor was circulating in town which excited great indignation against him, and which he knew could not be true, but requested that he would state the facts, that he might refute it.' Dr. H. inquired, 'What rumor?' The deacon replied, 'It is said that you went into the store of such a young gentleman, and requested a yard of flannel; that when he had measured it for you, you denied it to be just measure, charged him with keeping a false yardstick, and said he was in danger of coming to the gallows.' On this, the doctor observed, 'I believe, deacon, I had better give you no information on the subject; for there was no one in the store with the young gentleman and myself, and there is no witness of the transaction. The rumor must have originated with the young gentleman; and were I to say it is false, it would be charging him with lying, which would be a real censure on his character that I am not able to prove. If true, he might, to vindicate his own representation, say [that] the old man is ashamed of what he said, and, to save his reputation, prevaricates. Thus, bad as the affair now is, it would be worse. What is your opinion, deacon?' The deacon replied, 'I think with you, sir, that the subject had better be left to take its own course.'" †

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 121–125.

† Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 117–119. This incident illustrates the consistency of Hopkins's conduct with his principles. It is in striking coincidence with his remarks on the "Discipline of the Church," in his System, vol. ii. pp. 171–182, particularly p. 179. All accounts agree that Hopkins described himself when he speaks of President Edwards, as "taking great care never to use [his tongue] in any way that might prove mischievous to any; never to *sin with his tongue*, nor to improve [?] it in idle, trivial, and impertinent talk, which generally makes up a great part of the conversation of those who are full of words in all companies. He was sensible that in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin, and therefore refrained his lips, and habituated himself to *think* before he spoke, and to purpose some good end even in all his words; which led him to be, above many others, agreeable to St. James's advice, *slow to speak*." Memoir of Edwards, Edinburgh edition, p. 48.

Dr. Channing describes an interview, at the Redwood Library, between Hopkins and "a singular man named Stuart, or Stewart, sometimes called 'the walking philosopher,' in consequence of his having travelled over a good part of the world on foot. Stuart was a man of much kindness, too kind to lay his weight on a horse, or to eat animal food, or even to kill a mosquito when sucking his blood; but he was an atheist, and let drop some expression of his opinions before Dr. Hopkins. The Doctor was moved to indignation, and cried out, 'You fool! were it not for God, you could not move a step from where you stand.' Stuart replied calmly to Dr. Patten, who was present, 'The old gentleman seems disturbed.'" * Other persons acquainted with the scene here noticed, deny, and Dr. Channing does not affirm, that this stern reprover exhibited any unjustifiable passion in pronouncing him to be a fool who "said in his heart, There is no God." The reproof did not affect the friendly relations which had long subsisted between the divine and the eccentric author. It was understood to be nothing more than "plain speech." Infidels were wont to encounter the stalwart theologian, and they learned not to treasure up ill will in memory of his homely thrusts. Strangers, however, often supposed his pertinence to be impertinence, and mistook the decisive tones of his voice for signs of unwarranted passion.

They also misunderstood his *inquisitiveness* of mind. It must be allowed that he was excessively fond of asking questions — a fault which a native of New England should be slow to condemn. He was one of those who "through desire separate themselves, and seek to intermeddle with all knowledge." It was natural that the very trait which fitted him to be a theologian, should develop itself sometimes in too interrogative a style of conversation. In the eighth edition of the Autobiography of Rev. John Murray, the pioneer of Universalism in our land, is a vivid narrative of an interview between himself and our inquisitive divine. The picture is drawn by an opposer of Hopkins, and we may presume that it would have been differently colored, "if the lion had been the painter." Shaded as it is, however, it illustrates the eager curiosity and the decisive tones of the Newport minister, as well as the authority which once belonged to the "New England bishops." Explained as it ought to be, it does not warrant the belief, which Mr. Murray seems to have entertained, that Hopkins was irritated.† The two preachers were riding together on horseback, in the autumn of 1773, a distance of about forty miles, from Preston, in Connecticut, to Newport, in Rhode Island. Mr. Murray says: ‡

* Letter of February 14, 1840.

† See p. 63 of this Memoir.

‡ Life, pp. 169–177. For the sake of convenience, Mr. Hopkins's part of the dialogue is here printed in italics.

"In the course of the day, Mr. H. thus questioned me: '*Well, sir, I suppose you will preach in Newport.*' — Very likely, sir. — '*You have friends there, I presume.*' — No, sir, I do not know a single soul. — '*You have letters of recommendation, perhaps.*' — Not a line, sir. — '*Where, then, do you intend to go, and what do you intend to do?*' — I have laid no plans, sir. — '*I promise you, you shall not preach in my meeting.*' — I should be very much surprised, if I did, sir. — '*And I suppose you think you are called of God to go to Newport.*' — I think it is not unlikely, sir. — '*I believe you will find yourself mistaken.*' — It is possible. — '*Suppose you should find no place to preach in, what would you do then?*' — Devote myself to private conversation. — '*But suppose you could find no one to converse with.*' — Then I would turn about and come back again. — '*But what would you think of your faith?*' — Call it fancy. But, at present, I think I shall preach the gospel in Newport; and, although I am an utter stranger, knowing no one, nor known by any one, yet I expect, before I leave the place, to have many friends. — '*Ay, these are fine fancies, indeed.*' — Had you not better suspend your decision until you witness the result? Will it not then be full time to determine whether it be *faith* or *fancy*? — '*If it should not be as I predict, I should not be ashamed to own my error; if it should, you ought to blush for your unwarrantable confidence. But as it is not impossible you may preach in that city, and that some of my people may be among the number of your hearers, I think I have a right to question you.*' — If God will give me leave to preach to *his* people, I am content. — '*What do you mean by that, sir?*' — Your observation brought to my mind, what, on a certain occasion, a very distinguished servant of God said to his master, when he was told to go down and see what *his people* were doing: 'O Lord, they are not my people, they are thy people.' However, Moses was not settled on your plan. — '*Well, sir, I look upon my people to be God's people.*' — You are perfectly right, sir; so indeed they are; and if I speak to them at all, I shall speak to them in that character. — '*Well, sir, as you call yourself a preacher of the gospel, and* may, *as I have said, preach to my people, it is proper I should know what ideas you have of gospel. Tell me, sir, what is gospel?*' — I am happy in being able to give you a direct answer. The gospel, sir, is a solemn declaration, given upon the oath of Jehovah, that in the Seed of Abraham all the nations should be blessed. — '*Is that all you know of gospel?*' — Would it not, my good sir, require a very long time to inform mankind *who* and *what* that Seed is, how and in what manner all the nations of the earth *are* and *shall be blessed therein;* and what blessings they are blessed with, *in Christ Jesus?* The apostle Paul, although he labored more abundantly than his brethren, found this vast, this important subject, abundantly sufficient for his *whole life;* and those who are blessed in that Seed will find the contemplation of that blessedness which they shall be blessed with, *in him,* sufficient to furnish a song, which, although never ending, will be ever new. — '*If such be your views, you know nothing at all of gospel.*' — You could not so absolutely determine this matter, if you yourself were not acquainted with the meaning of the term gospel. Tell me then, sir, if you please, what is gospel? — '*Why, sir, this is gospel: He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth* not *shall be damned.*' — Indeed, sir, I had thought the *literal, simple* meaning of the term gospel, was *glad tidings.* Which part of the passage you have cited is gospel, that which announces *salvation,* or that which announces *damnation?* — '*Well, then, if you please, this is gospel: He that believeth shall be saved.*' — Believeth what, sir? — '*That.*' — What, sir? — '*That, I tell you.*' — What, sir? — '*That, I tell you: He that believeth shall be saved.*' — *Believeth what,* sir? What is he to believe? — '*Why, that, I tell you.*' — I wished, sir, to treat this investigation seriously; but, as you seem to be disposed to be rather ludicrous, we will, if you please, dismiss the subject. — '*No, sir, I do not mean to be ludicrous; I am very serious.*' — Well, sir, if so, then I beg leave to ask, What is it I am *to believe, the believing of which will save me?* — '*That Jesus Christ made it* possible *for sinners to be saved.*' — By what means? — '*By believing.*' — Believing what? — '*That.*' — What? — '*That Jesus Christ made it possible*

for sinners to be saved.' — By what means is it possible that sinners may be saved? — '*By believing, I tell you.*' — But the devils believe; will their believing save them? — '*No, sir.*' — Suppose I believe that Jesus Christ made it possible to save sinners; will that save me? — '*No, sir.*' — Then, sir, let me ask, What am I to believe, the believing of which will save me? — '*Why, sir, you must believe the gospel, that Jesus made it possible for sinners to be saved.*' — But by what means? — '*By believing.*' — Believing what? — '*That, I tell you.*'"

After some comments, Mr. Murray adds, (and, according to his own version, he made far more offensive remarks than he received, and was treated with peculiar fairness and moderation by his opposer:)

"Finding the temper of Mr. H. rise higher and higher, every time I repeated my question, I endeavored to bring the matter to a conclusion, by observing that I was astonished to find a master in Israel, and a writer too, either not *able*, or not *willing* to answer a simple question, viz., what am I to believe is the foundation of my salvation? what am I to believe procures my justification in the sight of God? — '*And I am astonished at your blasphemy.*' — This is in character, sir; men of your description were long since fond of fixing this charge on both the Master and his witnesses; but remember, sir, if I have blasphemed, it is only Mr. H. whom I have blasphemed. — '*Well, sir, I believe I have gone too far; I will, if you please, take back the charge.*' — With all my heart, sir. — '*I do not doubt you* may *be admired in Newport a whole fortnight.*' — That, no doubt, will be fourteen days longer than you would wish. Arriving in sight of Newport, Mr. H. said: '*There, sir, is my meeting-house; at a little distance from thence is my dwelling-house, and my friends are multiplied.*' — Well, sir, I have no home, meeting-house, nor friend, in Newport. Yet, I repeat, before I leave that city, I expect to have more than one home, and many friends. — '*Well, now I think of it, there is one man who has a little place, in which, possibly, you may get leave to preach; I will direct you to a man who has some acquaintance with him.*' — I will thank you, sir, to inform me where my horse may be taken care of; for myself, I have little concern. — '*I promise you horse keeping is very high in Newport.*' — That, sir, is very sad tidings to me, for I promise you my finances are very low. Some very bitter speeches were made; and I regretted that I was so unfortunate as to have taken the journey with Mr. H. Your people, said I, are leavened with the leaven of the Pharisees, and *you* seem to be leavened with the leaven of Herod. — '*What do you mean by the leaven of Herod?*' — I mean the nature of Herod. — '*How does that apply?*' — Some persons urged our Master to fly, in consequence of Herod's seeking his life. *Go*, said he, *tell that fox I work to-day and to-morrow*, &c., &c. Our Master denominated Herod a fox, for the purpose of giving an idea of his nature. What is a fox? a creature that lives upon the spoil; but he is dependent upon the secrecy of the night, and, we are told, in order the more effectually to cover his designs, he sometimes imitates the watch-dog, thus endeavoring to make it appear he is defending the property of the husbandman, while, under the guise of watchful care for others, he is covertly acting for himself, till the morning dawns, till the light appears, and then his labor ends. This is the leaven of Herod, and it was of the nature of this insidious animal, that our Lord cautioned his disciples to beware. — '*Well, there is something ingenious in that, I confess.*' — We reached the ferry a little before sunset, and on landing at Newport, '*There,*' said Mr. H., pointing to a small shop, '*if you will call on that man, he will give you direction.*' I walked on, stopped at the door, and holding the bridle in my hand," etc., etc.

That must certainly be a commendable character, against which its enemies can say nothing worse, than the father of New England

Universalism has said against one of the fathers of Hopkinsianism. Mr. Murray erred, in supposing his antagonist's want of amenity in manners to be an irascibility of temper. Amid all our commendation of Hopkins, we cannot say that he sacrificed to the Graces. His rugged work as a controversialist, did not make him a nice observer of conventional etiquette. Dr. West says, that he was never overbearing in an argument;* his style, however, made him appear so, at times, to strangers. He understood "human nature" far more thoroughly than "human life," and thus he often stirred up prejudices which a more "fashionable" man would have avoided. He was not made for smooth waters. Dr. Channing says, that "he wanted toleration toward those who rejected his views;"† but that he was more intolerant than other Calvinistic divines, Channing did not suppose, and what Channing would call intolerance they would call a needful reverence for the truth. Dr. Ashbel Green says, that Hopkins "is certainly a man of much more candor, liberality, and catholicism than most of his disciples;"‡ but his disciples have been as liberal and catholic as other Calvinists. A gentleman of literary distinction, who knew Hopkins well, and dissents from the Hopkinsian creed, has the magnanimity to write: "He seems to me, in looking back on that early day, to have been the most individual, identical man with whom I have ever been acquainted, or rather [whom] I have ever seen. He said what he thought, and with a clearness, a distinctness in perfect harmony with the occasion. I do believe that 'disinterested benevolence,' the underlying principle of his stern metaphysics and of his apparently totally impracticable theology, was as real and as operative with him, as is the opposite principle in the hearts and lives of other men."

Sect. XXXI. LETTER TO DR. STILES.

In the rich Literary Diary which President Stiles kept at Yale College, he has inserted the following record, which vividly illustrates the character of his times:

"New Haven, 1781. Received a letter from Rev. Mr. Hopkins, dated Newport, January 26; wherein he says, speaking of the state of religion there, 'Every thing is dark and discouraging here, with respect to the all-important interest. The people in general are going from bad to worse, and I now see no way for my continuing here longer than till spring. Neither your people nor mine are disposed to attend public worship constantly, except a few individuals. There is but little encouragement to preach, where there is so little attention, and so very little concern about any thing invisible. I expected you, sir, would be willing to perform the part of a professor of divinity on the decease of Dr. Daggett, till I was told the contrary by Mr. Fitch. I wish that place may be well supplied. But where is the man to be

* See p. 63 of this Memoir.
† Works, vol. iv. p. 342.
‡ Life of Dr. Green, p. 240.

found? — the man who will accept, and who will be accepted. If I knew of one who probably would be acceptable to the college, and might be willing to make a trial half a year or a year, he must not be mentioned, if he be a New Divinity man.'

"Remark 1. Very lamentable is the state of religion at Newport, and particularly that they will not attend public worship. But,

"2. One occasion of this negligence is brother Hopkins's New Divinity. He has preached his own congregation almost away, or into an indifference. He has fifty or sixty, or more, families of his own congregation in town, and might easily command a good assembly, if his preaching was as acceptable as his moral character. My congregation, gathered in town, are seventy or eighty families, and would gladly attend such preaching as Dr. Owen's, or Dr. Doddridge's, or preachers of far lower abilities, provided they were *ejusdem farinæ* with the first Puritan divines.

"3. Although New Divinity preachers collect some large congregations in some parts, as Taunton, Middleboro', Abington, &c., yet their preaching is acceptable, *not for the new tenets*, but for its containing the *good old doctrines of grace*, on which the new gentlemen are *very sound, and clear, and full.* In other parts, where the neighboring ministers generally preach the old Calvinistic doctrines, the people begin to be tired with the incessant inculcation of the unintelligible and shocking new points; especially, that an unconverted man had better be killing his father and mother than praying for converting grace; that true repentance implies a willingness and desire to be damned for the glory of God; that we are to give God thanks that he has caused Adam to sin, and involve all his posterity in total depravity, that Judas betrayed and the Jews crucified Christ, &c., &c.; that the children of none but communicants are to be baptized, &c.; that the churches and ministers are so corrupt and Laodicean, and have so intermixed with the world, that the New Divinity churches and ministers cannot hold communion, but must and do recede and sequester themselves from them." . . . . .

"4. I do not perceive on whom Mr. Hopkins has his eye for a professor of divinity. But Mr. Fitch tells me, Mr. Hopkins spake of Mr. West, of Stockbridge, as a great scholar, a great divine, and excellently qualified for such an office; but he supposed the corporation would not choose him. He also mentioned Mr. Hart, of Preston, as a great divine. I rather think he supposed Mr. West would be acceptable to the scholars. But when it is said, he would be willing to preach in college a year on trial, I should rather think he meant some one else besides Mr. West or Mr. Hart."

These remarks of Dr. Stiles suggest a few comments.

1. He manifests his usual fairness in confessing that the New School of divines were "VERY SOUND, AND CLEAR, AND FULL," on the "*good old doctrines of grace.*" This is the testimony of one who had been intimate with the leader of that school. He was better acquainted with their principles than are the men who, in some parts of our country, accuse that same school of denying the "fundamental doctrines of the gospel."

2. He implies, what is well known from other sources, that the New Divinity men aimed to be more strict in Christian discipline than the Old. He evidently revered — how could he avoid doing so? — the religious spirit of Hopkins, who was, at that time, the accredited chief of the New Divinity men. All who *knew* Hopkins acknowledged his personal excellence.

3. The two Hopkinsian doctrines, that men have natural power to do whatever they are justly required to do, and that all moral

character consists in the free choices of men, are not considered by Dr. Stiles as worthy of mention, when compared with the other Hopkinsian principles, that the children of communicants only are to be baptized, and that a creature ought to sacrifice all his interests when the glory of the Creator demands the sacrifice. During the lifetime of Hopkins, he found some, but not many, unreasonable enough to gainsay those two axioms relating to man's power to do what is required of him, and to the active nature of all sin.

4. Dr. S. describes Hopkinsianism as unpopular, and therefore as fit to be condemned. Many Calvinists have done the same, and thus added force to the Arminian objection, that Calvinism is not attractive to the human heart, and is, therefore, false.

5. The fact that Hopkins did not interest the fifty or sixty families of his parish in the support of the gospel, is ascribed by Dr. Stiles to the New Divinity, as a main cause; and yet the seventy or eighty families of Dr. Stiles's parish did not even go so far as to ordain a minister, until ten years after he had left them. If, then, the low estate of the First Church was occasioned by the "strong meat" of Hopkinsianism, why was not the lower estate of the Second Church occasioned by the "sincere milk" of moderate Calvinism, which Dr. Stiles had imparted for the twenty previous years? The depressed condition of both the First and Second Church was owing less to either the New or Old Divinity, than to the revolutionary war.*

6. While Dr. Stiles refers to New Divinity as thinning the audience of Mr. Hopkins, he concedes, with his characteristic frankness, that other preachers of that same divinity collected "large congregations." It is notorious that they had some of the best congregations in New England. Does not this imply, that some other causes operated in keeping away the multitude from the choir-leader of the New Divinity.

7. Dr. Channing ascribes the unpopularity of Mr. Hopkins, as a preacher, to a *combination* of different causes. He says:

"My recollections of Dr. Hopkins go back to my earliest years, [*i. e.*, a short time after Dr. Stiles penned the above record.] As the Second Congregational Church was closed in my childhood, in consequence of Dr. Stiles's removal to New Haven, my father was accustomed to attend on the ministry of Dr. Hopkins. Perhaps he was the first minister I heard, — but I heard him with no profit. His manner, which was singularly unattractive, could not win a child's attention; and the circumstances attending the service were repulsive. The church had been much injured by the British during the occupation of the town, and the congregation were too poor to repair it. It had a desolate look; and in winter the rattling of the windows made an impression which time has not worn out. It was literally as 'cold as a barn;' and some of the most painful sensations of my childhood were experienced in that comfortless building. As I grew up, I was accustomed to attend

* See Hon. William Ellery's Letter, in Dr. Holmes's Life of Stiles, pp. 223, 224. Hopkinsianism was repugnant, and so was moderate Calvinism, to many who had felt the influence of De Rochambeau and his army.

worship in our own church, where Dr. Patten was settled, so that for years I knew little of Dr. Hopkins. My first impressions were not very favorable. I think it probable, that his strong reprobation of the slave trade excited ill will in the place; and I can distinctly recollect, that the prevalence of terror in his preaching was a very common subject of remark, and gave rise to ludicrous stories among the boys."—"His [Dr. H.'s] preaching can only be understood by one who had heard him. His voice was most untunable. Some of the tones approached a cracked bell, more nearly than any thing to which I can compare it. He changed from a low to a high key, and the reverse, with no apparent reason. His manner was without animation. His matter, as far as I can trust my memory, was not made acceptable by any adaptation to the taste of the hearer. He had exercised the severer faculties of his mind too much to give a fair chance to the imagination. He had no relish for poetry, and spoke of himself as finding no attraction in Milton or Shakspeare. If his style was clear and strong, he owed these qualities to his habits of thought, and not to any study of the best writers. We cannot wonder, then, that he was a very uninteresting preacher. He sometimes ascribed the unfruitfulness of his ministry to other causes, and seemed to see in it a judgment on himself. But a minister who has not the gift to win attention, should see no mystery in his failing to do good. Dr. Hopkins was a student, not preacher. His mind was habitually employed in investigation, and he never studied the art of communication. With an unharmonious voice, with no graces of manner or style, and with a disposition to bring forward abstract and unpalatable notions, is it wonderful that he did so little in the pulpit?" *

8. The account which Mr. Hopkins himself gives of his ministerial discouragements is an affecting exhibition of his rare virtues. The idea seems never to have entered his mind, that by concealing the limited success of his pulpit, he might preclude some objections to his theology. With what an honest and humble spirit, does the divine of nearly fourscore years confess:

"My preaching has always appeared to me as poor, low, and miserable, compared with what it ought to be; and frequently a sense of my deficiencies in this has been very painful and discouraging; and I have felt often as if I must leave off, and never attempt any more; and commonly, if not always, a prospect of preaching, and when I have been entering upon it, has brought a peculiar burden on my mind. And many times, when I have been preaching, it has left a painful consciousness, that I have come unspeakably short of what ought to be. And I have never wondered that my preaching has been attended with so little apparent good effect, since it has been so deficient every way." †

How suddenly is a critic disarmed, when he reads the narrative which this aged and broken-hearted penitent gives of his qualifications for the pulpit!

"I have never," he says, "in the course of my life, since I first entertained a hope that I had been brought to the knowledge of the truth, given up my hope, and come to a settled conclusion that I had no grace; but my doubts have frequently rose very high. Many times my exercises have been such, as for a time to exclude all doubts. But I have been constantly conscious that I have always fallen unspeakably below what I ought to be, and what I

* Dr. Channing's Letter of February 14, 1840. Hopkins was an *old* man, as thus described.

† Sketches, p. 88.

hoped I should be. My strongest religious exercises and highest enjoyments have taken place in my retirement and secret devotions; and in my public performances, praying and preaching have generally been very low; which I have sometimes suspected was an argument that my religion is not genuine. I know it is an argument against me, that I am very sinfully defective in my social and public religion! I have been frequently carried out in secret in views of divine truth, and exercises, even to an ecstasy, while tears have flowed abundantly, with groanings and desires truly unutterable. My religious emotions and exercises of soul in the view of the truths respecting God and the Saviour, the way of salvation, my own evil character, &c., have been unspeakably more lively and strong, than any emotions and exercises I have ever experienced, respecting any worldly, temporal objects. I have loved retirement, and have never been comfortable when deprived of it; and have taken more pleasure *alone*, than in any company; and have often chosen to ride alone, when on a journey, rather than in the best company.* I have for a long course of years, even from my first entering on the work of the ministry, spent the last day of the week in retirement, and in fasting and prayer, unless interrupted by something extraordinary; and have found great advantage by it. This I have practised, not as a burden and task, but as a privilege. I have felt and known myself to be a low and shameful Christian, if I were one; and have generally reflected on myself, character, and conduct, as a Christian and minister of the gospel, with a *painful shame* and self-condemnation, of which none can have conception but those who have felt the same; knowing that in many things I offend, and in *every thing* have come unspeakably short of what I ought to do and be, considering my advantages, mercies, and obligations. My life and character, and all my exercises, are stained with such an awful degree of moral depravity and pollution, that I feel myself infinitely far from any righteousness or moral goodness that can recommend me to the favor of God; and if I am dealt with according to my moral character and desert, I must be cast off by God, and made miserable forever. I have no refuge but the righteousness, the infinite merit and worthiness of Christ. In *him* I hope; to him I come for pardon, justification, and redemption from all iniquity, while I am willing to be considered as infinitely unworthy, and ill-deserving, even the greatest sinner that is, or ever was on earth; and know that if I am saved, it will be wholly owing to mere, infinite, sovereign grace; to eternal, electing love; for which I cannot give or conceive any reason, but that which was given by the Son of God — 'Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.' I am truly ashamed of myself, that I have lived so long, and have made so little advances in mental [probably a misprint for 'moral and'] religious attainments; and am, at the same time, conscious that I see but very little of my shameful depravity which has actually taken place, and now exists, and as it is viewed by the omniscient Saviour; and, therefore, my confessions, shame and humiliation in his sight are inconsiderable and nothing, compared with my real shameful depravity and odiousness. And that petition well becomes me, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!'" †

* If Mr. Hopkins had learned to express in public the feelings which he poured out in private, he would have been one of the most eloquent of preachers. But he was often curbed and held down in presence of an auditory. He begins a letter on the first of January, 1771, in a style not very common for a New Year's Day: "I can in some measure sympathize with you in your dejecting sense of your own pollution, vileness, and guilt; though this brings a dreadful burden on me often, in which you cannot fully share. You can secrete yourself, and withdraw from society, when this view of yourself renders you unfit for company, and fills you with apprehensions that you shall do mischief to all you converse with. But I am *obliged* to lead in public worship, and engage in the most solemn and awful business of speaking in God's name, and dealing with immortals about their eternal concerns, whatever views I have of myself; however dejected in my own mind, and desirous to be hid in a corner, out of all danger of spreading mischief — out of the way, and even the thoughts of all."

† **Sketches**, pp. 85–88.

9. The success of Mr. Hopkins in the pulpit has been underrated both by himself and his opponents. Had he not been so much more celebrated in other spheres, he would have been called a useful preacher; not eminently so, not stirring or melting the sensibilities, but enlightening the intellect, probing the conscience, and thus purifying the heart. We know not how we can otherwise explain the eulogies of his friends, many of whom were noted for guarding and measuring their words. Making all needful deductions for the filial reverence with which Dr. Samuel Spring extolled the preaching of his instructor, we cannot account for his eulogistic language, unless we believe that Hopkins did some good to some men; and was fitted, although not to please the multitude, yet to edify mature Christians. "No minister, we think," says Dr. Samuel Spring, "was ever more justly esteemed and admired. For, though he was destitute of natural eloquence, such was the choice of his subjects, the interesting and properly arranged thoughts which constituted his sermons and prayers, that but few preachers commanded more attention, and were favored with more solemn and devout assemblies. To administer conviction and instruction, edification and consolation, according to the respective conditions of his hearers, was the design and tendency of his preaching. Good people rejoiced, and wicked people trembled, at seeing him enter the desk. For he believed, and made them believe also, that his ministration would prove the savor of life to some, and the savor of death to others. How solemn the thought! How solemn and interesting the connection between minister and people! But this the Doctor felt, and this he was qualified to make others feel. Hence the devout and awful solemnity which attended his public performances. He preached Christ, and not himself; he concealed himself, and displayed the truth." *

Sect. XXXII. HOPKINS AS A REFORMER.

"He had many qualities," says Dr. Channing, "fitting him for a reformer — great singleness of purpose, invincible patience of research, sagacity to detect and courage to oppose errors, a thirst for consistency of views, and resolution to carry out his principles to their legitimate consequences." † He received the recompense of reformers — much obloquy while he was living, but many presages of a posthumous fame. In reading his letters and Journal, we are surprised at the extent to which he anticipated some of our modern reforms.

He inculcated, at a very early day, the duty of entire abstinence

* See Massachusetts Missionary Magazine for February, 1804, p. 363.
† Letter of February 14, 1840.

from intoxicating liquids as a beverage.* He showed the power of conscience and will over the sensibilities, in his sudden abandonment of tobacco. The particulars of this change in his habit, are thus detailed by Dr. Patten:

"Among the customs of the day, that of smoking had become general, especially by ministers of the gospel. Mr. Hopkins had followed the custom. At a meeting of ministers, as they were indulging in the practice, and had filled the room with smoke, the wife of the minister at whose house they met, found it necessary to take something from a cupboard at the farther corner of the room. As she opened the door, a cloud of smoke came on her, and produced a partial suffocation. She put her apron to her face, and hastened across the room, and then returned and shut the door. Mr. Hopkins received the impression that it was not becoming, but disgraceful, for Christians, but especially ministers, to adopt a practice which was disgusting, and would exclude females of delicacy from their society and conversation. He said nothing, but took his pipe and laid it on the shelf over the fireplace, secretly resolving that he would not take it down again unless he should feel it to be necessary. Yet the impression so far continued, that he never had the least inclination to resume the practice. A singular example of the power of reason and principle over sense and habit — a habit which is one of the most powerful that can be contracted. After this success, he made it an object to speak to his clerical brethren and others against the use of tobacco, as unnecessary and injurious; and so extensively did he prevail, that it became almost a mark that one believed with him in doctrine, that he made no use of tobacco." †

Mr. Hopkins was an early opponent of Free-masonry.‡ "I heartily wish that Dagon sunk, as a millstone in the sea, never to rise again. But there is a *Washington* in the way, and many others." So he wrote at the age of seventy-seven, and in his eighty-first year he says: "The Free-masons are building a famous lodge here. The frame is now raising, a few rods from my house, in plain sight of my study window. The din of axes, hammers, and the voices of men, assaults me while I am writing this. It will cost some thousands of dollars, but they have money in plenty for the promotion of such business. It is to contain a spacious hall for dancing. Thus the devil's interest and kingdom seems to go on and prosper; but in reality it is all *for Christ*, and designed to promote his interest and kingdom."

Non omnia possumus omnes. There was one popular evil, the nature of which Hopkins does not seem, at least before his sixty-fifth year, to have detected. The Newport Mercury of December 18, 1784, appropriates an entire page to a list of the prizes drawn in the *first* class of the First Congregational Church Lottery, in Newport. There were thirty-six hundred tickets in the lottery; one

* See also his opposition to the sale of ardent spirit, as intimated on pp. 33–35.

† Reminiscences, pp. 37, 38.

‡ This opposition of Mr. Hopkins to the Masonic order evinces his impartiality; for some of his best friends belonged to that order, and are spoken of as having been buried with Masonic and military honors.

ticket drew three hundred dollars, two tickets drew fifty dollars each, five drew twenty each, and thirty drew ten each. The Mercury of February 19, 1785, devotes a column to "a list of the fortunate numbers in the *second* class of the First Congregational Church Lottery in Newport." This church was Mr. Hopkins's. Other churches, however, were in the same condemnation. The Mercury of May 28, 1785, gives a schedule of the *first* class of the Second Congregational Church Lottery; and September 17, 1785, it describes the drawing of the *second* class of the lottery for the same church, then recently Dr. Stiles's. The Mercury of April 28, 1795, publishes the prizes in the "Little Compton United Congregational Society Lottery." The most reputable ministers of New England then favored the lottery system. Dr. Hart, Dr. Benedict, and other clergymen, drew prizes in both the lotteries of Mr. Hopkins's church; and "honest Mr. Gillet" drew six hundred dollars, the highest prize of the second class. — But why not conceal these facts? First, concealment is not honest. Secondly, concealment is not wise. It is useful to know the imperfections of the best men. Thirdly, concealment does not accord with the inspired example. David and Peter are described in the Bible as they really lived. Fourthly, concealment is not possible. If the friends of a man do not tell the truth about him, his enemies will. Fifthly, concealment is not necessary. The failure of Hopkins to see the evil of the lottery system, was shared by many of the best men in his own day, and only proves him to have been human.

There is also another evil, of which our reformer seems to have been regardless, until the year 1770. He seems to have agreed with President Edwards, as long as the President lived, with regard to slavery. In the inventory of Edwards's estate, after his death, there was mentioned, among his "quick stock," one negro boy, Titus, valued at a hundred dollars. So, during a part of Hopkins's residence at Great Barrington, he owned a slave. This is asserted in part on the authority of Drs. Patten, Channing, Tenney, Mr. Ferguson, and in part on the ground of common fame. An ordinary observer, in the last century, would not have suspected, that Samuel Hopkins would become the hero of a novel. The Christian World, however, of October 14, 21, and 28, 1843, devotes four or five columns to a tale extracted from the Albany Weekly Patriot, with regard to the sale of Hopkins's slave, the mental depression of the good man in consequence of his bargain, and the subsequent history of the negro who was sold. The scene of the narrative is laid at Newport. The more common, as well as the more correct opinion, however, has been, that the slave was sold before Dr. Hopkins visited Newport, and that the remembrance of his own traffic in human flesh stimulated him to oppose the same evil in other men.

Sect. XXXIII. PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO THE SLAVE TRADE AND TO SLAVERY.

The amiable Buckminster wrote a Review of West's Sketches of Hopkins's Life, for the Monthly Anthology. He introduced his Review with the following words: "Nothing but the celebrity of Dr. Hopkins's name would have induced us to give that attention to these memoirs, which is commonly expected of reviewers; for we imagine they will be very interesting only to those who have adopted his system of theology, or who are inclined to lay equal stress with him on the variety and frequency of what are called religious experiences."* Now, it is very true, that Hopkins took hold of theology with a strong hand; but he was not a man of one idea. Politicians, as well as sentimentalists, have an interest in him; as will be seen in the record of his anti-slavery projects.

Rhode Island has been justly famed for its love of freedom. The Commissioners of Providence Plantations and Warwick passed an act against the purchase of negroes, as early as May 18, 1652. In 1675–6, the Legislature prohibited the reducing of Indians to bondage; and in 1715, the *importation* of Indian slaves. But notwithstanding her early zeal in behalf of liberty, Rhode Island became, at length, deeply involved in the slave system. Many of her families gained their wealth from it, many more were dependent upon it for their maintenance. And of all her towns which were engaged in the negro traffic, Newport was the chief. It was, indeed, "the great slave market of New England!"† It is said, that Hopkins often looked upon the cargoes of Africans who were landed at the wharves near his meeting-house and parsonage. His church members, his best friends, his nearest neighbors, nearly all the respectable families of the town, were owners, and many of the most accomplished merchants on the island were importers of slaves. They imported not for New England alone, but for the South. Even as recently as 1804–8, Rhode Island owned fifty-nine of the two hundred and two slavers carrying negroes into the single port of Charleston, South Carolina; and of the seventeen thousand and forty-eight Africans, taken into that port during those four years by American vessels, the Rhode Island slavers took six thousand two hundred and thirty-eight; and of these, the Newport slavers, diminished in number as they had been, took three thousand four hundred and eighty-eight.‡

Amid such a community, then, to attack the system of African bondage was to rise up against principalities and powers; against friends, and even the church. It would have been very easy for

* See Anthology, vol. iii. p. 152, seq.

† Updike's History of the Narraganset Church, pp. 170–174.

‡ Speech of Judge Smith, of South Carolina, in the United States Senate, December 8, 1820. See Updike's History of the Narraganset Church, p. 168.

Hopkins to discharge volleys against this evil from behind Monument Mountain, in Great Barrington; but now he has removed from that snug retreat into the very centre of the slave interest, his personal quiet and reputation are hazarded by a single whisper with regard to it; — and what shall he do? He is poor, and at this time [about 1770] he has, what he never had before, a comfortable salary; — shall he forfeit his support? He is the reputed leader of a new school of divines; — and shall he expose that school to obloquy, by identifying it with an unpopular assault upon an established institution? He is a preacher of the gospel; — and shall he divert the attention of his hearers from spiritual truth to a political scheme? These were grave questions which he gravely canvassed. At first he doubted. He was a prudent man. But his Hopkinsian divinity was characterized by the principle, that one must sacrifice all his interests, in this and the other world, if one can thereby promote the welfare of "being in general." He believed that if he lifted his voice in behalf of the bondmen, he should advance the interests of his race and the honor of his Maker. He offered himself as a sacrifice. He did it deliberately, solemnly. Anticipating the indignation of his people and the anger of the community, he preached a sermon against the kidnapping, and purchasing, and retaining of slaves. A New England poet * has said: "It well may be doubted, whether, on that Sabbath day, the angels of God, in their wide survey of his universe, looked upon a nobler spectacle than that of the minister of Newport, rising up before his slaveholding congregation, and demanding, in the name of the Highest, the 'deliverance of the captive, and the opening of prison doors to them that were bound!'" The citizens of Newport were startled by this novel discourse. No minister in the land had preached on slavery in so bold a manner. † The benevolent Quakers of Rhode Island had long been willing to pursue, but were not now pursuing, a course of public action against the evil. Hopkins stood up alone, not indeed without any in the State who would give him their sympathies, but without any who would rise in bold resistance to the dominant powers. He anticipated the worst, and showed the spirit of a martyr. In his modesty, he underrated the strength of attachment felt for him by his people. His sermons offended a few, and made them permanently his enemies. One wealthy family left his congregation in disgust; but the majority of his hearers were astonished that they, of themselves, had not long before seen and felt the truths which he disclosed to them.

He was encouraged, and went again to the work. In 1776, he

* John G. Whittier, in the National Era, July 12, 1847.

† There is no doubt that many clergymen in the land were inwardly hostile to the slave system, and were happy to see it so vigorously opposed. But Hopkins had not been apprised of their feelings. — He preached several times on the subject between 1770 and 1776.

published his celebrated Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, together with his Address to Slaveholders. This is a remarkable document. It opposes both the purchasing and the owning of slaves. Some parts of it are written in a style of live-oak. They are good specimens of the condensed vigor which he could, at times, throw into his composition. Very few reasons and motives have since been adduced for manumission, which are not found in this pamphlet. It was for a long time a *thesaurus* for less original writers on the subject. It is noteworthy, that he penned this Dialogue during the alarms which his people were suffering, in the two years preceding their dispersion by the British. He published it in the midst of the revolutionary war! He printed it at Norwich; probably because the Newport press could not safely engage in so offensive an enterprise. What hope had he, that amid the distracting influences of the struggle for independence, his countrymen would listen to an appeal for the slave? He deemed it the fitting time for such an appeal; because, while men were expending their treasures for their own freedom, they would feel the consistency of giving freedom to their own bondmen. Hopkins meant to sound a trumpet which would be heard throughout the land. He aimed high. He dedicated his pamphlet to the "Honorable Continental Congress." Copies of it were sent to the members of that body, and to the prominent citizens in all the colonies. As it was, in some respects, perhaps the ablest document which had, at that time and on that theme, appeared in the English language, and as it was not known to have come from an humble parson, (for its author did not publish his name at first,) it had a wide circulation among statesmen. It was reprinted, in an edition of two thousand copies, by the New York Manumission Society, conformably to a vote passed December 11, 1785, less than a year after the formation of the society. A copy of it was sent, in accordance with another vote of the same association, to every member of Congress, and of the New York Legislature. John Jay was at that time the President of the society, and Alexander Hamilton the Secretary. Among its most active members were James Duane, Mayor of New York City, and Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York State. The society, in about five months after it had published this Dialogue, addressed a petition to the Legislature, in favor of a law prohibiting the exportation of slaves for a foreign market. It is said that the Dialogue did much to prepare the minds of the society for this aggressive movement.

At a subsequent date, the society directed the following letter to Mr. Hopkins. It is worthy of remark, that about three months before this honor was conferred on him, the same honor was conferred, by the same association, upon Granville Sharp, of England.*

* See the letter of Judge Jay, and Mr. Sharp's acknowledgment of the same, in Prince Hoare's Life of Sharp, pp. 252, 334, quarto edition.

"New York, December 10, 1788. Reverend Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated, wishing to show their respect to gentlemen who are eminent for their attachment to the rights of men in general, and particularly to those who espouse the cause of the enslaved Africans, have lately added to their rules one for the admission of honorary members; and at their last meeting took the liberty of enrolling your name among them; of which they directed notice to be given by their Committee of Correspondence, in whose behalf I now write. It is with peculiar pleasure I communicate the information, and have the honor to be, Reverend Sir, your very humble servant, EBEN. HAZARD."

About the same time, Mr. Hopkins was elected an honorary member of the Pennsylvania Society for the Manumission of Slaves; of which society Benjamin Franklin was President, and Dr. Benjamin Rush was Secretary.

It must not be supposed that Hopkins confined his efforts to the pulpit and the press. "In one instance," says Mr. John G. Whittier,* "he borrowed, on his own responsibility, the sum requisite to secure the freedom of a slave in whom he became interested." He was a kind of anti-slavery apostle, visiting from house to house, and urging masters to free their bondmen. He persuaded several of his neighbors to perform this duty, and his conversation with many clergymen awakened their minds to exertion in this branch of benevolence. We cannot estimate the amount of good which he accomplished in the following interview with Dr. Bellamy, whose example was a law to multitudes. Mr. Ferguson says,† that while Hopkins was once on a visit at the house of Bellamy, who then owned a slave, he pressed upon his friend the objections against slavery. Bellamy defended the system with the usual arguments, and Hopkins refuted them, and then called on his friend to free his slave at once; Bellamy replied, that "the slave was a most faithful and judicious servant; that in his management of the farm, he could be trusted with every thing; and that he was so happy in his servitude, that he would, in the opinion of his master, refuse his freedom, were it offered to him. 'Will you consent to his liberation,' said Dr. Hopkins, 'if he really desires it?' 'Yes,' replied Dr. Bellamy, 'I will.' The slave was then at work in the field. 'Call him,' said Dr. H., and let us try.' The slave came to receive, as he he supposed, the commands of his master. — 'Have you a good master?' said Dr. Hopkins, addressing the slave. What could the slave answer but, 'Yes'? — 'Are you happy in your present condition?' — How could the slave deny that he was? — 'Would you be *more* happy if you were free?' 'O, yes, massa, — me would be much more happy.' 'You have your desire,' exclaimed Dr. Bellamy: 'from this moment you are free.'"‡

* See National Era, July 12, 1847. See also Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 82, 83.

† Life of Hopkins, pp. 85, 86.

‡ Substantially the same narrative has been given by several writers beside Mr. Ferguson.

Sect. XXXIV. INTEREST IN ABOLITION SOCIETIES, AND IN POLITICAL ACTION AGAINST SLAVERY.

When Mr. Hopkins first preached against the slave system, there was not — so far as we are apprised — an association formed in the world for abolishing that system. Multitudes were in favor of the abolition, but they had no concerted plan for effecting their purpose. Although the forecasting mind of the Newport pastor was not the first to devise the scheme of Abolition Societies, yet he was quick to see their worth, and his efforts were among the foremost means of augmenting their number. Not only by his Sermons and Dialogue, but by his numerous letters to public men, and by his newspaper essays, he stirred up ministers and laymen to an organized and political action against slavery. He found powerful coadjutors among the Society of Friends. He found, also, an innate love of freedom among the yeomen of Rhode Island. With all his martyr-spirit, he doubtless foresaw that the mass of the people would come right; for, although he was not familiar with the etiquette of society, he had a profound knowledge of human nature,* and a faith that God will lead his servants through much tribulation into ultimate success. It was cheering to him, that some time after he had broken the silence of the pulpit, the friends of freedom, in June, 1774, pressed a law — somewhat inoperative, indeed — through the Legislature of Rhode Island, prohibiting the importation of negroes into the colony. Still more cheering was the legislative vote of February, 1784,† declaring that all children of slaves, born after the first of the next March, should be free. He found hosts of enemies, however, and the following correspondence exhibits his activity in counteracting their schemes, and in waking up the energies of good men. It discloses, also, the hardships to which the early advocates of freedom were exposed, and our obligations to them for enduring this "hardness as good soldiers."

To Moses Brown, of Providence, a wealthy member of the Society of Friends. — "Newport, April 29, 1784. Much esteemed Friend: I am much pleased with your zeal, and persevering, assiduous attempts to discourage and abolish the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans among us. Though I have a degree of the same zeal, yet I am apt to sink under discouragements which you seem easily to surmount. I have dared publicly to declare that this town is the most guilty, respecting the slave trade, of any on the continent, as it has been, in a great measure, built up by the blood of the poor Africans; and that the only way to escape the effects of divine displeasure, is to be sensible

* When Dr. C. J. Tenney was a young man, on his way to Newport, Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, said to him, "In fifteen minutes, Dr. Hopkins will sound you through and through."

† In this year, however, a motion to prohibit the slave trade was negatived by a considerable majority of the General Assembly of Rhode Island. Still, the Rhode Island Assembly was only four years later than the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in securing the freedom of the slaves to be born within the State.

of the sin, repent, and reform. This has greatly displeased a number, and I fear the most are far from a disposition to repent, especially they who have the greatest share of the guilt. This town, I greatly fear, will be the last in the State to do what they ought to do, and be foremost in it, respecting that most abominable traffic, and the consequent slavery that is among us. This gives me a gloomy prospect of our future circumstances. The freemen have chosen a new set of representatives, except one. Though some of them are, in many respects, worthy men, I believe not one of them will vote for any law to discourage the slave trade, or the slavery of the Africans. And I suspect that they who planned this choice had a particular view to this. As there are objections against the law freeing those blacks which shall be born in future, especially against the towns where they are born being obliged to maintain them, &c., I expect there will be a strong motion to have it altered or repealed at the next General Assembly; and I fear that, by the cunning and influence of a number, the latter will be effected. But GOD sitteth in the heavens.

"The Friends have set a laudable example in bearing testimony against the slave trade, and exerting themselves to suppress the slavery of the Africans; and, I must say, have acted more like Christians, in this important article, than any other denomination of Christians among us. To our *shame* be it spoken! The church in which I preside have agreed to declare, that the slave trade and the slavery of the blacks, as it has been practised among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel, and, therefore, we will not tolerate it in this church. But it is thought that present circumstances will not admit of our addressing the General Assembly on that head, so as to answer any good purpose. What I published formerly, in the weekly paper here, consisted chiefly in extracts from other authors,* all which you have doubtless seen, and most of them have since been printed in Providence papers. Our printer gave such offence to a number, by publishing those extracts, and was so threatened, if he continued to insert such things in his paper, that he has been backward to do any thing of this kind since. He has, however, consented to print some observations on that head, which I thought proper at this time, next Saturday; a copy of which I shall send to you when I have opportunity." †

To Moses Brown. — "Nov. 17, 1784. My worthy Friend: I enclose to you something relating to the slave trade, that you may get it inserted in the Providence papers, if you think it will answer any valuable end. I have not offered it to the printer here, because I thought if it *first* appeared in our paper, the author would be more likely to be suspected, which would answer no good end, but the contrary. ‡ I am glad to see the address of the Friends to the British Legislature,§ inserted in Mr. Wheeler's paper. I hope it will have influence. At least, they have delivered themselves from the guilt of that horrible trade."

* He published, at this period, various extracts from the writings of the Bishop of Gloucester; and several years afterward, extracts from the works of Clarkson and Paley, on the slave system. He also published, if we may judge from the style of the anonymous essays, more of *original* matter than came from the pen of any other Rhode Islander, on this topic

† This article was printed in the Newport Mercury of May 1, 1784; and as a specimen of his mildest style on the subject of slavery, is now republished in the Doctrinal Tract Society's edition of Hopkins's Works.

‡ This is a very spirited article. It first appeared in the United States Chronicle, Political, Commercial, and Historical, printed by Bennet Wheeler, Providence; and at the close is the following notice: "All the printers of newspapers in the United States, who are friends to liberty, their country, and mankind, are desired to insert the above in their several papers." Great efforts were made by Mr. Brown to circulate all of Mr. Hopkins's newspaper essays. Many of them were struck off in a separate form, and distributed as circulars over the country.

§ In E. Copley's History of Slavery, it is said that the first petition to Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was presented in 1785, by citizens of Bridgewater.

*To Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut.** — "February 10, 1786. Reverend and Dear Sir: I send you three pamphlets, put into my hands to promote a conviction of the evil of the slave trade and of slavery. You will use them to that end, in the way you think best. They are printed by the Quakers in England. Mr. Brown, of Providence, who sent them to me, writes that the dissenting clergy are joining to promote the utter abolition of slavery in the British dominions, and of the slave trade. He wishes to have a prize † set up in some of our colleges, to be given for the best piece against the slave trade, and says he will give twenty dollars toward such a design. He wishes the clergy in America were more engaged to use their influence against the slave trade. Query: Would it not be worth while to attempt to get the Convention of clergy in Boston, the General Association in Connecticut, and the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, to remonstrate against it to Congress, or [in] some other way to bear their testimony against it?"

To Moses Brown. — "March 9, 1787. My Friend: I wrote you two days ago, but having since received a letter from Mr. Law, dated Charleston, February 16, I write again to send you the following abstract from it: 'A Captain Moses S., of Providence, shipped two free negroes as seamen on board his vessel; and when he arrived at this place, he, instead of paying them their wages, according to agreement, sold them for slaves. A gentleman, whom I desired to inquire into the matter, informed me yesterday that they were redeemed and set at liberty. But I think such iniquity ought not to go unpunished, if any law will take hold of it; and I wish you to write to Mr. Moses Brown. If nothing more, it may be a means of their preventing others doing in like manner.' You will please to make what use of this you think best. He informs me that the Legislature in North Carolina had made a law prohibiting the importing slaves into that State; and that a senator, member of the Legislature of South Carolina, then sitting at Charleston, had told him that he did not doubt but a law of the same tenor would be enacted at that session."

To Moses Brown. — "August 13, 1787. My Kind Friend: Yours of July 17 came to hand about the beginning of this month. I thank you for the intelligence you have taken pains to communicate to me. I have the same opinion of Dr. Thornton ‡ that you have entertained of him. I have seen the memorial that you, with your friends, presented to the General Assembly of this State, and highly approve of it. I have made a motion to most of the ministers in this town to join with all the ministers in this State, in presenting a memorial to the Assembly, of the same tenor with yours. Several of them approve, and say they will sign such a memorial, if I will draw one. But my situation and business will not admit of my applying to all the ministers in the State, before the Assembly is to sit. I hope to present the matter as soon as possi-

But Clarkson, in his History, p. 94, mentions the petition of the Quakers for the same object, in 1783; to which petition Mr. Hopkins here alludes. The House of Burgesses, in Virginia, petitioned the *King*, on the first of April, 1772, for the abolition of the slave trade in their colony.

* Rev. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut, was an intimate friend of Hopkins, from 1760 to 1803. He was a theological student of Bellamy, and married Rebecca, Bellamy's eldest daughter. He was among the original founders of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, and was active in forming the connection between the churches of Connecticut and the Presbyterian General Assembly. He was a trustee of Dartmouth, and also of Yale College. He was a man of influence. At his funeral, Dr. Joel Benedict preached a sermon; and on the following Sabbath Dr. Nathan Strong preached another sermon, in memory of his virtues. Both of these discourses were published.

† The idea of this seems to have been suggested by the prize essay proposed in the year preceding, by Dr. Peckard, of Cambridge, England. Thomas Clarkson was the successful competitor for the premium, and derived from it his first interest in the cause of the slave.

‡ One of the earliest friends of the colonization scheme.

ble. I do not think it likely that the Assembly will take the matter up, so as to do any thing against the slave trade, at the next session. If they do not wholly dismiss the petition, I shall be glad. I have pretty good evidence that some of them speak fair words to you and your friends, who yet are determined against doing any thing against the slave trade. I enclose to you an essay which I have attempted to get published in the Newport Herald. And the printer promised me that he would insert the whole of it at the head of his paper, this week, so that it should be out before the sitting of the Assembly. But he has since told me that he cannot print it, and has returned it. He says he has consulted his friends, and they tell him that it will greatly hurt his interest to do it; that there is so large a number of his customers either in the slave trade, or in such connection with [it], or so disposed with respect to it, to whom it will give the greatest offence, that it is not prudent for him to do it. He therefore wholly refuses to do it. Thus that wicked set of men in this town have got the printer in their hands, and have silenced the press, as other tyrants have done before them. In vain do I tell him, that he has fallen from his profession and promise when he first came here, and that his press is no more open and free. If, when you have read it, you shall think best to have it published, and Mr. Wheeler or Mr. Carter will do it, you have my free consent. I have erased Mr. E.'s name. *His* name who shall print it, if it be printed, must be inserted in the room of that. The length, perhaps, may be an objection, though Mr. E. did not object to that. If it cannot be all inserted in one paper, it may be divided and continued to the next. — I shall very thankfully accept of your kind offer of the loan of Ramsay's Treatise. I have desired to read it ever since I saw the account of it in Clarkson's Essay. You will please to send it by some safe conveyance, or commit it to the care of Bristol Yamma, a free negro, in Providence, whom I suppose you know. He will faithfully transmit it to me. This is to go through his hands. I send you one of the second edition of the Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, to which a short Appendix is added."

In a letter of October 22, 1787, Mr. Hopkins remarks to Mr. Brown:

"It has been objected by some of the ministers, against preferring a memorial to the General Assembly, respecting the slave trade, that the present ruling part in the Assembly have appeared to be so destitute of all principles of justice, or [of] regard to it, and have acted such an iniquitous part, that there is an impropriety in applying to them for justice; especially for the ministers of the gospel to do it, whom they hold in the highest contempt, and would embrace any opportunity to pour contempt upon them; which we should give them by laying such a petition before them. This prevents any thing of that kind being done at present."

In the same letter, Mr. Hopkins alludes to a lengthened Essay, signed *Crito*, which he had written for the Providence Gazette and Country Journal. It was inserted in two successive numbers of that paper, October 6 and 13, 1787. Mr. Brown circulated copies of these papers among the most influential statesmen of the land. The letters which follow disclose the celebrity which this Essay attained, and the importance attached to it. It is written in a more pungent and racy style than is generally ascribed to the Newport metaphysician. It is now republished in the Tract Society's edition of Hopkins's Works.

To Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut. — "November 27, 1787. Reverend and Dear Sir: I write this to go by Plainfield, by General Douglass. By him I send to Mr. Steward several newspapers containing pieces respect-

ing the slave trade, and have desired him to transmit them to you. Perhaps, if you should think it worth while, you might get them reprinted in some Connecticut newspaper; particularly the law made in this State against the slave trade. Rhode Island is in such low credit, or, rather, so infamous, that I fear their example will not have much influence, even when they do that which is worthy of imitation. Is it not extraordinary, that this State, which has exceeded the rest of the States in carrying on this trade, should be the first Legislature on this globe which has prohibited that trade? Let them have the praise of this; especially as the Assembly were so nearly unanimous, there being but *four* dissenting voices. If Boston and Connecticut should not join us in this, I fear this law will soon be like some other *Rhode Island laws.*" *

To Dr. Levi Hart. — "November 27, at evening, 1787. Dear Sir: I have received a letter from Mr. Moses Brown, of Providence, which I conclude to enclose to you, with twelve pages which contain *Crito*, which he mentions, and which I mentioned in my letter of to-day, as conveyed to Mr. Steward, desiring him to put it into your hands. Moses Brown is a man of a respectable character, as an honest, sensible man. He is a man of interest. He was not educated a Quaker, but joined that sect some years ago. He is brother to the famous John Brown, the rich merchant in Providence.† This Moses was once concerned in the slave trade; but for many years has been convinced of the iniquity of it, and his sin in practising it has lain heavy on his conscience. He thinks it his duty to do all in his power to put a stop to this traffic, and an end to the slavery of Africans, and to assist them to obtain their freedom, in all the ways he can. And he is active and unwearied in his endeavors to promote these ends. And I must say, that he and a number of his brethren, who join him in this matter, have acted a judicious, faithful, and honorable part. We have no men of any other denomination in these States, who appear so conscientious, discerning, faithful, and zealous, in this matter, as these Quakers do; or who, in this respect, show so much of a Christian spirit. If we had a number of men of influence of this stamp in every State, the slave trade and slavery would be soon abolished. You will see by his letter what he desires of me. You are the only man I can apply to in Connecticut, with a view of answering any end respecting this matter. You have access to some gentlemen of influence. The Governor lives near you, and [you] can communicate any thing you please on this subject to him. Esquire Sherman is an honest man, and his influence is great; and there are, doubtless, others whom you know. There are, doubtless, clergymen, with whom you have such connection that you may excite them to use their influence in opposition to the slave trade, if it be true that they are now carrying it on in Connecticut. You will do what you think prudence and duty; and this is all that I can expect or desire. I have been truly ashamed, that the clergy in these States, and in New England in particular, have not, unitedly and publicly, borne testimony against this trade and the slavery of Africans. If the ministers of the gospel would now join in general, or by particular associations, to petition the General Assembly to suppress this trade, in imitation of the Quakers in this State, I think they would act a part which is very becoming to them, — yea, their incumbent duty, and honorable to their character. As to publishing the *Crito*, &c., which I have mentioned in my letter of this day,

* The preceding section, and also the present, develop some inconsistency in the legislation of Rhode Island, with regard to the slave system. This vacillating policy annoyed the good divine.

† John Brown laid the corner stone of the first building erected in Providence for Rhode Island College. The second building erected for the college was named in honor of a niece of Moses Brown; and the college itself bears its present appellation in memory of his nephew, Nicholas. There were four brothers, all eminent men, of whom Moses was the youngest. He was an honor to human nature, and it is pleasant to reflect, that amid the deep poverty of Hopkins, he was so intimate with a Quaker of such princely fortune and more than princely virtue. See Genealogy of a Portion of the Brown Family, pp. 6, 7. Providence, 1851.

and which Mr. Brown mentions to me, you will judge what can be done and what is best. He, you will see, offers to be at the expense which shall be necessary, if any; and I am not afraid to be his bondsman. He had fifty of each of the papers on which the *Crito* is printed struck off for him, and took pains to send them to most of the representatives and [members] of the Upper House, before the meeting of the Assembly; and it is thought this had considerable influence in producing the law."

To Moses Brown. — "January 5, 1788. Dear Sir: Ramsay's Essay came safe to me, which I return with thanks. I also thank you for two dozen of the Providence Gazette, and for your letter containing many particulars of which I was glad to be informed. I, without delay, wrote particularly to Mr. Hart, in Preston, in Connecticut, and enclosed your letter to him. He is an honest, sensible, active man, and has a particular acquaintance with the Governor of that State, and with others in public stations. He is ready to do all in his power to put a stop to the slave trade. I hope he will be able to do something which shall effect the suppression of it in that State. I have also sent *Crito's* Essay to Dr. Cogswell, in New York, who is a member of the African Society, and not one of the least active. I proposed to him to get *Crito* reprinted in some of their public prints; and that the society would enlarge their plan, and take into it *endeavors to abolish the slave trade.*

"Several days ago, one of your committee, Mr. Wilkinson, called upon me, and informed me that there was a proposal to get *Crito* reprinted in several newspapers in Boston State, unless something which might more particularly be adapted to that State might be published. I told him I had not thought of any thing that would, in my view, be worth saying, which was not contained in that Essay; but I would think of the matter, and if any thing should occur to my mind on that head, I would inform you, as I should write to you the first opportunity. In this view, I have attended to it; and have added two marginal notes, which I send to you with the papers containing the Essay. I am far from being confident that it is best, or worth while, to insert them, especially the first, but leave it with you and your friends to determine as you think best. One objection against inserting them is, that it will lengthen the Essay, which is now almost too long to be inserted in a newspaper. But I do not find myself able to abridge it. If you should get the Essay reprinted, as proposed, and think of inserting those marginal notes, I give you full liberty to make any alteration in them, by adding or subtracting, as you shall think best."

To Moses Brown. — "February 25, 1788. My Kind Friend: When I wrote you [my] last [letter], which went with Ramsay's Essay, I informed you that I had forwarded your letter to me, with *Crito* on Slave Trade, to Mr. Hart, in Connecticut. I have since had a letter from him, informing that the printers of newspapers in Norwich and Hartford have engaged to print it in their respective papers, without cost. And that he shall exert himself to the utmost, and use all the influence he has, against the slave trade. And he adds the following: 'I hope the efforts of the honest and respectable society of *Friends*, in the cause of humanity, may be successful, to the extirpation of the slave trade from these States.' I have lately received a letter from Dr. Cogswell, of New York, a member of the African Society there, to whom I sent a copy of *Crito*, &c. I will transcribe a paragraph or two from him: 'I thank you for the newspapers containing *Crito's* Essay. The African Society here have agreed to petition the Legislature of this State for a law to prevent the exportation and importation of negroes. *Crito* will be published about the time the petition is presented. The society here are using every measure that prudence dictates to put a stop to the slave trade. Their exertions have already been attended with very considerable effects. The minds of people are more awakened, and they think more liberally on the subject.' I am sorry it is not in my power to send you copies of several letters our society have received from the African Society in London. But this must be omitted

till another opportunity. These would give you the information you wish respecting the proposed settlement on the coast of Africa. I can only inform you *now*, that five ships have actually sailed for the purpose of making a settlement there, and that the society in London seem much engaged to put a final period to this iniquitous traffic. For this purpose, they have sent Mr. Clarkson (author of Essay, &c.) into various parts of the kingdom of Great Britain, to collect materials to lay before the public, that the evil may be exposed as fully as possible. 'They desire us to present them with all the information we *can* on the subject; and likewise to inform them how those negroes behave that have been liberated. I wish you, sir, to give me all the intelligence you can, on these points, from your State and from Massachusetts.' I transcribe the last clause to open the way to desire you to give me what information you can, respecting 'these points,' from Providence or any other parts. And if you should go to Boston soon, or have opportunity to send by any of your friends, I wish you to take measures to get information from thence. Mr. Eckley is most acquainted with the blacks there of any man I know, and is most likely to give the desired information respecting the freed blacks."

To Moses Brown. — "September 24, 1788. My much respected Friend: I received your late letter, and thank you for the intelligence contained in it, and the enclosed paper and pamphlets. I enclosed your letter, with the petition of the clergy, &c., in Boston, to the General Court, and the Providence paper which contains the law lately made in Pennsylvania, to Mr. Hart, of Preston, desiring him to forward them to Dr. Edwards, of New Haven; which he writes me he shall do by the first opportunity. I have lately had authentic information, that the General Association, which is composed of members delegated from each particular Association of clergy in the State of Connecticut, and which was convened last June, unanimously agreed to present a memorial and petition, in the name of all the clergy in that State, to the next General Assembly, which will sit next month, in New Haven, praying that a law may be made, to prohibit the slave trade in that State; and that they appointed a committee, of whom Dr. Edwards was one, to draw up said petition, and they adjourned to New Haven, to meet there this month to sign it. I am glad to hear that you, with a number of your friends, have proposed to apply to that Assembly on the same subject. I have no doubt of your succeeding."

The first society in the world, for the abolition of slavery, seems to have been formed in Philadelphia.* A few Quakers of that city met often, in 1774, for the purpose of devising a scheme for the relief of the negroes. They formed a society, April 14, 1775. This society was resuscitated in April, 1784, and still a new impulse was given to it in 1787, when Benjamin Franklin was chosen its President. The second society was formed in New York, January 25, 1785. The third was formed in Rhode Island, and of course engaged the interest of Mr. Hopkins more than the other two. The Maryland Abolition Society, likewise, was instituted in 1789. The Connecticut Society was instituted September 9, 1790; of which Dr. Stiles was President, and Judge Baldwin was Secretary. In the

* A society was formed in England by Wilberforce, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and others, May 22, 1787, for the abolition of the slave trade; but it refused to comply with the solicitation of Granville Sharp, and to include in its objects the entire abolition of slavery. See Prince Hoare's Life of Sharp, part iv. ch. ii. Six of the English Friends had united in a kind of informal society for "the relief and liberation of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and for the discouragement of the slave trade on the coast of Africa," as early as July 7, 1783. See Clarkson's History, p. 95.

formation of this society, Dr. Hart was very active, and was appointed to preach the annual sermon before it in 1792. Virginia and New Jersey formed Abolition Societies in or about 1791.

It is said by one who resided at the time in Mr. Hopkins's family, that the first meeting for consultation, with regard to an Abolition Society in New England, was held in the large front parlor of his house. Several gentlemen from Providence were present. The Society, however, was not formally organized there. The reason may have been, that it would have met a more violent opposition in Newport than in Providence. It was regularly formed at Providence, February 20, 1789. A member of the old Congress, Judge David Howell, was its first President, and Governor Arthur Fenner one of its Standing Committee. Mr. Hopkins was not pleased with some articles of its Constitution. He desired that "a door [should] be fully open, for persons in any of the New England States to become members" of it. The following is from one of his characteristic, large-hearted letters on the subject, to Moses Brown:

"March 7, 1789. Dear Sir: I have, with pleasure, seen the progress you have made in forming the society for the Abolition of Slavery, and trust it will answer important good ends. But I have objections to the *title* you have given the society: 'The Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade.' I think this is too confined. It should, at least, be extended *to the whole State.* And I think it ought not to be confined to the *abolition of the slave trade.* It ought to promote the freedom of those now in slavery, and to assist those who are free, as far as may be, to the enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, and the comforts of life. Those are, indeed, expressed in the preamble; but why should they not come into the *title* of the society? However, I do not so much insist upon the *last* objection as upon the *first.* I told Mr. Wilkinson, who asked me to set my name to the constitution, that I was ready to do it, if, instead of *Providence*, Rhode Island or the State of Rhode Island might be inserted, and that I would sign it on that condition, that this alteration should be made; and if it were not, I would have liberty to withdraw my subscription. He appeared to be convinced, from the reasons I offered, that the proposed alteration ought to be made, and said it might easily be done. Mr. Thomas Robinson and William Almy were present, and agreed with me. And I suppose all who are willing to subscribe, in this town, and in this part of the State, will insist upon this alteration." *

At Providence, the Abolition Society was not without its powerful enemies. They asserted that it injured the reputation of the slave traders, some of whom were "the best citizens of Newport;" it injured the character of the slaves by inducing them to run away; it tended to prevent the slave trade, which was a real benefit to the Africans, as it saved them from the barbarities of their native land

* Notwithstanding these early objections, Hopkins did become a member of the society, and as such delivered a sermon before it, in 1793. Its name was, ultimately, "The Providence Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Persons unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race." It contained, in 1790, one hundred and eighteen members, of whom sixty-eight lived in Massachusetts, and three in Connecticut. Jonathan Edwards was one of those three. — A deep jealousy prevailed at this time between Providence and Newport.

and introduced them into civilized regions: the *spirit of the society was adverse to the Constitution of the United States, one article of which was made on purpose "to prevent the injustice which this society and their adherents" are practising.* A bold assault was made upon the personal character of some officers of the society. To all this Moses Brown replied, with the beautiful calmness which ever adorned his mild life. Judge Howell came to the rescue with his keen argument and his latinity of style. The opposition was the more serious, because the "Citizen" who prompted it was one of the most powerful men in the State. At the close of the affray, Hopkins sent the following letters to Moses Brown:

"March 30, 1789. I wrote to my much respected friend, several weeks ago, which [letter] I hope you have received. I am sorry to see the unhappy quarrel which has taken place, at Providence. I have the pleasure, however, of believing that the mad opposition the '*Citizen*' is making to the Abolition Society, and particular members of it, will be the means of strengthening it, and of promoting the design for which it has been formed. I am pleased to find you are enabled to maintain such a degree of calmness and fortitude, under the abuse which you and your friends have received from one who, unprovoked, is casting firebrands, arrows, and death, and fighting with creatures of his own imagination. — I have lately received letters from Philadelphia, and I suppose you also have. The Corresponding Committee of the Abolition Society there, rejoice to find a society is formed in Providence. They will do all they can to assist and strengthen our hands. They have sent me an account of a similar society lately formed in Washington, in that State, which they desire may be printed in some New England newspaper. Edes has encouraged me he will insert it in his paper, this week. If he should not, I shall send it to you. If he should, I wish you to get it printed in one or both of the Providence papers. I have also been desired to publish the names of the Corresponding Committee in Philadelphia, which perhaps you will think proper to have published in [the] Providence papers. I am desired to inform my friends at Philadelphia, whether Dr. Hitchcock and Mr. West, who are corresponding members of the Abolition Society in Pennsylvania, have joined the society at Providence; or what part they have acted in the affair. I must depend on you for information respecting them. I have heard that Dr. H. declined joining, at first; but what part he has acted since, I have not been informed; or for what reasons he declined joining in the first formation of the society. Since I saw Mr. Wilkinson, [I] have not heard what additions are made to the society, or how many joined, in Newport, or parts adjacent. I am sensible that the combination and influence in this town is strongly exerted against it; and many, who reprobate the slave trade and slavery, in their own minds, do not choose to appear openly against it, because they feel themselves, in some way, dependent on those whom they should hereby offend."

"August 17, 1789. Much respected Friend: I also think it proper, and of importance, that the design of the society should be expressed so as to comprehend, not only '*The Abolishing the Slave Trade*,' but *the protection and assistance of those blacks who are free.* They are, most of them, exposed to be injured, many ways. And they want direction and assistance in many instances. And if a way should be opened for their settling in Africa, and the society should, in any time hereafter, be able to promote and assist them in such a design, it would be desirable that it might be done consistent with the express design of the society.* What attention has been paid by the society's

* Here is a second allusion to the writer's colonization scheme. It deserves to be recorded, that the Providence Abolition Society not only adopted measures, such as the

committee to the slave trade, as carried on in this town, I know not. There is no informing or corresponding committee here, I suppose. I have heard it observed, that it would be proper to have a committee, or some of the committee, here. But I question whether that would answer any good end. The combined opposition is so great and strong here, that, I think, no committee formed in this town would be able to do much; and if there should be any proper prosecutions, they must be carried on in Providence. However, there might be a corresponding committee here. But the wisdom of those who shall meet, will best determine this."

"November 18, 1789. Dear Sir: I learn that it is a question before the society, Whether any prosecutions shall be commenced against those whose vessels sailed on the slave trade, *before the institution of the society*, but since the law made in this State took place. It appears to me, and I believe to most of the members in this town, if not to all, that if this question should be determined in the negative, the consequence will be very hurtful to the society, if not fatal. The past neglect to prosecute, and the known hesitation respecting it, has had a great and apparent effect already. The slave traders are more bold and resolute to go on in the trade, and entertain a low and contemptuous thought of the society. And if the prosecutions in question should be finally dropped, I am confident it will sink the society in the view of the public in general, and we shall lose our influence, and the design of the institution will be, in a great measure, defeated. I think that lenity in this case, or any thing that looks like irresolution, neglect, and dilatoriness, will fix a slur on the society which cannot easily be wiped off, but will sink it into discredit. Perhaps you and others have formed a different and better judgment, on reasons which do not occur to me. But I thought it duty thus freely to express mine, trusting it will not give any offence. Mr. Hart informed me that a number of merchants in Norwich have lately gone into the slave trade. But it is under such cover, that he knows not that such evidence of the act can be obtained as to afford ground for a legal prosecution. Perhaps time will bring forth evidence."

"March 11, 1790. Dear Sir: I have just received yours of the first instant, by Mr. Buffum, and thank you for the communication. I think the matter ought to be pursued to effect, if the negro can be recovered by law, or [the 'Citizen'] made to suffer the rigor of the law for the good of others. I am no lawyer, so cannot assist in pointing out the method in which the case ought to be prosecuted, but trust you have men able to counsel, at Providence. Mr. Marchant * is not in town. If he were, I would lay the matter before him, and see what he [would] say upon it. It is high time [this 'Citizen'] was taken down a little.† Granville Sharp, Esq. has sent to me several copies of 'A Short Sketch of Temporary Regulations, &c.' I present one to you, to use it and dispose of it as you think proper."

It has been common to speak of Hopkinsianism as an impracticable scheme. Hopkins himself, however, must be considered a practical man. It was, doubtless, a self-denial for him to leave his studies in theology, and mingle with the politics of the day. The preceding letters indicate the zeal with which he engaged in petitioning legislatures, encouraging legal prosecutions, etc. He was evidently *the* man in Rhode Island, to whom appeals were made

memorializing of Congress and various State Legislatures for the prevention of the slave traffic, but was also energetic in protecting free blacks, who were often assailed in the streets, kidnapped, and sent from Rhode Island to other States.

* Hon. Henry Marchant, LL. D., District Judge, an intimate friend of Dr. Stiles.

† This could be more easily proposed than accomplished, for the gentleman alluded to was one of the most eminent men in New England.

from the North and the South, with regard to even the details of political action on the subject of slavery. It is not to be inferred, that he deemed it wise to make himself prominent in all political disputes. He stepped on the arena of civil strife, only when the cause of religion seemed to demand his intervention. He knew how to make exceptions to a rule. This knowledge is a great part of what is called "*common sense.*"

Sect. XXXV. CHRISTIANIZATION OF AFRICA.

The influence of this reformer in lessening the evils of slavery proceeded not alone from his direct animadversions on the system, but also from his scheme for planting the institutions of the gospel upon the African continent. His efforts in prosecuting this scheme, awakened the attention of many Americans and Britons to the importance of abolishing the whole slave system. There is an intimate union between evangelizing the African when at home, and freeing him from his chains when abroad. It was religious principle that prompted Hopkins to his efforts against slavery, and these efforts were allied with an attempt to infuse a religious principle into others. Soon after his installation at Newport, in 1770, he formed a plan for sending the gospel to Africa. After he had matured it in his own mind, he held a consultation on the subject with his theological opponent, Dr. Stiles.* The Doctor at first viewed the plan with indifference, not to say distrust. His suspicion that Hopkins was desirous of trying an experiment with the "New Divinity" upon the dark natives of Guinea may, of right, provoke a smile. In Stiles's Literary Diary, we read:

"April 8, 1773. Yesterday Mr. Hopkins came to see me and discourse with me on a design he is meditating, to make some negro ministers and send them to Guinea. Mr. Hopkins supposes the great reason why the gospel is not received, is because it is mixed with so many false glosses. He believes the Moravians have no Christianity, — most Christians embrace delusions; — and I never find him approving the doctrines usually preached in any churches now in Christendom, whether Congregational, Presbyterian, or, &c. He looks upon all the Protestant churches and ministers in general, as so erroneous and corrupt, that their preaching tends directly to spread delusion, and lead souls religiously down to hell. This is his opinion, to be sure, of most of the New England ministers; except forty or fifty, out of five or six hundred ministers. There are about twenty or twenty-five ministers who fall in with Mr. Hopkins's peculiarities, and twenty more who admire Mr. Edwards's writings, and have a hearty friendship for Mr. Hopkins, though rather as they are friends to all Calvinists, than for all his singularities.† I suppose there

* This amiable gentleman had been in a worse condemnation than Edwards, Bellamy, or Hopkins, with regard to slavery; for he had not only owned, but also imported fresh from Africa a slave, whom, however, he afterwards freed.

† Dr. Stiles here expresses the general opinion of his times with regard to the difference between Edwardean or Hopkinsian Calvinism, and the ordinary Calvinism of New England. Every body regarded Edwards and Hopkins as introducing a new phasis of Calvinism.

are three or four hundred more true Calvinist ministers in New England, who disclaim these peculiarities. I do not find that Mr. Hopkins speaks with approbation of any of them, though I rather think that he esteems some of them.* Yet he is evidently endeavoring to conciliate them, as a distinct body among the churches. But he does not meet with that success in propagating his sentiments in New England which he would wish. And Dr. Witherspoon, and the Synods to the southward in general, are against him. I have thought, whether he had not an inclination that the experiment of his principles should be tried on heathen Africans. There are two negro men, communicants in his church, that he is disposed to train up for this end. The one is Quamine, a free negro, and the other, Yamma, a servant. Now, if he could engage some respectable persons to join in forwarding this affair, he thinks it would lay a foundation of Christianizing the Africans on principles to his mind. He wants, therefore, to contrive that these two negroes should be taken under tuition, perfected in reading the Scriptures, and taught systematical divinity, and so ordained and sent forth. I told him that if thirty or forty proper and well-instructed negroes could be procured, true Christians, and inspired with the spirit of martyrdom, and go forth [expecting that] † ten or a dozen of them should meet death in the cause, and this conducted by a society formed for the purpose, there might be a hopeful prospect. But even this, I feared, would be taken up by the public and secularized, as Dr. Wheelock's Indian College, which has already almost lost sight of its original design; that if one or two should be sent thither by Presbyterians, I could foresee a vigorous opposition soon arising from the Episcopalian traders, and from Mr. Quaque, a negro minister, already sent there from the Church of England. So we left the matter to further thought and consideration. Mr. Hopkins desired me to talk with Quamine, and examine his abilities, which I said I was ready to do.

"April 13. Last evening, Quamine came to see me, to discourse upon the scheme of his becoming a minister. He tells me that he was born at Annamaboe, on the African Gold Coast; that when he was about ten years old, his father delivered him to Captain ———, to bring him to Rhode Island for learning. He came here about eighteen or nineteen years ago, or 1754 or 1755. After sending him to school a while, the captain sold him for a slave. About 1761, he fell under serious impressions of religion, and thenceforward sought to God by secret prayer, about three years. At length, it pleased God that he experienced, as he hopes, a divine change, of which he gave an account to Madam Osborn, in writing, which he addressed to her, dated October 8, 1764, dictated by Quamine, and written by his female fellow-servant; and afterwards in another to Deacon Coggeshall, which Mr. Hopkins brought me yesterday. In 1765, he made a profession, was baptized by Rev. Mr. Vinall, and admitted a member in the First Congregational Church in town, and has behaved exemplarily and soberly ever since. He tells me that ever since he tasted the grace of the Lord Jesus, he [has felt an] earnest desire or wish that his relations and countrymen in Africa might also come to the knowledge of, and taste the same blessed things.

"I examined his reading, and asked him what part of the Bible he had read most. He said, Matthew, John, Romans, and Corinthians. I turned him to the first chapter of John's Gospel. He read but indifferently; not freely, but slowly, yet distinctly, and pretty accurately. I turned him to the tenth chapter, and also [to the] ninety-eighth Psalm, which he read slowly, and though not freely, yet distinctly. I advised him to read the Bible in course, two or

* That Mr. Hopkins was accustomed to take rather dark views of his times there can be no doubt. In a letter dated July 7, 1766, he characterizes a certain class of Massachusetts ministers, as "awfully sunken creatures." Still, the picture here given of him by Dr. Stiles, seems to be overshaded. The worthy diarist probably gave too literal and exact an interpretation to some of Mr. Hopkins's strong language.

† The words in brackets are substituted for an obscure phrase in the original.

three chapters daily, to perfect himself in reading, while, at the same time, he would increase in Scripture knowledge. He has had but little time for reading; seldom any but Lord's days. I did not try him as to writing, but he said he had begun to write last winter. He is pretty judicious, but not communicative, and I am doubtful whether he would be *apt to teach.* He certainly wants much improvement to qualify him for the gospel ministry, if, indeed, such a thing was advisable."

The preceding narrative of Dr. Stiles impresses upon us the conviction, that the literary prospects of these two candidates for the ministry were somewhat ominous. It is delightful to reflect on the resolute, unwavering, indomitable spirit of Hopkins, in taking men from this low condition, and training them for a missionary work on the African continent. If the wisdom of the enterprise be doubted, its benevolence will be admired. It did secure the approbation of the wisest men; for they have always known, that great results come from small beginnings.

Dr. Stiles had a true benevolence of heart, and also a profound respect for the divine, whose high Calvinism he disliked. He entered at last into a cordial union with Mr. Hopkins, in promoting the spiritual good of Africa, and he signed his name to the following Circular, which was written mainly by Mr. Hopkins, and was distributed among the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

"To all who are desirous to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth, in the salvation of sinners, the following narrative and proposal are offered, to excite and solicit their charity and prayers.

"There are two colored men, members of the First Congregational Church in Newport,* on Rhode Island, named *Bristol Yamma*, and *John Quamine*, who were hopefully converted some years ago, and have from that time sustained a good character as Christians, and have made good proficiency in Christian knowledge. The latter is son of a rich man at Annamaboe, and was sent by his father to this place for an education among the English, and then to return home. All this the person to whom he was committed engaged to perform, for a good reward. But, instead of being faithful to his trust, he sold him a slave for life. But God, in his providence, has put it in the power of both of them to obtain their freedom. The former is, however, fifty dollars in debt, as he could not purchase his freedom under two hundred dollars; which he must procure by his labor, unless relieved by the charity of others.

"These persons, thus acquainted with Christianity, and apparently devoted to the service of Christ, are about thirty years old; have good natural abilities; are apt, steady, and judicious, and speak their native language, — the language of a numerous, potent nation in Guinea, to which they both belong. They are not only *willing*, but *very desirous* to quit all worldly prospects, and risk their lives in attempting to open a door for the propagation of Christianity among their poor, ignorant, perishing heathen brethren.

"The concurrence of all these things has led to set on foot a proposal to send them to Africa, to preach the gospel there, if, upon trial, they shall appear in any good measure qualified for this business. In order to this, they must be put to school, and taught to read and write better than they now can, and be instructed more fully in divinity, &c. And if, upon trial, they appear to make good proficiency, and shall be thought by competent judges to be fit

* This church, it will be recollected, was under the pastoral charge of Dr. Hopkins.

for such a mission, it is not doubted that money may be procured sufficient to carry the design into execution.

"What is now wanted and asked is money to pay the debt mentioned, and to support them at school, to make the trial whether they may be fitted for the proposed mission. Whatever shall be given to this end, and put into the hands of the subscribers, they engage faithfully to improve to this purpose only, and to promote the proposed mission according to their best discretion; and to be at all times ready to give an account to those who desire it, of all they shall receive, and the manner in which it has been expended.

"As God has, in his providence, so far opened the way to this, by raising up these persons, and ordering the remarkable concurring circumstances and events which have been mentioned, and there is, most probably, no other instance in America, where so many things conspire to point out the way for a mission of this kind, with such encouragement to pursue it, may it not be hoped it will have the patronage and assistance of all the pious and benevolent?

"And it is humbly proposed to those who are convinced of the iniquity of the *slave trade*, and are sensible of the great inhumanity and cruelty of enslaving so many thousands of our fellow-men every year, with all the dreadful and horrid attendants, and are ready to bear testimony against it in all proper ways, and do their utmost to put a stop to it, whether they have not a good opportunity of doing this, by cheerfully contributing according to their ability, to promote the mission proposed; and whether this is not the best compensation we are able to make the poor Africans, for the injuries they are constantly receiving by this unrighteous practice and all its attendants.

"But, aside from this consideration, may it not be hoped that all who are heartily praying, *Thy kingdom come*, will liberally contribute to forward this attempt to send the glorious gospel of the blessed God to the nations who now worship false gods, and dwell in the habitations of cruelty, and the land of the shadow of death; especially, since the King of Zion has promised that whosoever parts with any thing in this world, *for the kingdom of God's sake*, shall receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.

EZRA STILES,
SAMUEL HOPKINS.

"Newport, Rhode Island, August 31, 1773."

This truly missionary appeal secured an immediate and an encouraging response. In a letter dated February 7, 1774, Hopkins writes to Dr. Hart:

"I thank you for your letter from Providence, and the enclosed from Mr. Potter. I have communicated it to Dr. Stiles, and we both think Dr. Wheelock's proposals cannot take place to any advantage. At present, it is thought best the negroes should continue at Newport, as they live cheaper here than they could elsewhere, and are instructed *gratis*. And they would be little or no advantage to Dr. Wheelock's negro boy, in his learning their native language, as 'tis not best they should attend to that much, now. If that boy was otherwise fitted, and the mission should take effect, he might go with them, or after they had made the first attempt, and would soon learn the language by their assistance. If you write, Dr. Stiles and I desire you to present our compliments to Dr. Wheelock, and thank him for his kind offer of his assistance, and his good wishes to the design.

"Our society of women contributed the first time to promote the African mission, last Tuesday, which they spent together as a day of fasting and prayer for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. Mr. Gordon has informed me that £5 sterling is ready for me in a merchant's hands in Boston. The ministers in Berkshire county have sent a letter to Dr. Stiles and me, highly approving of our design, and earnestly wishing it success. And Mr.

West has sent £3 16s. lawful [money], which was contributed by them, except three dollars of it, which Miss Pamela Dwight generously gave.

"Dr. Stiles and I think the forwardness to promote the African mission, manifested by you and the ministers in connection with you, and a number among your people and Mr. Benedict's, and your and their generous contributions toward it, worthy of particular notice; and we desire you, as you have opportunity, to express to them our thankful acknowledgments, and wishes that they may have the reward which is promised to every one who parts with this world's goods, for the kingdom of God's sake.

"Nothing new since the last date, except that the Doctor and I have received a line from the North Association in Hartford county, informing that they approve of the proposal, in general; but wait for information by which they may judge of the probability of the negroes being qualified for and successful in the proposed mission, in order to do any thing to encourage it."

It is always difficult to separate theological partialities from practical beneficence. Human nature works its way into the best schemes. Some friends of Dr. Stiles were not so liberal to the African mission as were the friends of Mr. Hopkins. In the Literary Diary of Dr. Stiles we find the following *morceau:* "October 6, 1773. I received a letter from Dr. Chauncy, in which he asks an account of the two negroes intended for the African mission. He thinks a white missionary ought to go with them, and should not be educated by Mr. H——; for he thinks that the negroes had better continue in paganism than embrace Mr. H——'s scheme, which he judges far more blasphemous." *

But Mr. Hopkins was not a man who would allow a theological prejudice to defeat a benevolent scheme. Probably for the sake of allaying such a prejudice, he consented that the two negroes should be sent to Princeton; for although he dissented from some of the theories which were taught there, still he was too catholic to deny, that the "*substance* of doctrine" was retained at the college of Edwards and Burr. Accordingly we read in Stiles's Literary Diary:

"November 22, 1774. Yesterday morning sailed from hence for New York, in their way to Princeton, Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, two freed negroes of this town, designed for an African mission. We have sent them to reside some time at Jersey College, under the tuition of President Witherspoon. Last night there was a very severe storm and high wind, — a very dangerous gale. They arrived safe at New York." Two days afterward, Dr. Stiles records, "November 24. To-day, Mr. Hopkins and I signed a set of bills for £50 sterling; being three bills dated this day, which we drew on Mr. John McIntosh, of Lothbury, London, by order of the Society in Edinburgh for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in a letter to us from Mr.

* Between Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, and Mr. Hopkins, one would not anticipate a theological harmony. For many years there had been a mutual dread of each other. In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 23, 1767, Mr. Hopkins writes: "All the *uncircumcised*, in and about Boston, set up Dr. Chauncy as the standard, and say he has struck out the right path in his sermons. Mr. Blair [of Old South Church] is zealous to have some remarks made upon them, as he thinks they contain the sum of all the poison artfully intermixed and concealed. I believe if he could be well exposed and taken down, it would give the greatest blow to that powerful and rising party; and wish you would carefully read him with that view, if your health will permit. I have bought and brought him home with me."

James Forrest, dated February last, it being for the use of educating Bristol and Quamine, two negroes, for the African mission."

On the 10th of April, 1776, Dr. Stiles and Mr. Hopkins signed a second Circular, and afterward published it in a pamphlet. It was written, as was the first, mainly by Hopkins, and exhibits remarkable evidence of his perseverance in the missionary work at that early day. After quoting their Appeal of August 31, 1773, they add:

"In consequence of this proposal [to educate the two negroes for the African mission], numbers have generously contributed to promote the design; and we have received £102 1*s.* 4*d.* 3*f.*, lawful money; of which £55 8*s.* 3*f.* has been given in New England; £30 sterling has been given by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge; and a gentleman in London has sent us £5 sterling. And we have had encouragement, both from Scotland and England, that more would be given, if wanted, and the proposed mission should take place. But all intercourse with Great Britain is now cut off.

"We have had the approbation of a number of gentlemen who have seen the proposal. The presbytery of New York, and the associated ministers of several counties in Connecticut, have written us, highly approving of the design. Mr. Forrest, clerk of the society in Scotland, mentioned above, writes in the following words:

"'The perusal of this memorial * gave great satisfaction to the directors, while it excited their admiration at the various secret and seemingly most unlikely means, whereby an all-wise Providence sees meet to accomplish his gracious purposes. At the same time, they rejoiced at the fair prospect now afforded to extend the Mediator's kingdom to those nations who dwell, at present, in the habitations of cruelty, and in the land of the shadow of death. After saying so much, it is almost unnecessary to add, that the plan suggested in your memorial received the warmest approbation of the directors of the society, and that they highly applauded your pious zeal in this matter, which they earnestly wish and hope may be crowned with success.'

"The two men above mentioned have been at school and under instruction most of the time since the date of the above proposal. They have spent one winter at Princeton, under the care of Dr. Witherspoon, President of the college there. And they have made such proficiency, and are in such a measure qualified for the mission proposed, that they would enter upon it directly, were there opportunity to send them to Africa, (which there is not at present, by reason of the state of our public affairs,) and had we money sufficient to furnish them for this purpose.

"Since this design has been on foot, means have been used † to get intelligence of John Quamine's family, by writing to *Philip Quaque*, a colored man, and native of Guinea, who is missionary from the Society in London for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and resides at Cape Coast Castle, by relating to him the manner of his being brought from Guinea, and sending his description of his father's family, and informing that he was now free, and had thoughts of returning to his native country, &c. In answer to which he writes as follows:

"'It is with inexpressible pleasure and satisfaction that I acquaint you, that

* The Circular of August 31, 1773, quoted above on p. 131.

† Mr. Hopkins wrote a letter of inquiry to Mr. Quaque, on this subject. Mr. Quaque was an Episcopal missionary, ordained in 1765. He died October 17, 1816, aged seventy-five years, having been a useful chaplain and teacher in his native land about half a century.

my inquiries after the friends and relations of that gentleman have met with the desired success. The minute account he entertains you with of his family and kindred, is just. For, by inquiring, I have found his father's name to be the same which you mention, who has been dead many years. His mother's name is as you have written it, who is still alive, and whom I had the pleasure of seeing. But the bowels of maternal affection — in truth do I declare it — seem ready to burst, and break forth in tears of joy, like Jacob when he heard that his beloved son Joseph was yet alive. The joy it kindled on the occasion, in expectation of seeing once more the fruit of her loins before she with her gray hairs goes down to the grave, throws her into ecstasies resembling Jacob's, and in raptures she breaks forth and says, *It is enough! My son is yet alive! I hope, by God's blessing, to see him before I die.* His uncle is called by the same name mentioned in your favor. In short, every circumstance is agreeable to the description given me in your letter. A great personage of his family, whose name is *Oforee*, and now enjoys his father's estate, desires, with great importunity, that I would earnestly petition you that he may be returned to them as soon as may be, and promises that nothing shall be wanting to make him, and all about him, comfortable and happy among his own kindred. And the whole family unanimously join in requesting me to render you all the grateful acknowledgments and thanks they are able to return for your paternal care and affection exercised toward him, and beg me to tell you, that as it is not in their power to requite you for all your trouble, they therefore hope that the good God of Heaven will recompense you hereafter for your labor of love bestowed on him.'

"In a letter of a later date, he writes in the following manner:

"'The mother is still looking with impatience for the return of her son, once dead and lost. She, and the principal cousin, who possesses the estate of his father, join in earnestly entreating you would, in your Christian love and charity to them, send the lad again, that he may receive their cordial embraces, looking upon themselves sufficient to support him. I received the charitable proposals, and sincerely thank you therefor. And I am joyful to hear, that there are Africans with you who partake of the blessings of the gospel, and in time may be the means of promoting the greatest and best interest of Africans here. I wish to God for its speedy accomplishment, when the nation who are now called not the children of Jehovah, shall become the prophets of the Lord, and the children of the living God. May the benediction of the Almighty prosper all their undertakings, to the saving of many souls.'

"A native of Annamaboe has lately arrived at Newport, who is a free man, and appears to be a sensible, inquisitive person, and is recommended by the captain he came with, as a man of integrity and good behavior. He is a relation of John Quamine's, and well acquainted with his family, and confirms the above account. He expresses a desire to learn to read, &c., and to be instructed in the Christian religion, sensible that he and his countrymen are ignorant of the way in which men may find favor with God, and that they stand in need of a revelation from him, in order to know what he requires of them. He says, he has heard we have such a revelation among us, and he desires to know what it contains. He informs, that he knows of a number of youths at Annamaboe, who have a great desire to learn to read and write, &c., and would come into these parts for that end, were they not afraid of being deceived and sold. He appears pleased with the proposal to send blacks to teach his people, and thinks they will be kindly received and attended to.

"There is another colored man, named *Salmar Nubia*, a member of the Second Congregational Church * in Newport, who is promising as a person of a good genius, and giving evidence of real piety. He is about twenty years

* This church was under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Dr. Stiles.

old, and has lately had his freedom given to him. He is greatly desirous and engaged, in some way to promote the spread of the gospel among the Africans. We think there is good encouragement to be at the expense of fitting him for a missionary or a schoolmaster among them.

"What has been given to promote this design is nearly expended already; — a particular account of the expenses any one who pleases may see at any time. Money is now wanted still to carry it on, — to support these men till they have an opportunity to go to Guinea, — to furnish them with necessaries for their voyage and mission, — to set up schools to teach the youth and children, if a way shall open for this; and for any other services to promote this important design, as God in his providence shall direct.

"Since it has pleased God so far to succeed this design in his providence, and in such a remarkable manner to open the way, from step to step, and give such hopeful prospects, and good encouragement to pursue it, we think it our duty still to prosecute it, and ask the benefactions of all who shall be willing to promote an undertaking in itself so benevolent; and which, though small in its beginning, may hopefully issue in something very great, and open the way to the happiness and salvation of multitudes; yea, of many nations, who are now in the most miserable state, ready to perish in the darkness of heathenism.

"We beg leave also to observe, that the present state of our public affairs is so far from being a reason for neglecting this proposal, that it seems rather to afford strong reasons to encourage it. For while we are struggling for our civil and religious liberties, it will be peculiarly becoming and laudable to exert ourselves to procure the same blessings for others, so far as it is in our power. And when God is so remarkably interposing, and ordering such a series of events in our favor, in this time of general distress, is there not a special call to pay this tribute to him, according as he has prospered us, as one likely method to obtain the continuance of his favor and protection?

EZRA STILES,
SAMUEL HOPKINS."

The revolutionary war interrupted these missionary exertions of Hopkins for a time, but eighteen years after he had commenced them, he wrote to Dr. Hart with as fresh an interest as ever:

"June 10, 1791. I also received a letter [by a late arrival] from the Rev. Mr. Kemp, Secretary of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, which I propose to enclose to you for your judgment and advice. — Bristol Yamma is the first black on my list for a missionary. Salmar Nubia, alias Jack Mason, has been thought of for another, by Dr. Stiles and me. He is sufficiently zealous to go. He came from the windward coast. The nation to which he belongs is at a great distance from the sea. He retains his native language in a considerable degree. I suppose you were acquainted with him when he lived at Preston. Newport Gardner is, in my view, next to Bristol, and in some things excels him. He is a discerning, judicious, steady, good man; and feels greatly interested in promoting a Christian settlement in Africa, and promoting Christianity there.* These I consider as the first three in America for such a design. Newport's master offers to free him, his wife, and all his children but one, on condition he will live with him two years from the first of this month, and receive three dollars per month during that term. This offer is beyond our expectation, and we hope he will yet give up the condition last mentioned.

"If it were thought best that a white man should go with them,† perhaps a man cannot be found, of a character suited to such a business, who would

* Here is an allusion to Hopkins's favorite plan of Christian Colonization.

† See Dr. Chauncy's proposition on p. 133, above.

be willing to undertake. You must be one to judge of the qualifications of those who are proposed to be missionaries, and to make report to the society in Scotland. And you must plan, advise, and prosecute. I am too old to do much. Perhaps you can influence the African Society in Connecticut to approve of some plan of this kind, and to exert themselves to get subscribers to promote the design. If application were made by them, or a committee authorized by them to the Legislature, to grant a brief for a contribution in all the congregations through the State, it might be obtained. The African Societies in Pennsylvania, New York, and this State, are composed of so many Quakers, who make the most active, ruling part; and they, for some reason or other, are not disposed to promote such a design. Therefore, there is no encouragement to apply to them for assistance. If the society in Connecticut should take the lead in promoting such a design, perhaps they might fall in afterwards, and join to carry it on. You will return the enclosed letter, when you have made all the use of it you think proper."

The correspondence of our philanthropist, on his favorite project of evangelizing Africa, was more extensive than has been supposed. He wrote to Britons and Americans, to men and women, to blacks and whites. Among others whom he addressed on the subject, was that interesting negress, Phillis Wheatley.* One would scarcely expect that a logical divine, at the age of fifty-three, would devote himself to the business of selling copies of a poetical volume, which was written by a female slave at the age of twenty.† But there was nothing, honest and proper, which this enterprising man was unwilling to do for the welfare of the African race. He was not so versatile as he was strong, yet he had a richer variety of gifts than has been commonly ascribed to him. The nature of his correspondence with Phillis Wheatley is disclosed in the following letter, which she wrote to him, a few months after her book of poetry was published in London. She was about twenty-one years old at the date of her epistle. The chirography of it is remarkably beautiful. It is here copied *verbatim et literatim.*

"Reverend Sir: I received your kind letter last evening by Mr. Pemberton, by whom also this is to be handed you. I have also received the money for the five books I sent Obour, and 2*s.* 6*d.* more for another. She has wrote me, but the date is 29 April. I am very sorry to hear, that Philip Quaque has very little or no *apparent* success in his mission. Yet I wish that what you hear respecting him may be only a misrepresentation. Let us not be discouraged, but still hope that God will bring about his great work. though Philip may *not* be the instrument in the divine hand to perform this work of wonder, turning the Africans '*from darkness to light.*' Possibly, if Philip would introduce himself properly to them, (I don't know the reverse,) he might be more successful; and in setting a good example, which is more powerfully winning than instruction. I observe your reference to the maps of Guinea and Salmon's Gazetteer, and shall consult them. I have received, in some of the last ships from London, three hundred more copies of my poems, and wish to dispose of them as soon as possible. If you know of any being wanted, I flatter myself you will be pleased to let me know it, which will be adding one more to the many obligations already conferred on her,

* See an account of her in Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

† Dr. Channing says, p. 110, above, that Hopkins had no relish for poetry.

who is, with a due sense of your kindness, your most humble and obedient servant, PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

"Boston, May 6, 1774. — The Reverend S. Hopkins."

As early as 1773, a society had been formed in Newport, under the auspices of Mr. Hopkins and Dr. Stiles, for the education and subsequent maintenance of these African missionaries. He then gave to this society the hundred dollars for which, in the days of his ignorance, he had sold his slave. Twenty years afterward, in 1793–4, when he received nine hundred dollars for the copyright of his System of Divinity, he contributed one hundred of it to this society. It was an Education Society. It was also a Foreign Missionary Society. In connection with it, there was a kind of monthly concert for prayer. It was probably in allusion to this concert, that Dr. Channing says:* "It was my habit, in the years 1800 and 1801, to attend a monthly meeting of prayer for the revival and spread of religion. Our number sometimes did not exceed twenty or thirty. Still, a collection was taken for missionary purposes, and, as most of us were very poor, our contributions did not greatly exceed the widow's mite. On one occasion, as I have heard from Dr. Patten, however, a hundred dollar bill appeared in the box. Dr. Hopkins had received the same for the copyright of one of his books, and he made this offering at a time when he received next to no salary, and often, as I understood, depended for his dinner on the liberality of a parishioner." †

SECT. XXXVI. COLONIZATION OF AFRICA.

The plan which Mr. Hopkins formed for evangelizing Africa, was also a plan for colonizing it with reputable negroes from America. From various intimations it is probable, that he distinctly meditated this plan of colonization as early, at least, as April, 1773. He did not intend to dissociate the missionary life of the Africans whom he educated, from the civilized life of the Africans whom he would fain send out with these missionaries. His colonization was to be religious in its spirit and aims.

The first *distinct* allusion which we find to his scheme for planting a colony of liberated slaves in Africa, proves that the scheme was then far from being a novelty in his mind. It is mentioned as a plan which had been contemplated for some time. Thus he writes to Moses Brown the following very distinct words:

* Letter of February 14, 1840.

† Letter of February 14, 1840. It is possible that Dr. Channing here alludes to the hundred dollars which Hopkins gave *subsequently* to 1793–4, the time of receiving the copyright of his *System*. If so, the gift had no connection, perhaps, with the African mission. One of Hopkins's early successors in the ministry at Newport, has informed the writer, that Hopkins gave *one half* of the copyright for his System to the African mission.

"April 29, 1784. There has been a proposal on foot some time, that a number of blacks should return to Africa, and settle there; that a number, who have been under the most serious impressions of religion, should lead the way, and when they are fixed there, should improve all opportunities to teach the Africans the doctrines and duties of Christianity, both by precept and example. In order to this, a number who shall be thought best qualified for this business, must *first* be sent to Africa, to treat with some of the nations there, and request of them lands, proper and sufficient for them and as many as shall go with them to settle upon. It is presumed land would be freely given. And it is thought, that such a settlement would not only be for the benefit of those who shall return to their native country, but it would be the most likely and powerful means of putting a stop to the slave trade, as well as of increasing Christian knowledge among those heathens. In order to this, there must be some expense. A vessel must be obtained, and a cargo procured of such things as will sell there, (all spirits excepted.*) A captain must be found, who can be relied upon, and paid. This supposes a sufficient number of blacks may be found for sailors, who are used to the sea, and that the advantage of the trade will repay most of the expense. I communicate these hints of a plan to you, that I may know how far you approve of it, and whether you think it practicable. And if you do, whether you, in conjunction with some of your able friends, would advance any thing considerable to promote such a design. It has been said by some, and doubtless by many, 'There are a number of men who have large estates, much of which they have gotten by the slave trade, who now profess to be convinced they have done wrong in having any hand in that trade, and manifest great zeal against it, and are great enemies of slavery. Let them show their repentance by their *works;* by giving up a considerable part of their estates to liberate the Africans and promote their good. Let them do this, and we will believe them sincere and honest men, but not before, &c.'" †

The following important letter to Mr. Brown was written just one month and one day before the first colony of blacks set sail from England for Sierra Leone:

"March 7, 1787. Dear Sir: This will be handed to you by Dr. Thornton, a gentleman from the West Indies, who has been in this city ‡ some weeks. He brings no recommendation, but appears to me to be an honest man, though too flighty and unsteady, perhaps, to be at the head of an affair in which he is very zealous: *a settlement of the American blacks in some part of Africa.* Should he have opportunity to converse with you, which I wish, and [which] will be agreeable to him, he will communicate to you his plan, &c. § I have, as you know, sir, been for years desirous of an attempt to make such a settlement, and am glad to hear that Friends in Britain, and other dissenters, have joined to carry this into execution, I suppose upon the late Dr. Fothergil's plan. I wish some gentlemen, who are able, would send a vessel to Africa,

* As far as we can judge from the journal and letters of Hopkins, he was disposed to insert a temperance clause in all his important negotiations which would admit it.

† This closing appeal is another illustration of the unbending faithfulness which characterized its author. He knew that the charge of inconsistency had been brought against the estimable man whom he was addressing, (see p. 123, above,) and he meant to use this fact as a motive for a more generous contribution to the new enterprise.

‡ In 1784, Newport was incorporated a city, but returned to its old town government in 1787, a few days after the date of this letter.

§ It is important here to notice that Mr. Hopkins does not allude to Dr. Thornton's plan, as in any degree *novel.* His fears relate merely to the prudence of Dr. Thornton in executing it. Dr. Alexander says that Dr. Thornton "is still remembered as a man of many eccentricities, arising from a vivid genius, and a real philanthropist." See History of African Colonization, p. 61.

perhaps to the Ivory Coast, with a proper cargo to trade there for ivory, &c.; and that some proper persons might go and treat with the princes or nations there for land, on which those who are disposed to return might settle. I think there would be a prospect of their gaining, rather than their losing money by such an undertaking, beside their promoting such a good design. I thank you for your letter of January, 1786, and the pamphlets enclosed with it. I have dispersed most of them, where I thought they might be of the most service. I have seen the piece, upon the slave trade, which obtained the highest prize in the University of Cambridge, in the year 1785, which you mentioned, and hope it will do much good. I conclude you have seen it. I have not been able to effect the design toward which you generously offered to give twenty dollars,* as I have been much confined at home the year past. You have doubtless been informed that a gold medal was offered by the Society in New York for Liberating the Africans, for the best piece against the slave trade, to be produced at the last commencement in the college there. I have not heard any thing further of it. — Any further intelligence from Britain, or any other quarter, which you shall be able to communicate, respecting the slave trade, and the resettlement of blacks in Africa, will be thankfully received by your respectful friend, S. HOPKINS."

Nearly two years after the preceding epistle, we find its resolute author addressing Granville Sharp, the eminent colonizationist of Great Britain. The letter is inserted, with some abridgment, in Prince Hoare's Memoir of Mr. Sharp, pp. 340–342; but the whole of it is now published for the first time.

"Newport, January 15, 1789. Sir: As I am an utter stranger to you, I presume to introduce myself by the following narrative: I am the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, on Rhode Island. I spent the former part of my life a hundred and fifty miles from this place; have lived here near twenty years. When I removed to this town, my attention was soon turned to the *slave trade*, which had been long carried on here, and was still continued. It appeared to me wholly unjustifiable and exceeding inhumane and cruel; and I thought I was obliged, in duty, to condemn it in public and preach against it. I had better success than I expected, and most of my hearers were convinced that it was a very wrong and wicked practice. But this procured to me many enemies in the town, which were increased and more irritated when I proceeded, as I soon did, to condemn the holding these Africans in perpetual slavery, who were brought here by the iniquitous slave trade. I was, so far as I then knew, almost alone in my opposition to the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans; but since, [I] have read, with great satisfaction, your writings on that subject, some of which, I believe, were published before the time above mentioned, and the writings of others. And I have had the pleasure of finding a conviction of the evil of this practice to spread and prevail in America. And two respectable and numerous societies are formed, one in New York and the other in Philadelphia, with a view to promote the abolition of the slavery of the Africans, and protect and assist those who have obtained their freedom; of which you have doubtless been fully informed; of both which societies I have the honor to be a corresponding member.

"In Massachusetts, all the Africans are made free by their Constitution, and many have obtained their freedom in this State. But their circumstances are, in many respects, unhappy, while they live here among the whites; the latter looking down upon them, and being disposed to treat them as under-

* An allusion to the Prize Essay which was mentioned in the letter of February 10, 1786, to Dr. Hart, and which was suggested to Mr. Brown by the Prize Essay of Clarkson, noticed by Hopkins a few lines above.

lings, and denying them the advantages of education and employment, &c., which tends to depress their minds and prevent their obtaining a comfortable living, &c. This and other considerations have led many of them to desire to return to Africa, and settle there among their brethren, and in a country and climate more natural to them than this. Particularly, there are a number of religious blacks, with whom I am acquainted, who wish to be formed into a distinct church or religious society, and to have a black appointed as their pastor, (and there is one, at least, who is thought qualified for that office,) and then to go, with all the blacks who shall be willing to move with them, to Africa, and settle on lands which they think may be obtained of some of the nations there, from whom some of them were taken, and whose language they retain; and there maintain the profession and practice of Christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans, as far as they shall have opportunity; at the same time cultivating their lands, and introducing into that hitherto uncivilized country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising cotton, coffee, &c., for exportation, as well as for their own use. This plan I have had in view for some time, and have wished and attempted to promote it. But no way has yet been opened in America to carry it into execution; there being no means yet found to defray the charge of sending a vessel to Africa with a number of blacks, to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement.

"In the mean time, we have, to our great joy, been informed, that such a plan was projected and executed in England, in which the society of which you are a member, had a great, if not a chief hand. We were assured that several ships, with a considerable number of blacks, sailed from England for Africa, in February, 1787, with a design to make a settlement on the Windward Coast. We have been earnestly waiting for an authentic information of the success of this expedition, and the place and circumstances of the proposed settlement, but have received none to this day. It is indeed mentioned by the Dean of Middleton, in his letter to the treasurer of our society, (p. 14, note,) that a settlement is already established at Sierra Leone; and he intimates that there is room for more settlers. And it is reported from Africa, that those blacks have arrived there from England, and that a tract of land twenty miles square had been procured for them, near the mouth of the river Sierra Leone, and that the settlement is going on. But we have contradictory reports of the success of it.

"I have thought, as do the most intelligent whites and blacks with whom I am acquainted, that if such a tract of land is procured, there is much more of it than can be occupied by the blacks which went from England, and therefore the design might be forwarded by giving a part of it to the blacks in America, who are disposed to go and settle there. We have a considerable number of freed blacks, in New England, who have been educated and habituated to industry and labor, either on lands, or as mechanics, and are hereby prepared to bring forward such a settlement, better than any other blacks, I believe, that can be found.

"All this, sir, is a lengthy introduction to the following request: that you would please to inform me, whether such a tract of land is procured, and on what conditions; whether the blacks, who settle on it, have the fee of the land; under what government they are; whether British, or their own by a particular civil constitution, formed for them, to be executed by themselves, or some English gentlemen who are for that end to reside among them; whether there is any provision made to maintain and propagate religious knowledge among them and others who may live in their neighborhood; whether the settlers have behaved well, and prospered, since they began, and what progress they have made; finally, whether the blacks in America, who are disposed to go, can have any part of these lands to settle themselves upon, and on what terms; and what encouragement and assistance might they probably have.

"If you are pleased to be at the trouble of writing me on this subject, a letter sent to any of the members of either of the societies above mentioned,

will come safe to me. I take leave to enclose to you some of my anonymous writings on the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans; and am, with great esteem and respect, your humble servant, SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Light will be reflected on the movements of Mr. Hopkins, by inserting here the reply which he received from Mr. Sharp:

"Leadenhall Street, July 25, 1789. Reverend Sir: Some little time after your letter came to my hands, I received an account respecting the new settlement at Sierra Leone, so very discouraging that I began to be doubtful whether I ought to communicate to you the same invitation for the blacks in America to go to Sierra Leone which I had sent some time before to Philadelphia and New York. I received such alarming intelligence of a conspiracy, stirred up by the slave traders to cut off the settlement, that I began to give it up for lost. It is but a few days ago, (the twenty-second instant,) that these fears have been removed, by the arrival of one of the settlers, with letters from the Governor and several other persons in the settlement.

"The messenger was sent on purpose with these letters, and had no other means of coming hither than by going in a slave ship round by the West Indies. By these letters I find that, contrary to my fears, their enemies have not dared to meddle with the settlers, and that they are very well united, and had punished two different captains of slave ships for ill behavior, by fine and imprisonment, which occasioned the late combination against them. But their numbers did not exceed one hundred and twenty people, men, women, and children, altogether. However, I am informed that since those letters were written, some more of the settlers, who had been dispersed in the neighborhood, were returned, and that they are in all about two hundred people.

"All the white people whom I sent out last year, to assist in supporting the settlement, have been wicked enough to go into the service of the slave trade at the neighboring factories, having been enticed away, I suppose, by high wages; but the people who remained in the settlement have carefully adhered to their promise, not to permit the iniquity of *slave dealing in the Province of Freedom*; so that, though they have not kept up strictly to other Regulations which I proposed for them, yet, in this most essential point, they deserve commendation. I shall send you, by the first ship, copies of the Regulations which I wished to establish there.

"As the settlement has been lately repurchased of King Naimbanna, the settlers, I think, must now submit to receive and accommodate all new comers with equal lots of land, *gratis*, until they amount at least to six hundred householders, notwithstanding the limitation of time in the Regulations; so that I hope I may venture to assert, that whatever people from America will engage to submit to the terms of the Regulations and the English government, (which must be perfectly free, whilst frank-pledge and a universal militia are maintained,) will be admitted to free lots, even if they amount to more than double that number, provided that *they go all at one time*, and show this letter, or a copy of it, to the Governor and Assembly of Settlers in the Province of Freedom.

"In addition to the accounts which I had before received, the settlers, who brought me the last letters, inform me that the land is very good, and the neighboring natives very civil; and that King Naimbanna, a very reverend old man, whose town is just beyond the borders of the settlement, is particularly kind to them. These accounts are corroborated by three other settlers, who have been here some time, and are all very anxious to get back again as soon as they can. But I am sorry to inform you, that all my expense and endeavors to procure a *live stock of cattle* have been rendered abortive by the imprudence of the captain with whom I contracted to procure it; for, instead of delivering the cattle at the settlement, as he ought to have done, he only gave *goods* to the *value* of a certain number of cattle, and obtained a certificate from the settlers that they had received *the value of so much cattle*

though they have no means of transporting any to the settlement; and, therefore, if any people are sent from America, it will be right to make some little reserve of goods, or dollars, to purchase a few *lean, breeding cattle* on the African coast, for their *live stock*, as they will very soon increase, because there is plenty of grass, and cattle thrive exceedingly well in most parts of the African coast, where any attention is paid to them. I am, with sincere esteem and respect, reverend sir," &c., &c.

How many other letters our Newport divine wrote, on this theme, to persons of wealth and influence, it is impossible to determine. Two houses, in which were probably many communications from his pen, were consumed by fire, with all their contents, several years after his death. It is certain, however, that he had a lengthened correspondence on the subject with Dr. John Erskine, of Edinburgh, the friend of President Edwards. One letter from Hopkins to Erskine is here published for the first time.

"January 14, 1789. Dear Sir: I feel myself delinquent, when I find I have not written you since January 1, 1788. This has been owing chiefly to my not having any thing of importance to communicate or transmit to you. I have, since that, received two letters with packets from you. The first was dated October 29, 1787, which did not come till May 11, 1788. The last, April 3, 1788, which came to hand the eleventh of August last, for which I am much indebted to you. There have been no publications here of late, which have come within my reach, which are worthy of your particular notice. There has not been any revival of religion that I have heard of in the year past, except what has taken place at Dartmouth College, and in some towns west of that in Vermont, which, I have been informed, has been considerable, but do not know particulars. Infidelity, Universalism, irreligion, and worldliness generally prevail. Dr. Bellamy yet lives in much the same state of body and mind in which he has been above two years; utterly helpless, and in a considerable degree insane, especially at times. Last September, Dr. Stiles transmitted to me a letter which he had received from you, respecting the blacks, by whom it has been proposed to propagate Christian knowledge in Africa; in which you propose, if we think proper, that Drs. Stiles, Wales, Edwards and I should jointly address the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, on that head, representing the state and circumstances of that affair, and the prospects there were of answering some important good end by encouraging and prosecuting it; and that it was likely, that society would advance something considerable in order to promote such a design. The matter has been considered, and it does not appear best to apply to the society at present. There is a number of Christian blacks who stand ready to unite in a church state, and have a pastor set over them, (and there is one at least who is thought fit for that office,) and go to Africa and settle there among their brethren, and maintain the profession and practice of Christianity, and propagate Christian knowledge in that heathen land, as they shall have opportunity. But no way has yet opened to send some persons to Africa to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement. If this were done, the way would be open to prosecute the design, and it would, doubtless, meet with encouragement in America, and the assistance of your society would answer important ends.

"A settlement of blacks has, within these two years, been made from England, at Sierra Leone, in Africa, and it is said that a purchase of land twenty miles square has been made for them. We hope to know soon on what conditions this land may be settled, and whether the blacks which would go from America may have any of this tract to settle upon. If it should be found that they may, the way would be opened to prosecute our plan, and then we

should, doubtless, apply to your society for assistance, not doubting of their readiness to grant it. I am your obliged, affectionate friend,

SAMUEL HOPKINS."

The ensuing letter to Dr. Hart unfolds the union, which existed in the mind of Hopkins, between the manumission of our bondmen and the Christian colonization of Africa. At the time of writing this letter, the Connecticut Society for emancipating the slave was about to revise and enlarge its constitution, and Dr. Hart was deeply engaged in the project:

"August 30, 1791. I approve of your proposal of writing to the society in Scotland. But one difficulty attends it. They will probably expect that I should nominate some gentlemen for commissioners. But I know not who would best answer the end, or where a sufficient number can be found of such, who live in a vicinity, so as to be able to meet together as often as would be necessary to answer the end of their appointment. I should mention you for one; but where could others be found? I believe I shall defer writing till I hear from you again, and know what your society will do at their next meeting, and who you think of as commissioners, &c.

"I wish, if you apply for a charter, the affair of making a settlement of blacks in Africa, to civilize the nations there, and propagate Christianity among them, and the proposal to fit persons for missionaries, schoolmasters, husbandry, mechanic trades, &c., might be mentioned and included, if the members would agree in such a plan."

A still more decisive exhibition of the mode in which Hopkins united his plan for terminating slavery with his plan for sending reputable colonies to Africa, is presented in the following extract from a sermon, which he delivered before the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, etc.* That sermon gives proof of the energy which its author was able to summon at the age of seventy-two. He says:

"We may hope, that all this dark and dreadful scene will not only have an end, but is designed by the Most High to be the mean of introducing the gospel among the nations in Africa; that those who have embraced the gospel, while among us, with all who have been or may be, in some good measure, civilized and instructed, will, by our assistance, return to Africa, and spread the light of the gospel in that now dark part of the world, and propagate those arts and that science which shall recover them from that ignorance and barbarity which now prevail, to be a civilized, Christian, and happy people; making as great improvement in all useful knowledge, and in the practice of righteousness, benevolence, and piety, as has yet been done by any people on earth, and much greater. Thus all this past and present evil, which the Africans have suffered by the slave trade and the slavery to which so many of them have been reduced, may be the occasion of an overbalancing good; and it may hereafter appear, as it has in the case of Joseph being sold a slave into Egypt, and the oppression and slavery of the Israelites by the Egyptians, that though the slave traders have really meant and done that which is evil, yet God has designed it all for good, the good of which all this evil shall be the

* The title of the sermon is as follows: "A Discourse upon the Slave Trade, and the Slavery of the Africans; delivered in the Baptist Meeting-house at Providence, before the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, &c., at their Annual Meeting, on May 17, 1793. By Samuel Hopkins, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, and Member of said Society. Printed at Providence, by J. Carter, 1793."

occasion. — Ought not this prospect to animate us earnestly to pray for such a happy event, and to exert ourselves to the utmost to promote it. Can we be indifferent and negligent in this matter, without slighting and disobeying the command of Christ, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature? And will not such an attempt to send the gospel to Africa, being willing to spare no expense or labor thus to spread the knowledge of the Saviour among the nations there, be a proper expression of our love and regard to this benevolent, important injunction?"

Nor was the preacher satisfied with this appeal; but he appended to his discourse the ensuing statement, which he spread over the length and breadth of New England.

"The proposal of assisting the blacks among us to go and make a settlement in Africa, which has been mentioned in the preceding discourse, I have thought to be of such importance, as to require a more particular explanation to be laid before the public, with the reasons for it, for their consideration; hoping that, if it be generally approved, it will excite those united, generous exertions which are necessary, in order to effect it.

"There are a considerable number of free blacks in New England, and in other parts of the United States, some of whom are industrious, and of a good moral character; and some of them appear to be truly pious, who are desirous to remove to Africa, and settle there. They who are religious would be glad to unite as Christian brethren, and move to Africa, having one instructor, or more, and cultivate the land which they may obtain there, and maintain the practice of Christianity in the sight of their now heathen brethren; and endeavor to instruct and civilize them, and spread the knowledge of the gospel among them.

"In order to effect this in the best manner, a vessel must be procured, and proper sailors provided, to go to Africa, with a number of persons, both white and black, perhaps, who shall be thought equal to the business, to search that country, and find a place where a settlement may be made with the consent of the inhabitants there; the land being given by them, or purchased of them, and so as best to answer the ends proposed. If such a place can be found, as no doubt it may, they must return, and the blacks must be collected who are willing to go and settle there, and form themselves into a civil society, by agreeing in a constitution and a code of laws, by which they will be regulated.

"And they must be furnished with every thing necessary and proper to transport and settle them there, in a safe and comfortable manner; with shipping and provisions, till they can procure them in Africa, by their own labor, and with instruments and utensils necessary to cultivate the land, build houses, &c.; and have all the protection and assistance they will need, while settling, and when settled there. And, if necessary, a number of white people must go with them; one or more, to superintend their affairs, and others to survey and lay out their lands, build mills and houses, &c. But these must not think of settling there for life; and the blacks are to be left to themselves, when they shall be able to conduct their own affairs, and need no further assistance; and be left a free, independent people.

"This appears to be the best and only plan to put the blacks among us in the most agreeable situation for themselves, and to render them most useful to their brethren in Africa, by civilizing them, and teaching them how to cultivate their lands, and spreading the knowledge of the Christian religion among them. The whites are so habituated, by education and custom, to look upon and treat the blacks as an inferior class of beings, and they are sunk so low by their situation, and the treatment they receive from us, that they never can be raised to an equality with the whites, and enjoy all the liberty and rights to which they have a just claim; or have all the encourage-

ments and motives to make improvements of every kind, which are desirable. But, if they were removed to Africa, this evil would cease, and they would enjoy all desirable equality and liberty, and live in a climate which is peculiarly suited to their constitution. And they would be under advantages to set an example of industry, and the best manner of cultivating the land, of civil life, of morality and religion, which would tend to gain the attention of the inhabitants of that country, and persuade them to receive instruction, and embrace the gospel.

"These United States are able to be at the expense of prosecuting such a plan, of which these hints are some of the outlines. And is not this the best way that can be taken to compensate the blacks, both in America and Africa, for the injuries they have received by the slave trade and slavery, and that which righteousness and benevolence must dictate? And even selfishness will be pleased with such a plan as this, and excite to exertions to carry it into effect, when the advantages of it to the public and to individuals are well considered and realized. This will gradually draw off all the blacks in New England, and even in the Middle and Southern States, as fast as they can be set free, by which this nation will be delivered from that which, in the view of every discerning man, is a great calamity, and inconsistent with the good of society; and is now really a great injury to most of the white inhabitants, especially in the Southern States.

"And by the increase and flourishing of such a plantation of free people in Africa, where all the tropical fruits and productions, and the articles which we fetch from the West Indies, may be raised in great abundance, by proper cultivation, and many other useful things procured, a commerce may take place, and be maintained, between those settlements and the United States of America, which will be of very great and increasing advantage to both.

"And this will have the greatest tendency wholly to abolish the abominable trade in human flesh, and will certainly effect it, if all other attempts prove unsuccessful.

"That such a plan is practicable, is evident from the experiment which has lately been made in forming a settlement of blacks at Sierra Leone. Above a thousand blacks were transported from Nova Scotia to that place last year; who, by the assistance of a small number of whites, and supplies from England, have formed a town and plantation, which, by the latest accounts, is now in a flourishing condition; the inhabitants living in peace and amity with the neighboring nations, and with a promising prospect of being a great advantage to them, by teaching them to cultivate their lands, and civilizing them, and showing them the advantages of peace and of industry, and trade in the productions of their country, and spreading the knowledge of Christianity among them. This will gradually put an end to the slave trade, and to slavery, in that part of the continent. And from this settlement, there is a rational prospect of a commerce, in the productions of that climate, with Britain, which will be so profitable as more than to compensate the latter for all the expense of forming and carrying it on, and will be greatly advantageous to both nations.

"There is reason to believe that a settlement may be made by the blacks now in the United States, in some part of Africa, either on the river Sierra Leone or in some other place, which will be as advantageous to those who shall settle there, and to the adjacent nations, as this which has been mentioned, and with much less expense; and which will be a greater benefit to this nation, than that may be to Britain.

"Are there not, then, motives sufficient to induce the Legislature of this nation to enter upon and prosecute this design? to form a plan, and execute it, as wisdom shall direct? And is there not reason to think that it would meet with general approbation? But if this cannot be, may not this be effected by the societies in these States, who [which] are formed with a design to promote the best good of the Africans? Would not this be answering the

end of their institution, in the best way that can be devised, and in imitation of that which has been formed in Great Britain for the same purpose?

"Is there not reason to believe, that, if such a plan was well digested, and properly laid before the public, and urged, with the reasons which offer, and a company or committee formed to conduct the affair, there might be a sum collected sufficient to carry it into effect?

"The General Court in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts did, some time ago, make a resolve to the following purpose: That when a place can be found in Africa, where the blacks in that State may settle to their advantage, they would furnish them with shipping and provisions sufficient to transport them there, and with arms sufficient to defend them, and farming utensils sufficient to cultivate their lands. If all the States in the Union, or most of them, would take the same measure, such a design might be soon and easily carried into execution. Nothing appears to be wanting but a proper, most reasonable *zeal*, in so good a cause."

The preceding document suggests the following, among other comments:

First. It is obvious that the colony which Hopkins proposed, was not to have an exclusively *missionary* character. It was to be a free and independent nation, cultivating the arts of life, and conducting a foreign commerce.

Secondly. It is equally evident, that our reformer did not intend to make the piety of the Africans an indispensable qualification for their joining his colony, at its *commencement* even. He would even *then* admit all who were "industrious and of a good moral character."

Thirdly. His scheme was self-consistent and comprehensive. To some it may appear, that his plan of sending to Africa such blacks only as would exert there a good moral influence, cannot be reconciled with his scheme of sending "*all* the blacks" in the United States to their father-land. There is, however, an entire congruity between the two proposals. He intended to transport, *first*, such colonists only as bore a good character, and such as would lay the foundations of a Christian government. When a colony had been firmly established, on religious principles, it would, in his view, exert a salutary moral influence upon our whole colored population, if they should "gradually" emigrate to it. *Then*, their emigration would be desirable, as it would be an emigration for Christian purposes, and with a prospect of maintaining Christian institutions.

Fourthly. Our philanthropist cannot be accused of any want of sympathy with his colored brethren, in his proposing their removal to their father-land. He had no desire to *force* them from our shores, for our own comfort or convenience. He did not favor their removal against their will. It was their good which prompted his efforts. He had a profound conviction, that they never would be so happy among us, as they could be in an independent nation by themselves; that their physical condition would be improved by returning to the climate of their ancestors; that their mental, and, above all,

their spiritual welfare required a government especially adapted to them. For a quarter of a century, he had lived in the neighborhood of the Stockbridge Indians, and had seen the difficulty of persuading the superior race to treat the inferior with a becoming friendliness. Of course he blamed the prevalent disposition to injure the weaker classes. But he looked upon the disposition as an existing fact, and he therefore devised means for avoiding its influence.

Fifthly. Whether Hopkins were right or wrong in his colonization scheme, (and this is no place for expressing an opinion on the subject,) he was in advance of his age. In the year 1850–1, many of the most eminent citizens of Rhode Island presented a petition to Congress, in favor of transporting to Africa, at the national expense, such negroes as may desire to emigrate thither. Perhaps not one of these petitioners was aware that, fifty-eight years before they made their proposal, substantially the same plan had been published to the world by a Newport pastor. These petitioners requested that, as the Colonization Society could not remove all the blacks who might wish to change their residence, the national government would lend its aid. Hopkins had proposed, more than a half century before, that the national government should be at the expense of the transportation; or, if this aid could not be procured, that a *company* should be formed to superintend the removal. This "company" would be, in fact, a colonization society, conducted on such principles as Granville Sharp and Wilberforce would approve; on such principles as would secure a preponderating religious influence.

Twenty years after his first public movement in favor of the Africans, Hopkins addressed the following letter to Dr. Hart:

"July 29, 1793. Bristol Yamma is out of health, and can do little or no business. He has been advised to go into a warmer climate, supposing it would conduce to his health. There is a prospect of an opportunity for him to go to Sierra Leone next fall, and spend the winter there. There is a gentleman in this town who has lately come from that place, and informs me that the settlement of blacks on that river, about eight miles above the mouth of the river, called Freetown, goes on with success and agreeable prospects; that eleven hundred blacks or more are settled there, and within a year have cleared a large quantity of land, and done a surprising deal of work; that they are all contented and pleased and healthy, — appear sober and pious, meeting morning and evening for prayers, &c. They have a Governor from England, and several other gentlemen to take care of the affairs of the settlement, who are upright, benevolent men, and very friendly to the blacks, treating them upon an equality with themselves. They are preparing to raise sugar-cane, coffee, &c. He says he is acquainted with that river and the adjacent country, having lived there many years; that he doubts not land may be had in those parts for any number to settle upon, who should be inclined to go from America. If Bristol could go, (and it would be desirable that one more, at least, should go with him,) he might promote the design of a proposed settlement, by getting acquainted with the country and inhabitants, and perhaps finding a place where a settlement may be made, and on what terms land may be had. This cannot be done without some money. I will give fifty dollars toward it, if it can be carried into effect. Perhaps, if the plan and proposal

should be laid before the Connecticut Abolition Society, at their next meeting at New Haven, or communicated to individuals who are most likely to forward the matter, money might be obtained for that end. — Such a settlement, promoted by the Americans, would not only tend to the good of the Africans, but would, in time, be a source of a profitable trade to America, instead of the West India trade, which will probably fail more and more, as the curse of Heaven seems to be coming on those islands, where the slavery of the Africans, in all the horrors of it, has been practised so long."

Now, in his seventy-third year, our reformer is as eager as he had been to communicate, as well as to receive, information in reference to his favorite scheme. He writes to Dr. Hart:

"October 31, at night, 1793. Reverend and Dear Sir: All the information I can give respecting the men of [whom] Bristol spoke to you, is the following: A white man, about sixty years old, and a black, called upon me, and said they came from Saint Croix, a Danish island. The black was a native of that island, a free man, and a Moravian. He spoke good English, and is a man of property. He says there are five thousand free blacks in that island. The white comes from Denmark. He speaks English badly, and talks so fast that I could not understand a great part of what he said. But I collected the following from him:

"The king of the Danes has lately made a [purchase] of land in Guinea, lying in the fifth degree of north latitude, of eighty miles square, on which he proposes to make a settlement of blacks only. The whites, who accompany them, to protect and assist them in forming a settlement, a civil government, &c., are to have no land, but leave the country to the blacks as soon as they have answered the end for which they are to be sent. They are to raise the productions of that climate, and Denmark is to have the monopoly of their trade, as the only compensation. — This gentleman represents himself as sent by the king of Denmark to go and view said tract of land, and see whether a settlement can be made upon it, and where, or in what part of it, &c. The black is going with him. They have hired a vessel, at Providence, to carry them to Guinea, for which he gives five hundred dollars. They have both engaged to send me information of their success. The white man appears to be a Lutheran; but says Christians of all denominations will be allowed to settle there; — that there are seven whites and blacks already gone there, whom they expect to find on the spot. On the whole, the affair has a romantic appearance, and I suspect will come to nothing. The appearance of the white man is not promising; and it is rather improbable that such a man should be sent by his Danish majesty on such business; but time will bring forth."

At length, June 9, 1794, this tenacious man communicates a discouraging fact to Dr. Hart:

"I have got no farther information respecting the settlement of the blacks at Sierra Leone. When at Providence, I inquired after the black, who, I heard, came from that place, but could get no information. I believe the story was magnified. The Abolition Society were to take the matter into consideration, at their meeting in May. But [I] have not heard what they did; — believe they did nothing. The Friends are always backward in promoting such settlement, and are the most active members, and nothing can be done without them. Bristol Yamma is dead! He died last January, in North Carolina."

But although the prospects of our philanthropist were dark in his own country, he continued to enjoy the sympathies of his fellow-

laborers in England. We find that at this period he was engaged in a correspondence with Zachary Macaulay, so highly celebrated as editor of the Christian Observer, as the companion of Scott, Newton, and Wilberforce, and more recently as the father of the historian, Thomas Babington Macaulay. The correspondence is valuable, as it shows the care which both Macaulay and Hopkins took, in selecting worthy emigrants for the new settlement on the African coast. It corroborates the preceding assertion, that the colonization which Hopkins favored was not, in its early stages, to be *promiscuous*, but *select;* not limited, however, to the strictly pious Africans, but including also those who were apparently favorable to religion. Two of Mr. Macaulay's letters are here inserted, for the sake of illustrating the kind of missionary colonization in which Hopkins was engaged.

"Freetown, Sierra Leone, 19 March, 1795. Reverend Sir: We refer you to the enclosed paper, marked No. 1, for an explanation of the reasons which have induced us at this time to trouble you. We have considered it as a sufficient ground on which to solicit your good offices, that you are interested in the cause of humanity, and that you are zealous in the service of Christ. Believing, therefore, that you will regard no task as a burden which gives you an opportunity of manifesting these dispositions, we address you on the present occasion, with the full assurance that you will be favorable to our views, and that you will spare no pains in fulfilling them.

"You already know, that several families of people of color, belonging to Providence, have joined in making an application to us for a settlement at Sierra Leone; and though we be by no means desirous of an accession of colonists, yet their application has been so urgent, that we have been induced to comply with it. The number to be received is, however, limited to twelve families; and on perusing the conditions, you will see that even these are not to be received, unless they prese satisfactory testimonials of their moral character, signed by you and anothe. clergyman, and by the President of the Abolition Society.

"The difficulties which have already arisen, in forming this settlement, from the injudicious admission of persons of doubtful character, have led us to guard more carefully against a similar evil in the present instance. These difficulties have arisen, either from fallacious notions of civil rights, (a thing not to be wondered at in emancipated slaves,) from extreme vehemence of temper, or from low, confused and imperfect ideas of moral rectitude. The first of these may, no doubt, be corrected by enlightening their minds; the second may be curbed by wholesome laws; and the last may be amended and improved by the preaching of the gospel: but we should be much better pleased to have an accession of colonists who would strengthen our hands in accomplishing these purposes, than of men who would furnish us with additional employment in that way.

"There is another evil, however, which we fear may prevail among those with whom the present application has originated, and which we wish to guard against with more care than even against these. We mean the evil of speculative infidelity. From general circumstances which have passed under our observation, we are led to judge, that the poison of the 'Age of Reason'* may have pervaded even this class of men. Now, we trust you will agree with us, in thinking that the introduction of one such unbeliever into a

* It may here be mentioned, that the author of the "Age of Reason" had been actively engaged in behalf of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.

colony founded for the express purpose of spreading among the heathen the knowledge of a Saviour, might prove an evil beyond all calculation. We are not such bigots as to require subscription to creeds and articles; nor are we such latitudinarians, as to be willingly accessory to admitting into the colony one person who has *learned* to treat religion with contempt. However great the usefulness of such people might be in other respects, we should conceive ourselves to be more essentially serving the cause of God, by forming a colony of the blindest of those blind people who now inhabit this land. We do not look for characters of eminent piety, but we would expect a sober demeanor, good intentions, and a disposition favorable to religion. Without these, no man can make a good member of any community; much less of one established expressly for the purpose of preaching to Africa the acceptable year of the Lord. What we have, then, particularly to request of you, sir, is, that you would refuse your signature to any person's certificate with whom you have not reason to be satisfied in this respect, as well as in every other. Religion is not, indeed, expressly mentioned in the conditions, as necessary to form a part of their character who migrate hither; but as we think you will agree with us in opinion, that none can with propriety be entitled to the denomination of moral, of whose characters religion does not form the basis, the omission is of no moment.

"We have written on this subject to you alone; but we beg of you to communicate our sentiments to the Chairman of the Abolition Society, and to any other clergyman you may think proper to associate with you.

"We enclose a paper, No. 2, which will give you some notion of the extent to which the slave trade is carried on in our neighborhood by Americans. We hoped that the act of your Congress would have effectually abolished it; but we find, on the contrary, that it has considerably increased since the time of the passing of that act. Had we had time, we should have sent you, by this opportunity, a sketch of the history and nature of this settlement, but we shall embrace an early opportunity of doing it. We think it right to say, that the behavior of Mr. James MacKenzie, as far as we have had the means of observing it, has been proper and becoming.

"Requesting your pardon for the liberty we have now presumed to take, and wishing you continued and increasing health and happiness,

"We remain, reverend sir, your very faithful and obedient servants,

ZACHARY MACAULAY, Acting Governor.
JAMES WATT, Councillor P. S.

"Rev. Mr. Hopkins, Providence, Rhode Island."

"Freetown, October 20, 1796. Dear Sir: On my return from England in March last, I was favored with your much esteemed letter of the ninth [of] September, 1795, and had also an opportunity of seeing your obliging communications to the Governor and Council. In their name, I beg to make the heartiest acknowledgments for the attention you was pleased to pay to their requests. They feel themselves particularly indebted to you, for the considerateness with which you withheld your recommendation from persons who might otherwise have caused them much trouble; a circumstance, which will lead them to receive with much regard any recommendation which, at any future period, you may be induced to make them.

"I beg now to return you my best thanks for the pleasure afforded me by your letter, as well as by the tracts accompanying it. I have perused them with profit, and have only to regret, that an oversight of Captain Benson's, should have deprived me of the satisfaction of perusing some more bulky productions of the same pen. During my late visit to Europe, I had an opportunity of passing some time at Edinburgh. My very excellent and venerable friend, Dr. Erskine, communicated to me the substance of the interesting account you give of your labors in behalf of this benighted land. It is to be regretted, that they should have hitherto proved so fruitless. We may, however, regard that and every similar effort that has been made, however to our

view they may have appeared vain, as silently operating in producing that striking and unexampled eagerness, with which the Christian world in Europe is now pursuing the benevolent object of evangelizing the heathen. During my short stay at home, I had the satisfaction of seeing a mission undertaken by the Baptists to India, and another to Africa, one undertaken by the Wesleyan Methodists to the interior of the same country, and one put in a fair way of being undertaken by the Moravians. A society for missions had also been formed, which embraced all sects of Evangelical Pedo-Baptists, to the funds of which £10,000 sterling had been subscribed, whose object, in the first instance, is the South Sea Islands. It is with some concern I add, that the Methodist mission to this country has entirely failed, through the unfitness of the instruments, and that the Baptist mission near us languishes from the same cause.

"One of my objects in visiting Edinburgh was, to procure some pious men to accompany me on my return, as servants of the Company; and in this I succeeded to my wish. I was so fortunate as to meet with a young man of the name of Clarke, who, possessed of great gifts, was also possessed of uncommon piety, and embraced with gladness an offer of the chaplaincy here, in the hope of an opportunity of doing good. He has, since his arrival, formed a church, as far as circumstances admit, on the Presbyterian plan, (though we banish names: — here we are not Presbyterians, but Christians,) and there is a prospect of his doing much good. His usefulness has indeed been much marred, by a number of would-be preachers, who started up among the people, while they were without any regular instructor, and who find the continuance of their influence so much involved in Mr. Clarke's success, that they use every effort to cause dissensions and maintain a party spirit. We may regard even that unpleasant circumstance as, in some measure, a token for good. If Satan be busy, we may judge he trembles for his kingdom.

"You have a copy, if I am not mistaken, of the conditions on which I agreed with MacKenzie to receive free blacks. Should the people around you be disposed to give the requisite assistance to a few families who might wish to migrate, and whom you could safely recommend, they would be received on the same terms.

"I have the pleasure of enclosing a printed report of the progress of our colony, till the time of its devastation by the French. Almost all the facts are detailed from my own actual observation. I understand from Captain Benson, that a very unfavorable report respecting my conduct at that time has reached America. Misrepresentation is a part of that cross which, so very peculiarly situated as I am, I must be content to bear. The report to which I allude, took its rise from the ill will of a shipmaster bound hence to Jamaica, whom I had forced to perform an act of common humanity to some seamen in distress, and was eagerly retailed by the people of Jamaica, to whom, from a residence of six years in that island, I am well known, and who, regarding me, with some justice, as an apostate from their party, gladly seize every opportunity of marking their dislike.

"I shall not fail to send you the continuation of the printed reports, as they make their appearance. In the mean time, you will like to hear that our schools thrive, under the superintendence of Mr. Clarke, to a degree I could hardly have expected. For particulars respecting them and many other points, I must refer you to Captain Benson, whose representations I should expect (if not from partiality a little too highly colored) would be very fair.

"You will be sorry to learn that, during the last year, the number of American slave traders on the coast has increased to an unprecedented degree. Were it not for their pertinacious adherence to that abominable traffic, it would, in consequence of the war, have been almost wholly abolished in our neighborhood. By letters from my excellent friends, Messrs. Wilberforce and Thornton, whose names I dare say are not unknown on your side of the water, I find that, nothing daunted by their frequent defeats, they mean to pursue without any relaxation their measures for a total abolition. The

question was lost, in March last, only by a majority of four, and that not till the last reading.

"The continuation of your correspondence will be highly gratifying to me, and I shall have pleasure in writing to you, from time to time, on such topics as from this far country will be likely to interest you.

"Dr. Hopkins,* Dr. Erskine, and the Rev. John Newton, have severally told me that, were they young, they should strongly desire to migrate to Sierra Leone. Their actual presence is a happiness which we dare not expect; but we feel ground for indulging a hope that their hearts are with us, and that they sometimes breathe out a prayer in our behalf to Him whose blessing can alone make our work prosper. That he may bestow on you, sir, the best of blessings, is the warmest prayer of your faithful friend and obliged and humble servant, ZACHARY MACAULAY.

"P. S. I send, herewith, a number of little tracts, which are published monthly in England, chiefly by my valuable friend Mrs. Hannah More. Their object is, to supplant licentious and seditious ballads and pamphlets, by affording amusement to the common people, at an equally cheap rate, or at a cheaper rate than those pernicious writings are sold at; whereby people may be surprised, as it were, into some profitable reading. The success of the tracts has been truly astonishing. The plan began only in March, 1795, and before last March, two millions of tracts had been sold."

We have already seen that two, of the first three candidates for the African mission, died before their education was completed.† Still, the projector of that mission clung to it; and as late as 1799, when he was about eighty years of age, and had been laboring twenty-six years in its behalf, he writes in the last book which he ever published:‡

"It may here be added, that the way to this proposed mission yet lies open; and the importance of it and the encouragement to it are as great as ever. All that is wanted is money, exertion, and missionaries to undertake it. There are religious blacks to be found, who understand the language of the nations in those parts, who might be improved, if properly encouraged. And if they were brought to embrace Christianity, and to be civilized, it would put a stop to the slave trade, and render them happy. And it would open a door for a trade which would be for the temporal interest of both Americans and Africans. As attention to sending the gospel to the heathen appears to be now spreading and increasing in America, it is hoped that the eyes of many will be opened to see the peculiar obligations they are under to attempt to send the gospel to the Africans, whom we have injured and abused so greatly, even more than any other people under heaven; it being the best and the only compensation we can make."

In none of his letters, even to his most confidential friends, does Hopkins intimate, that his original views of an African settlement, or

* Was there a Dr. Hopkins of England, who had seen Mr. Macaulay, and "*told*" him what is here asserted? Or does Mr. Macaulay speak of Dr. Hopkins of America, as having *written* to him what is here stated? It was common, especially in that day, to allude in the third person to the individual addressed; but Mr. Macaulay, in the preceding letter, does not address the Rhode Island pastor as *Dr.*, but as "*Mr.* Hopkins."

† John Quamine had lost his life in the revolutionary war. Dr. Patten says, (Reminiscences, pp. 86, 87,) that he "entered on board a privateer, with the desire not only to support in this way the cause of the army, but to obtain money to purchase the freedom of his wife; but he was slain in the first battle."

‡ Memoirs of Mrs. Osborn, pp. 78, 79.

even of an African mission, had been modified by any other colonization movement. He records no change of plan between the year 1773 and the year 1799. That the lapse of time may have matured his scheme, we do not deny; but we can find no evidence of his having essentially altered it. This is certainly remarkable, and is one among other proofs, that his sagacious mind foresaw, from the first, that John Quamine and Salmar Nubia were to be trained as pioneers, not for churches only, but for commercial cities and extensive colonies also. He manifests no surprise at the schemes of Granville Sharp, but cordially unites in them, as long familiar to his mind.

Sect. XXXVII. NEWPORT GARDNER.

Many results of our philanthropist's labors were intangible. Not all of them, however. Salmar Nubia and Newport Gardner were a connecting link between the missionary colonization scheme of Dr. Hopkins and the more indiscriminate colonization scheme of the present day. Both of these men were introduced to our notice by Mr. Hopkins, on p. 136, above. One of them, Newport, was a man of mark. "He was brought to this country as a slave, in 1760, when about fourteen years of age. He early discovered to his owner very superior powers of mind. He *taught himself* to read, after receiving a few lessons on the elements of written language. He *taught himself* to sing, after receiving a very trivial initiation into the rudiments of music. He became so well acquainted with the science and art of music, that he composed a large number of tunes, (some of which have been highly approved by musical amateurs,) and was for a long time the teacher of a very numerously attended singing school in Newport. He retained a knowledge of his mother tongue, so that he could speak it fluently in his eightieth year." * "A long time after he came to this country, he distinguished, among a cargo of slaves, two individuals, whom he instantly addressed in their own language, and reminded them of his having previously met them in their own land. In his person he was tall, straight, and well formed; in his manners, he was dignified and unassuming." † Mr. Hopkins

* Ferguson's Memoir of Hopkins, p. 90. Dr. Hitchcock writes: "Newport Gardner used to say to me, [between the years 1815 and 1820,] that he was very careful to cultivate his recollection of his African tongue, so that in case Providence *should* open a way, he might return to Africa, and find a people with whom he might converse intelligibly, and to whom he might communicate the great truths of the gospel." — MS. Letter.

† MS. Letter of Mr. Ferguson. Dr. Hitchcock writes: "Newport often repeated this maxim: 'If you wish to do good to our people, you must keep us in our place. You must not flatter us.' I have often heard him pray. He never failed to plead for Africa, confessing the justice of God in her miseries, owing to her sins, especially 'in worshipping trees, and streams, and fountains of water, and reptiles.'" — MS. Letter. Such humility in a slave who was honored so much as Newport, is a proof of his superior endowments.

originated and encouraged the design of Newport's obtaining his freedom, and returning a missionary to his own country. In a letter to Dr. Hart, apprising him of "two remarkable events," Mr. Hopkins says: "April 27, 1791. The other event is, ten blacks in this town joined to purchase a ticket in the semi-annual lottery in Boston, which has drawn a prize of two thousand dollars. One of them belongs to our church, and is of a good character, — the best that I know among the blacks, except Bristol Yamma. He is a slave. — It is hoped that by this event he will obtain his freedom." That slave was Newport, and he at once renewed his old application for the purchase of his liberty. But he had not money enough to buy his own freedom and also that of his wife and children. He therefore "was allowed to labor for his own profit, during whatever time he might gain by extra diligence. The slave devoted all this *gained* time to procuring the means of liberating himself and family. He was finally advised, by a deacon of Mr. Hopkins's church, to spend this time in *fasting and prayer* for his liberation, and he was assured of more rapid success in this course than in that of manual labor. Accordingly, having gained a day, this pious negro, without communicating his plan to any but Mr. Hopkins, and two or three Christian friends, spent that day in secret fasting and prayer that he might obtain his freedom. His master, totally ignorant of his slave's occupation, sent for him about four o'clock in the afternoon; but was told that 'Newport was engaged for himself, this being his *gained* day.' 'No matter — call him,' says Captain Gardner. After some hesitation, the slave was called, and the owner gave him a paper, on which was written, — 'I, Caleb Gardner, of Newport, Rhode Island, do this day manumit and release forever Newport Gardner, his wife, and children," &c., &c.; adding some conditions which could be easily complied with. The slave received his manumission with gratitude to his owner, but with still deeper gratitude to his all-wise Disposer above, who had signally answered his request for freedom, *even before he had finished his supplication.*" *

The desire which his pastor had enkindled in his bosom to revisit his native land, for the sake of carrying thither the institutions of the gospel, never died away. Both he and Salmar Nubia † "continued, through life, with their faces turned toward their home,

* Slightly altered from Ferguson's Memoir, pp. 134, 135. Dr. Alexander, describing this mode of Newport's liberation, says: "If it were not so well authenticated, we should hesitate to mention it; as, to some of our readers, it may probably savor too much of enthusiasm. But in fact, it is nothing else than an evident, and somewhat extraordinary answer to prayer." History of African Colonization, p. 57. The account rests on the authority of Colonel Vinson, Dr. Tenney, Mr. Ferguson, and others.

† This man, a member of Dr. Stiles's church in Newport, was a subscriber for the first edition of Hopkins's System of Divinity; and his name is spelled Solmar Nubia in the published list of the original subscribers' names. It is spelled, in some of Hopkins's letters, Solmar Numa; and in the census of Liberia for 1843, it is spelled John Nubia.

and when the favorable moment came, they joyfully embarked for Africa. On the evening of the twenty-eighth of December, 1825, they and sixteen others were constituted a church in the city of Boston. Drs. Jenks, S. E. Dwight, Wisner, Justin Edwards, and Rev. Samuel Green, conducted the exercises of the evening. The church made a unanimous choice of Newport Gardner and John Salmar Nubia for deacons;" Rev. Samuel Green offered the consecrating prayer for the two newly-elected officers, and at the conclusion of the service an anthem was sung, which was "composed by Deacon Gardner, and by him set to the following words of his own selection and adaptation:"

"The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord, saying: Write thou all the words which I have spoken unto thee in a book. For lo! the days come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith the Lord; and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers, and they shall possess it. Therefore, fear thou not, O my servant Jacob, saith the Lord; neither be dismayed, O Israel; for lo! I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from their captivity, and Jacob shall return and be in rest and quiet, and none shall make him afraid. Amen. Hear the words of the Lord, O ye African race, hear the words of promise. But it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs. Truth, Lord, yet the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from their master's table. O African, trust in the Lord. Amen. Hallelujah. Praise the Lord. Praise ye the Lord. Hallelujah. Amen."

On the 4th of January, 1826, the church sailed for Liberia, in the brig Vine, from Boston. There were thirty-two colored emigrants on board, all of them from Rhode Island. To the spectators of the embarkation it appeared singular, that two men so old as these two deacons, should venture to become pioneers of an infant colony, on a sickly coast. But this had been their ruling passion. There had been an influence upon them which the world knew not. They had sat by the fireside of Hopkins's narrow study, and had there nourished their missionary spirit, a half century before it was developed in their missionary life.* So permanent is human influence. The two deacons arrived at Monrovia, February 6, 1826, and after a rapid decline, died, about six months after their arrival. Newport Gardner was about eighty, and Salmar Nubia about seventy years of age, at the time of their decease.

* Somewhat altered from Ferguson's Memoir, pp. 90, 91, 185, 186. The author of the "New Republic," speaking of the emigrants in the Vine, says, p. 101: "One aged black was among the number, who seemed to be filled with almost youthful enthusiasm for the cause. 'I go,' he exclaimed, 'to set an example to the youth of my race. I go to encourage the young. They can never be elevated here. I have tried it sixty years — it is in vain. Could I by my example lead them to set sail, and I die the next day, I should be satisfied.'"

SECT. XXXVIII. CHURCH ACTION IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.

It has been said that the church of Mr. Hopkins, at Newport, was the first in the world which prohibited its members from purchasing or owning slaves. It must be remembered, however, that the Quakers of England, as early as 1761, voted to exclude from their communion all who should engage in the slave traffic;* and in 1776, the Quakers of Pennsylvania voted to exclude all owners of slaves who "refused to execute the proper instruments for giving them their freedom."† When it is said, then, that Mr. Hopkins's church preceded all others in expressing its intolerance of slavery, we must not include the Friends. It is remarkable that as early as 1781, while yet in the midst of the revolutionary struggle, our reformer proposed some ecclesiastical action on the subject, and induced one of his most estimable and prominent church-members to pledge himself, that, at the time of his death, he would manumit his only remaining slave. In Hopkins's firm chirography, the following votes now stand on the Church Records.

"At a meeting of the church, January 30, 1784, it was, Voted:

"1. That whereas Deacon Coggeshall did, more than two years ago, promise before the church that he would secure the freedom of his black girl, Sarah, that she should be free upon his decease, it is the opinion of this church that he ought, without delay, to deliver to us a paper, properly authenticated, securing to said girl her freedom, as above said.

"2. That Captain Hammond and Mr. Nichols be desired to let Deacon Coggeshall know of the above vote, and desire him to comply with it, without delay."

"At a meeting of the church, March 5, 1784, Voted: That as Deacon Coggeshall has delivered to Mr. Samuel Vinson a paper, in which he has secured the freedom of the above-said Sarah, and it has been read before the church, they are satisfied with respect to that matter, and that Mr. Vinson be desired to keep said paper, until he shall receive further direction from the church respecting it."

"At the same meeting, Voted: That the slave trade and the slavery of the Africans, as it has taken place among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel; and therefore we will not tolerate it in this church."

From these votes, it may be, as it has been inferred, that if a member of the church, already owning slaves, would give a written

* In 1727, this estimable body first warned its members against being concerned in the trade.

† Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, p. 106. From this work, and from Copley's History of Slavery, have been gleaned many of the facts communicated in these sections.

pledge to liberate them at a future time, that member need not be disciplined for retaining his slaves in bondage until that time; but he would be disciplined if he should purchase a new slave; and no man would be allowed to enter the church, either from the world or from other churches, unless he first emancipated his bondmen. These votes indicate the determined spirit of Mr. Hopkins, and at the same time his kindly, considerate temper. He was as far from fanaticism, as from attachment to old abuses.

SECT. XXXIX. THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION AND THE SLAVE INTEREST.

What were the views of an abolitionist like Hopkins, in regard to the proceedings of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States? In a letter to Moses Brown, dated October 22, 1787, about one month after the delegates had agreed on the Federal Constitution, Mr. Hopkins says:

"My Kind Friend: . . . . . I am hurt by the doings of the Convention respecting the slave trade. It is as you suppose. They have carefully secured the practice of it in these States for twenty years, and prevented any asylum for slaves during that term, unless every individual State should suppress the trade. They have taken it out of the hands of Congress. We cannot determine, that the major part of the delegates were pleased with this. Some of the southern delegates, no doubt, insisted upon it, that the introduction of slaves should be secured, and obstinately refused to conform to any constitution which did not secure it. The others, therefore, consented, rather than have no constitution, or one in which the delegates should not be unanimous. I fear this is an *Achan*, which will bring a curse, so that we cannot prosper. At the same time, it appears to me that if this Constitution be not adopted by the States, as it now stands, we shall have none, and nothing but anarchy and confusion may be expected. I must leave it with the Supreme Ruler of the universe, who will do right, and knows what to do with these States, to answer his own infinitely wise purposes; and will vindicate the oppressed, and break the arm of the oppressor, in his own way and time, and cause the wrath of man to praise him."

To Dr. Hart, of Preston. — "January 29, 1788. Dear Sir: I thank you for your exertions with regard to the slave trade. I should have been glad to be informed whether what was reported to Mr. Brown be true; viz., that they are going into this trade at Middletown and Norwich. I hear they threaten to carry it on here and at Providence yet, but question whether they will do it, as they will expose themselves so much by it. The new Constitution, you observe, guarantees this trade for twenty years. I fear, if it be adopted, this will prove an Achan in our camp. How does it appear in the sight of Heaven, and of all good men, well informed, that *these States*, who have been fighting for liberty, and consider themselves as the highest and most noble example of zeal for it, cannot agree in any political constitution, unless it indulge and authorize them to enslave their fellow-men! I think if this Constitution be not adopted as it is, without any alteration, we shall have none, and shall be in a state of anarchy, and probably of civil war. Therefore I wish to have it adopted; but still, as I said, *I fear*. And perhaps civil war will not be avoided, if it be adopted. Ah! these unclean spirits, like frogs. They, like the Furies of the poets, are spreading discord and exciting men to contention and war, wherever they go; and they can spoil the best constitu-

tion that can be formed. When Congress shall be formed on the new plan, these frogs will be there; for they go forth to the kings of the earth, in the first place. They will turn the members of that august body into devils, so far as they are permitted to influence them. Have they not already got possession of most of the men, who will or can be chosen and appointed to a place in that assembly? I suppose that even good Christians are not out of the reach of influence from these frogs. 'Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments.'" *

Decidedly as Hopkins opposed some parts of the Constitution, he was yet earnestly in favor of adopting it, and he evidently thought that, after its adoption, it should be obeyed, actively or passively, in all its requirements. He would shut the door, not against amendment, but against forcible resistance. He deemed the loss of the Constitution, as a whole, to be a greater evil, than the retention of those articles which he so much disapproved. He believed that when the advocates of freedom could not do as well as they would, they should do as well as they could. He therefore urged the reluctant Rhode Islanders to come into the Federal Compact. In a letter dated July 29, 1788, he writes:

"Some of our politicians, who are Federal, choose that the new Constitution should not be adopted by this State; as they wish for the supposed consequence of not doing it, viz., that the State will be divided, and part annexed to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the other part to Connecticut. Rhode Island is to join the former, and Connecticut is to have NARRAGANSET!"

Often, throughout his correspondence, he expresses his attachment to our Constitution, and alludes in reverential terms to those who first administered it. He was a great admirer of Washington, and trained his family to support the Washingtonian principles of government.

SECT. XL. RELATIVE POSITION OF HOPKINS AMONG THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE.

No great change of public morals is effected by a single individual. There are always "reformers before the reformation." It is useful to learn the exact relation of Hopkins to other friends of the slave, and the degree in which he was distinguished above them,

* This is indeed strong language; not so strong, however, as that used by many companions of Hopkins in the movement against slavery; not by any means so strong as that used nineteen days before, by Granville Sharp, in a letter to Benjamin Franklin: "Having been always zealous," writes Mr. Sharp, (Memoir, p. 253,) "for the honor of free governments, I am the more sincerely grieved to see the new Federal Constitution stained by the insertion of two most exceptionable clauses of the kind above mentioned; the one in direct opposition to a most humane article, ordained by the first American Congress to be perpetually observed; and the other in equal opposition to an express command of the Almighty, 'not to deliver up the servant that has escaped from his master,' &c. Both clauses, however, (the ninth section of the first article, and the latter part of the second section of the third article,) are so clearly null and void by their iniquity, that it would be even a *crime* to regard them as law."

or in which they surpassed him. By no means was he the first who opposed the system of African slavery. As early as 1640, that system had been condemned by Cardinal Ximenes, Charles V., Leo X., Queen Elizabeth, and Louis XIII.; and before the year 1770, it had been written against in Europe, by Rev. Morgan Godwyn, Richard Baxter, Thomas Tryon, George Fox, Thomas Southern, Primatt, Montesquieu, Hutcheson, James Foster, Sir Richard Steele, Atkins, Wallis, Rev. Griffith Hughes, Hayter, Postlethwaite, Jeffery, Sterne, Rousseau, Bishop Warburton, Granville Sharp; and in America, by Whitefield, Judge Sewall, William Burling, Ralph Sandiford, Benjamin Lay, John Woolman, Anthony Benezet.* The English poets, also, such as Milton, Pope, Thomson, Savage, Shenstone, Dyer, wrote in harmony with the free genius of song, and excited a detestation of the African bondage. The English Quakers, as a body, condemned the slave trade in public resolutions, passed in 1727, 1758, 1761, and 1763. The Quakers of Pennsylvania condemned it in their meetings of 1696, 1711, and 1754. The greater part of all which had been published as early as 1770, was against the traffic in slaves; but we have seen that Hopkins, about the year 1770, preached not against the traffic only, but also against all property in slaves; † and as early, at least, as 1773, he projected his African mission, with the design of preventing the slave trade;

* This beneficent man, whom Granville Sharp declared to be "unhappily involved in the errors of Quakerism," wrote an anti-slavery letter to Mr. Sharp, which was received June 22, 1772, the very day of Sharp's triumph in the noted Somerset case. In 1767, one of Benezet's works on slavery was republished in England by Mr. Sharp; and in 1769, one of Sharp's works on slavery was republished (in an abridged form) in America, by Mr. Benezet. It was this same Anthony Benezet, whose "Historical Account of Guinea" gave such timely aid to Clarkson, in 1785. Benezet published his first large work on slavery, in 1762, but had previously written smaller works for the press on the same theme. He thus made a public avowal of his opinions previously to the time of Hopkins's Circular and Dialogue. He was more active in political circles than Hopkins. But he was less profound in his discussions, and had less influence over the clergy.

† That Hopkins preached against slavery about the year 1770, is evident from the following facts. Many of his old parishioners have said, that he thus preached soon after he went to Newport, July 21, 1769, and before he started his plan for an African mission; certainly, then, before April, 1773. He himself informed Granville Sharp, that he preached against the *trade* soon after his removal to Newport; and against *slavery* itself, soon after he had opposed the *trade;* and that when he thus preached, he "was, so far as [he] then knew, almost alone in [his] opposition to this trade and to the slavery of the Africans:" see p. 140, above. It should seem, then, that he must have delivered these sermons before the year 1772; for on the first of April, in that year, the Virginia House of Burgesses petitioned the king against the importation of slaves into their colony; and on the fourteenth of May, Anthony Benezet wrote, that in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New England, there was a strong public sentiment against the slave system; (see Hoare's Memoir of Granville Sharp, Esq.) Now, can it be, that a man so proverbially inquisitive as Hopkins, did not know of these political movements, when they were made? And if he did know of them, he must have stood up almost alone against slavery *before* their occurrence, *i. e.*, before the spring of 1772. He had probably heard of the anti-slavery discussions which commenced at Boston in 1766, and continued intermittently until the revolution; but which seem to have been confined to political circles, and to have promised no immediate results of great moment.

and he published a forcible argument against the whole slave system, in 1776. He openly denounced the entire scheme, then, before Benjamin Rush printed his first pamphlet against it, in 1773; and before Dr. Beattie and John Wesley made their open opposition to it. He even printed his Dialogue as early as Adam Smith and Professor Millar printed their works in which slavery was condemned, and before a single page had been written on the subject by Dr. Robertson, Abbé Raynal, Dr. Paley, Bishop Porteus, James Ramsay, who first appeared as an anti-slavery author, in 1785, and Thomas Clarkson, who wrote his first Essay on the theme in Latin, in 1785, and published it in English, in 1786. Granville Sharp became interested in the subject by an accident, in 1765, and he published his first work against the evil, in 1769, and triumphed in the Somerset case, in 1772. He thus preceded Hopkins as a conspicuous friend of the slave. But neither he nor any other man had, in 1776, written on the theme so forcibly and fundamentally, and at the same time so religiously, as this Rhode Island pastor. Unless we include, then, a a few estimable preachers among the Society of Friends, Hopkins was the first of the American divines, who published an effective remonstrance against the claiming of property in slaves. He was the ablest of all writers, English or American, who opposed the slave system on strictly religious grounds, as early as 1776. He also subjected himself to more of personal suffering, than did the great majority of those who assailed the slave system. He set himself against the habits and pecuniary income, of the men on whom he relied for his daily bread. He sacrificed property and immediate reputation.* He was ridiculed and hated by many of his townsmen. But he threw over himself, and over his cause, the mantle of religion. He allied himself with Jehovah. In reply to the taunts of his fellow-citizens, he often predicted, that "God would frown upon Newport;" that "the judgments of Heaven would hang over its dwellings;" and a large number of his friends, who saw the grass growing in the streets of that beautiful town, for many years after these predictions, associated the desolate appearance of the place with the vaticinations of that troubled old pastor. His earnest words exerted a prolonged influence on the mind of the youthful Channing; and this influence was developed fifty years after it was first exerted. That sedate youth often met at his father's table the old apostle of freedom; and "it was from him that [Channing] first gained his convictions of the iniquity of slavery." †

How far Hopkins preceded other men, and how far they preceded him, in forming societies for the abolition of slavery, and in

* See pp. 94, 110, 116, 119–126, etc., of the present Memoir.
† Channing's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 32.

ecclesiastical action with regard to it, has been detailed on pages 125, 126, and 157 of this Memoir. His preeminence over his brethren is more conspicuous in his scheme for *evangelizing* Africa.

On the 19th of January, 1481, the Portuguese missionaries celebrated their first mass in Guinea. As far as can be ascertained, the French commenced an African mission, in 1635; the Spanish, in 1652; the Moravians, in 1736; and the British, in 1751. "The first *American* who is known to have attempted any thing for the conversion of Africa, was" Dr. Hopkins.* He may have heard, for he was inquisitive on missionary themes, of Rev. Thomas Thompson, who was the first, but not very consistent English missionary in Africa,† and who had previously labored five years in New Jersey. Be that as it may, for about thirty years, Hopkins was strenuous in his exertions to wake up the missionary spirit in behalf of the negro race. In about twelve years from the date of his last communication on the theme, a spirit of missions was extensively developed in behalf of all the heathen races, and the sons of two of his disciples had consecrated themselves to the foreign enterprise. Is it at all improbable, that his extensive correspondence on the African mission, had predisposed the hearts of many in favor of the American Board? And would it be singular if his letters to Great Britain, on the same subject, had exerted some influence on Carey, Fuller, Pearce, and Ryland, (two of whom were his correspondents, and all of whom were his friends,) who formed the first Missionary Society of England, in 1792, nearly twenty years after Hopkins had written in favor of evangelizing Africa?

The scheme of colonizing Africa on religious principles is yet more evidently Hopkinsian. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, says:‡ "As well as can be ascertained by a diligent research, the first man who ever seriously contemplated sending a colony to Africa, was Dr. Thornton, a native of Virginia; but at the time when he conceived this plan, a resident of the city of Washington, where he is still remembered, as at the same time a man of many eccentricities, arising from a vivid genius, and a real philanthropist. Dr. Thornton not only formed a plan of African colonization, but actually attempted its execution, intending to become himself the leader of the colony. Therefore, in the year 1787, he published an 'Address' to the free people of color in Rhode Island and Massachusetts,

* Rev. Joseph Tracy's Historical Examination of the State of Society in Western Africa, (p. 34,) — a pamphlet from which several of the facts here stated are derived.

† We are sorry to read the following sentence in a letter of Granville Sharp to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated August 1, 1786: — "I fully answered their *missionary*, the Rev. Thomas Th—ps—n, who had attempted publicly to vindicate the African slave trade, and [I] sent my answer to Mr. Benezet in MS., which was printed in America by the Quakers." — Hoare's Life of Sharp, p. 262.

‡ History of African Colonization, p. 61.

inviting them to accompany him to the western coast of Africa, with the view of planting a colony in the land of their forefathers. Although Dr. Hopkins's plan preceded this many years, yet his was rather a missionary than a colonization scheme; although, as we have seen, it probably suggested the first idea of the colony at Sierra Leone. But Dr. Thornton was undoubtedly the first who conceived, and attempted to carry into effect, a plan for a colony of free colored people on the western coast of Africa."

With regard to this statement, we need only say, that Granville Sharp wrote a private memorandum with regard to such a colony in 1783, and proposed his scheme to others, in 1786;* and therefore seems to have preceded Dr. Thornton, whose first public movement is mentioned by Dr. Alexander as being made in 1787. It is highly probable, that Mr. Hopkins first conceived his plan of African colonization, as early as 1773; and it can be proved, that he wrote upon it to a friend, as early as April, 1784, and then mentioned it, as a proposal which had been 'on foot for some time.' He could not have been indebted to Granville Sharp for this plan. Sharp's mention of it in 1783 was private, and his mention of it in 1786 does not appear to have been known by Hopkins, or any American, for some time afterward. Neither could Hopkins have received his idea from Dr. Thornton; for in 1787, when Dr. Thornton made his first appeal to the community, Hopkins says of it, "I have, as you know, sir, been for years desirous of an attempt to make *such* a settlement."†

Dr. Alexander says, that Hopkins's was "*rather* a missionary than a colonization scheme." It would have been more accurate to say, that the scheme was *both* a missionary and a colonization scheme. It was a plan not at first for promiscuous, but for carefully regulated colonization. It made Christianity prominent. It proposed the religious improvement of slaves, as the chief reason for their emigration. But the prominence of religion aided, rather than depressed, the colonizing enterprise. Whatever Hopkins undertook was blended with the kingdom of Christ; yet, as evangelical instruction was to be given both in Granville Sharp's and in Dr. Thornton's colony, Hopkins regarded both as capable of being united with that which he had antecedently proposed.

But although Dr. Alexander regards the colonization movement as having been prompted by the Virginian instead of the New Englander, he yet supposes that Hopkins's "extraordinary enterprise" "had a real connection with the scheme of African colonization," which is now in progress, and which in some particulars is unlike that of the Newport divine. Dr. Alexander conjectures, that Hopkins's scheme may have suggested to Granville Sharp the plan of

* Prince Hoare's Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq., pp. 259, 260, 265.
† Letter to Moses Brown. See p. 139, above.

colonizing Sierra Leone; and says that "the recollection of this scheme of Dr. Hopkins, to send back to Africa some of her sons as missionaries, in all probability suggested the idea of African colonization."* The Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel, made this proposal of Hopkins known to the British public; and it were very natural to infer the expediency of *colonizing*, from the wisdom of *evangelizing* that benighted land. Still, we are warranted to say no more than this. If either of the two great men, Sharp and Hopkins, received his first idea of colonization indirectly from the other, it is more probable that the grandson of the English archbishop was aided by the Puritan divine, than that the Puritan divine was aided by the grandson of the archbishop. To the British philanthropist, belongs the distinction of having been first to execute the plan which, perhaps, was never suggested to him by another. To the Rhode Island philanthropist, belongs the distinction of having been the first man in the world who is *known* to have originated a scheme of African colonization, and of having "done what he could" to make it practically successful. This scheme was not a bare idea. It had an historical result. How could it have been otherwise? Every good thought is useful. Such a thought as this, presented to the public year after year by a powerful reasoner, must have produced an impression, deep, if not obvious. Who has ever labored so long for any worthy object, without accomplishing some good? It must be remembered, that with all his foes, some of the most enterprising ministers in New England were the admirers and disciples of Hopkins. He addressed to them letters and circulars; he sent to them newspapers and sermons on the subject, and thus prepared their own minds and the minds of their children for a scheme of evangelizing Africa, by means of moral and religious colonies. Let us contemplate one among several like instances, of the effect which Hopkins may have produced on the generation that was entering, when he was leaving, the scenes of public life.

Samuel J. Mills was in his twenty-first year, when the subject of this Memoir died. The father of Mr. Mills was the Congregational minister of Torringford, Connecticut, a town in the vicinity of Great Barrington. He is known to have been a personal admirer of Hopkins, a believer in the main peculiarities of the Hopkinsian theology. He was recognized through life as *substantially*, although not in all *minutiæ*, a Hopkinsian divine. It is understood, that as long as both of these pastors lived, they were in the habit of personal intercourse with each other; at least as often as once a year, at the Hartford election; and that Hopkins was in the habit of sending to Torring-

* Alexander's History of African Colonization, p. 55. Dr. Alexander seems to have thought, that Hopkins corresponded with Sharp *before* the Sierra Leone project had been started. Not so, however.

ford, as to other towns, some of the essays which he published on his favorite African scheme.* Now it is an interesting fact, that in less than seven years after the death of Hopkins, Samuel J. Mills, the son of the Torringford pastor, wrote in his Diary: — "I long to have the time arrive, when the gospel shall be preached to the poor *Africans*, and likewise to all nations." † Why did the African mission, rather than the Indian, first occur to him at this early period? In thirteen years after the death of the man who had recommended the formation of a "Company," for superintending the emigration of the negroes, (see p. 147, above,) Mr. Mills became a conspicuous agent for a colonization society. It was with the spirit of a missionary, that he embarked in an enterprise, which was commended twenty years before, in the same spirit, by his father's friend. Can any one, who has watched the transmission of influence from fireside interviews and juvenile impressions, (especially in the families of our New England pastors,) be slow to believe, that the mind of young Mills had been, in some degree, directly or indirectly, educated for this sphere of beneficence by the journals and pamphlets which his father had been receiving, for thirty years, from the Newport divine? It is not according to the analogy of God's providence, that thirty years of untiring labor for any benevolent enterprise, should fail to produce some impression upon the families which were partial to the laborer.

We do not pretend, that Hopkins produced a distinctly and easily perceptible effect in favor of Christianizing or of colonizing Africa. The many disappointments of his life [illegible] a tinge of melancholy. His was not the cheering lot of such [illegible] Moses Stuart, who, before they die, clearly *see* the results of their life's toil. Hopkins lived by faith, not by [illegible] He disseminated philanthropic plans, whose influence has been [illegible] great measure invisible. But unseen results are none the less real. It is one lesson to be gathered from his Memoir, that perseverance in duty, even amid disheartening repulses, will end well; that an idea will never be lost, even though it be "buried long;" that "great truths can be expressed *no where*, without spreading themselves *every where*."

* In attempting to ascertain, whether these two clergymen were in the habit of epistolary correspondence with each other, the writer learned, that in December, 1823, when Mr. Mills was eighty years of age, his house, library, manuscripts, portrait, etc., were burned. It is distinctly remembered, however, that among other works of Hopkins in Mr. Mills's library, was the Memoir of Madam Osborn, which details a part of the scheme for civilizing and evangelizing Africa. This Memoir was extensively read a half century ago, in the families of New England clergymen.

† Spring's Life of Mills, p. 24.

SECT. XLI. INTEREST IN THE NEGRO POPULATION OF NEWPORT.

Mr. Hopkins was not one of those men who expend their zeal on remote objects of charity, while they neglect such as are near at home. On the 23d of June, 1780, he writes to Dr. West:

"The blacks look to me as their patron, and some of them have applied to me to preach to them in public, alleging that a considerable number would attend, and that there was an uncommon and increasing desire among them to be instructed. I have preached to them two Sabbaths, at six o'clock, P. M., in the meeting-house. A considerable number attend, and behave so well, that the whites who are present, (for they are not excluded,) can't but speak in their favor. But this, I expect, will make me many enemies, and be the occasion of my falling under much reproach. However, a persuasion that I am in the way of duty, and the hope that I may be the means of some good to the poor blacks, I hope will be sufficient to support me, whatever obloquy or suffering may be the consequence."

Notwithstanding all his abstruse discussions, his meeting-house was the favorite resort of the negro population, on the Sabbath. "One side of the gallery was appropriated to their use." Several of them belonged to his church; and among the subscribers to his "metaphysical" System of Divinity are enrolled the names, not only of Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh, and Dr. Ryland, of England, but also of Congo Jenkins and Zingo Stevens, of Newport, and Cato Mumford and Nimble Nightingale, of Providence. There were seventeen negro subscribers, in Providence and Newport, for that recondite work. The remembrance of such facts as these, led Dr. Channing to say, that Hopkins, "labored for the education of the colored people, and had the happiness of seeing the fruits of his labors in the intelligence and exemplary piety of those who came under his influence." *

SECT. XLII. INTEREST IN NATIONAL AND CHURCH POLITY.

Mr. Hopkins lived at a period of high political excitement. He took an interest in all that concerned his country. "His Fast Sermons," says one of his successors at Newport,† "were a perfect terror to evil-doers." "Like most of the ministers of the time," says Dr. Channing, "he was a strong Federalist." He did not spare the opposing party, although one of his prominent male church members was earnest in its defence. About a year before his death, he writes:

"December 14, 1802. On thanksgiving day, I said in my sermon, 'that we had no reason to be thankful that the distinguished blasphemer of Christ and Christianity, and reviler of our beloved Washington, — Paine, — was come to America, and that he was invited here and caressed by many who were in high stations!' This was soon spread through the town, and obtained the

* Channing's Works, vol. iv. p. 350.
† Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, of Randolph, Mass.

encomium of the Federalists; but the contrary of some of the Democrats. I say *some* of them, because I believe that a number of them are really ashamed and sorry, that he was invited in the manner he has been, and that he is come."

Equally decided was Mr. Hopkins on questions of church government. His friend Dr. Hart, while absorbed in the plan of union between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, desired the Newport divine's opinion on the subject, and received the following reply:

"August 30, 1791. You inform me that a committee from the Synod or General Assembly of Presbyterians, and one from the clergy in Connecticut, are to meet at New Haven; and ask, 'What do you think we shall do?' Answer: I believe you will do nothing very great and important. It may serve to cultivate friendship, and keep up a correspondence which may answer valuable ends. And you may agree upon some method or rule, by which candidates or dismissed ministers shall be recommended from one to the other, without which recommendation they shall not be received; which may prevent, in future, disorders of that kind which have taken place heretofore. But it cannot be expected, that you will agree and unite in *one form* of church government and discipline."

After Mr. Hopkins had been engaged in studying the prophecies, and had become familiar with the symbolical style, he made frequent use of the epithet *frogs*. In one of his letters he says: "On the 18th of this month, the Rev. Mr. James Freeman was ordained pastor of the First Episcopal Church in Boston. This was done, I conclude, by the Congregational ministers in Boston. What is the world coming to! This is *Catholicism* indeed! Frogs — spirits of devils, working wonders!" Mr. Freeman was afterwards a Unitarian.

It is well known that Mr. Hopkins was active in the formation of Congregational churches; and he left among his papers the ensuing plan of government and discipline. It possesses a rare historical value. It illustrates its author's independence, his high tone of morals, his exactness of Christian discipline.

"*Articles of a Church.*

"We, the subscribers, being persuaded that we are called by God to form ourselves into a Christian church, entering into covenant with God, and with each other, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, and to watch over and assist one another in love and faithfulness, and devoting ourselves, with all we have, to the service of Christ, and to promote his interest and kingdom, do agree in the following articles, which we think agreeable to the Word of God, and important, and necessary to be observed, in order to the best regulation and prosperity of a church of Christ.

"I. That none are qualified, in the sight of God, to be members of a Christian church, unless they be true believers in Jesus Christ, so as to be his real friends, and obedient to him. And therefore none are visible members of a church of Christ, or ought to be admitted there, but those who appear to understand the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, and profess true repentance, and faith in Christ, and engage hearty obedience to him, and whose conversation is agreeable to such profession and engagement.

"II. The children of those believers who are members of the visible church, observing all things which Christ has commanded, are included in the covenant with their parents, and are proper subjects of baptism, and ought to be given up to Christ in that ordinance by the parents. But no other children may be baptized.

"III. A careful and strict discipline is to be exercised and maintained by every particular church, over all the members of it; being very careful and cautious in admitting members, that none be admitted but those who appear to have the qualifications above mentioned; and watching over one another, and reproving and admonishing those who walk disorderly, contrary to their profession and engagements; and casting them out of the church, who, after proper admonition, continue impenitent and unreformed. And the general rule, for the discipline of offending members, is given by Christ in Matt. xviii. 15, &c.

"IV. In all cases to be decided by the church, the voice of the majority of the brethren present must be considered as the act of the church. However, when there shall be any dissenters, who disagree with the majority, in any case, they must be treated with love and great tenderness; and all proper means must be used by the rest of the church to convince them, and persuade them, at least, so far to acquiesce in the act of the church, as to take no offence, though they cannot see their way clear to act with them.

"V. The pastor of the church is to have no vote in the decision of any matter before the church. He is to act as moderator, and give all the light and assistance he can to the church, in all cases that may lie before them.

"VI. Every church hath a right to choose their own pastor; but he is to be ordained to the work of the ministry, not by the brethren of the church, but by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; that is, ministers of the gospel.

"VII. There ought not to be any appeal from the judgment and decision of a particular church, to any higher judicatory which has authority to set aside what they do, or oblige them to recede from it; but each church hath full power to determine, within and for itself, who shall be admitted as members, and who ought to be censured and cast out; and to decide all other matters that may be before them. But it may be proper and expedient, in cases that are difficult, or in which the church is much divided, before they proceed to act and decide, to request the assistance of pastors and delegates of other churches, in order to obtain light and direction. But such pastors and delegates have no authority to control the church which applies to them; but only to instruct and advise.

"VIII. As the education of the children of the church, who have been baptized, is of vast importance, and the parents have solemnly engaged, to God and to the church, to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, the church ought to take a particular care of this matter; and where there appears to be a great neglect, the faulty parent is to be admonished, and rejected if he do not reform. And such children are to be under the care and discipline of the church, when they are adult, so as to be capable of judging and acting for themselves, in matters of religion. And if they walk disorderly, and refuse to do whatsoever Christ has commanded, after proper admonition, they are to be rejected.

"IX. The church ought to have frequent stated meetings; at least, always before their attendance on the Lord's supper, which ought to be once a month, at least. At which meeting, and all other meetings of the church, both males and females ought to attend, when the business that may be before the church is to be transacted; and the church are to pray together, and to converse freely on any matters relating to their holy profession, that may be proposed, and receive instruction and exhortation from the pastor, as time and circumstances admit and require.

"X. The persons that desire to join with the church, shall apply to the pastor; and after they have been examined by him, shall come before the

church, at one of their meetings mentioned in the preceding article, that the church may have opportunity to satisfy themselves respecting their qualifications for admission. And if the church approve of them, their proposal to join with the church shall be published to the congregation. And if no reasonable objection be made against it, they shall then be admitted, by making a public profession, and entering into covenant.

"XI. When any person shall be recommended to stated communion in the church, by any other church, as in good standing with them, he shall not be admitted upon such recommendation, until he give opportunity to the church to be acquainted with his religious sentiments and exercises, so far as to satisfy them that it is proper for them to admit him.

"XII. As the church is a public society, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid, the members of it ought to be admitted publicly, before the congregation; and when any person falls under the censure of the church, he ought not to be restored until he makes a public, credible profession of repentance. And when the church rejects any of its members, it ought to be done publicly.

"XIII. It belongs to the church to choose their pastor, and to see that he is well supported, so that he may give himself wholly to the work of the ministry, if they be able, taking the whole of it on themselves, except what others shall voluntarily give. And in furnishing this support, each member of the church ought to give in proportion to his substance and ability. And the church are to watch over each other with respect to this; and if any member shall neglect and refuse to do so much as the church shall judge is no more than his proportion, he ought to be rejected and censured as covetous.

"XIV. The church ought to take a kind and tender care of all the poor members who need their assistance, so that none shall want of necessaries for the body. And for this end they ought always to have a sufficient stock in the hands of the deacons, to be distributed by them according to their best discretion.

"XV. The church is to choose deacons, who are to take the charge and care of all the temporals of the church, for the support of the pastor, the supply of the poor of the church, and furnishing the Lord's table, or for answering any other purposes which the church shall undertake. And the deacons ought to be ordained to this work.

"XVI. Brethren ought not to go to law with each other; according to 1 Cor. vi. 1, &c. But when any one thinks himself injured by another in his temporal interest, if the matter cannot be healed more privately, he ought to bring it before the church. And if the injurious person refuse to hear the church, he must be rejected; and then the injured brother may make use of the civil law to recover his right.

"XVII. Churches ought not to allow any of their members to marry to persons of openly wicked lives, or who are infidels, or embrace and maintain damnable errors."

Sect. XLIII. INFLUENCE OF HOPKINS'S PERSONAL CHARACTER UPON HIS THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM.

When we reflect on the philanthropic movements of this indefatigable man, we are inclined to imagine that he was merely a philanthropist; and when we consider his theological labors, we are apt to conceive of him as merely a theologian. We forget that his philanthropy was his theology drawn out into practice, and that his theological speculations were prompted and followed by philanthropic aims. We cannot understand him as a theologian, without exam-

ining his life of beneficence; and we cannot appreciate his activity in doing good, without studying his peculiarities as a divine.

In estimating the influence of our author's personal character upon his theological system, let us first consider his transparent honesty, as affecting the structure of his creed. Seeking neither wealth nor fame, he kept his mind open to the teachings of the divine word, and scrupled not to express his convictions, whatever they might be. His system, therefore, is *his own*. A large part of its value consists in the fact, that it is the result of his own thought, and is so expressed as to please himself rather than his neighbors. This is a rare merit. Of what use is it to write a theological system for the purpose of gratifying the prejudices of a party? In reading the works of Hopkins, we feel that we are near his heart. Whether we approve or disapprove his words, we are quickened by them, as the plain-spoken language of an honest man. He did not write as a diplomatist. In some respects, he resembled the early teachers of Christianity. As they resisted all the religious parties around them, so he, amiable as was his private character, gave offence to all the sects and schools with whom he came in contact. He often spoke in condemnatory words of "those who called themselves Calvinists, that were for palliating the matter by, as it were, trimming off the knots of Calvinism, that they might conform it more to the taste of those who are most disposed to object against it." His entire frankness of spirit led him to express, in sermons and public addresses, such doctrines, with regard to the divine agency in the production of sin, as other Calvinists had expressed in scientific treatises only. Where this honesty was known, it was highly revered; and, therefore, many of the Quakers, the Methodists, the Baptists, who had opposed his doctrinal views, were among the most reverential admirers of him as a man and a Christian.

The open-heartedness of Hopkins is well illustrated in the following reminiscence by Dr. Channing: "One day he dined at my father's, with a young minister who was willing to comply with the costume of the day, but whose modesty only allowed the ruffles to peep from his breast. The doctor said, with good humor, 'I don't care for ruffles; but if I wore them, I'd wear them like a man.'" * It was just so in his theology. He exposed what he had.

Our author's strength of character induced him to give an unusual prominence to the more difficult parts of theology, and thus it shaped his entire system. Whether his speculations be true or false, he has done a great work in promoting manly discussion, in convincing his readers that piety is something more than a blind sentimentalism, and that theology is something better than a superstitious faith. He

* Works, vol. iv. p. 348.

has encouraged men to examine intricate theories, and the examination has saved them from scepticism. Hundreds have been repulsed into infidelity, by the fear of good men to encounter philosophical objections. Hopkins was too strong for such fears. He had that sterling common sense which loves to grapple with important truths, cost what they may of toil. The great problem of the existence of sin early awakened his curiosity, and moved the depths of his heart.* A weaker man would have shrunk from the investigation of such a theme. But he was ready to defend all parts of what he loved to call "a consistent Calvinism." His readiness to encounter the hardest subjects and the sturdiest opponents, was foretokened by one of his early corporeal feats. It is reported that an insane man, stalwart and furious, was once escaping from his keepers with fearful speed; but the young divine intercepted him, and held him fast until the maniac gave up, and cried, "Hopkins, you are my master."

Throughout the unpublished and the published writings of Hopkins, there breathes a masculine spirit, which refuses to be satisfied by assertion instead of argument, and insists on the legitimate use of the faculties which God has given us. At the age of sixty-five, he writes to Dr. Hart: "I ask what faith I shall have in the power of God, or what belief of any revealed truth, if I do not so far trust to my own understanding, as to think and be confident that I do understand that God has revealed certain truths, and what they are." In his thirty-fifth year, Hopkins seized at what he deemed a tacit concession of Dr. Mayhew, that Arminianism could not be sustained by reason. He writes to Bellamy: "I think he [Mayhew] says that which may be fairly construed as a crying down reason, under the name of *metaphysical*, or some epithet tantamount." Hopkins was too vigorous to leave such a concession unnoticed. He turns the tables on his Arminian opposers, and they censure him for his argumentative style, — the very thing for which they have been censured, again and again, by their antagonists. Our stout champion says, that "Pelagians and Arminians have been, in too many instances, treated so by their opponents, the professed Calvinists. The former have gloried in their reasoning against the latter, as unanswerable demonstration. The latter, instead of detecting the weakness, fallacy, and absurdity of the reasoning of the former, and maintaining their cause on this ground, as well they might, have endeavored to defend themselves from this weapon by bringing it into disgrace, and rejecting

* Five weeks after he had finished his theological studies at Northampton, our young candidate is found in a dispute with the missionary Sergeant, Edwards's predecessor at Stockbridge. He writes: "July 8, 1743. Went to see Mr. Sergeant, and in our discourse he denied that the apostle spake of himself in the seventh chapter of Romans. We had some talk upon it, but brought nothing to a point. I am not satisfied whether it is from an Arminian principle or not, that Mr. Sergeant holds this. I know many Arminians are of his mind as to this chapter."

it under the name of *carnal, unsanctified reason*, &c. This has been so far from humbling or giving them the least conviction of their errors, that it has had a contrary effect to a very great and sensible degree. And no wonder; for this was the direct tendency of it, as it is an implicit confession that they felt themselves worsted at reasoning." *

Our author's benevolence and sense of justice and equity moulded his theological belief. It was more natural for him than for some other men, to resolve all virtue into benevolence. He had virtue enough to bear an analysis, and he felt that all his virtue was reducible to love. He judged that our moral disease needed severe medicines, and he therefore gave them. He aimed to increase the happiness of men, by making them willing to lose themselves in the divine glory. He was strict, because he deemed a strict life to be a truly kind one. His faith was rigid, for the same reason that his conduct was philanthropic. The tendency of some modern speculations to discourage all penal enactments, is effectually met by the profound reasonings of our author on the justice of eternal punishment. The spirit of his entire system is one of stern opposition to sin, because sin deserves this opposition, and because the interests of the universe require it. He gives an unusual prominence to the idea, that the severest of the divine dispensations are prompted by a desire to promote the highest happiness of the largest number. He meant that those theories which are called severe, should rest on a basis of love. It would have been impossible for him to make the doctrines of high Calvinism so impressive as he has made them, unless he had explained, with unusual fulness, the equity of the divine administration. He ever attempted to show that his doctrines were fair, as well as true. He believed that God imputes the sin of Adam to all men, but only because, and so far forth as, all men have first "approved of" that sin, and chosen to make it their own. He believed that God imputes the holiness of Christ to believers; but only on condition that they first "approve of" Christ's holiness, and prefer to imitate it. The genius of Hopkins's theology consists in its attempting to show the entire rectitude of the divine government, and then in exalting that government high above all other interests. We cannot delight too much in a sovereignty which is congenial with equity. The speculations of our author have been termed abstract; some of them were so, but their general aim was practical and benevolent. Their main drift was, to enforce obedience to God, by showing that obedience is our reasonable duty. Their prevailing scope was to prove, that God ought to be a Sovereign, and, therefore, is one; that his decrees are amiable, and, therefore, we ought to acquiesce in them, whatever they may be; that his law is level to our natural power, and, therefore, ought to be obeyed forthwith. We do not

* Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. pp. 492, 493.

suppose that all his speculations were perfectly accurate, but they all pointed to this practical truth: The first, the immediate, the fair, the reasonable duty of all moral agents is, to love the government of God supremely, and submit to it without reserve; to this duty, and to nothing save what involves this duty, sinners ought to be urged at once, and without exception. By the new distinctness which Hopkins gave to this truth, he has been made, and is now made, an instrument of many revivals of religion. He, and the men who drank of his spirit, have been distinguished as philanthropic and enterprising Christians.*

We cannot better illustrate our author's nice regard to equity, than in the following Essay, which he wrote only twelve years after Edwards had published the Treatise on the Will. The essay exhibits, also, that strength of mind, that honesty of heart, which made our author what he was. Unless he had written and preached often in the style of the following discussion, he could not have sustained himself in his high theories on the predestinating and sovereign agency of God. We shall misunderstand those theories, unless we view them in the light which they receive from the Hopkinsian statements in the discussion here appended. The author first proposes three questions, and then gives his truly Edwardean answers.

"Question first. If underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity, can it be the duty of a creature to have it?

"Question second. If we actually have all that is communicated to us, is not this all we should have?

"Question third. If it is, is not every man as good as he should be?

"In order to answer these questions, I begin with the *first. If underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity, can it be the duty of a creature to have it?*

"In answering this question, I would first lay down this *axiom*; for the proof of which, if not granted by all, I refer to *Edwards on the Will, passim: Moral impossibility or inability in man to perform any duty, does not excuse him for not performing it.*

"Again, before I proceed, I shall inquire into the sense of the word *peculiar*; for I perceive there is an ambiguity attending it, which will be apt to lead into mistake. The word *peculiar* sometimes signifies that which so belongs to a being or thing that it is absolutely impossible, in the nature of things, that it should belong to any thing else; or, that there is a natural impossibility that it should belong to any other being or thing, even though that other being should desire it, and choose it never so much. Thus, self-existence, infinity, &c., are *peculiar* to God.

"But again, the word *peculiar* sometimes signifies no more than that which belongs only to some being or beings, and not to all, or to some other being; though it might belong to this other being, did he but choose it and seek after it. Thus, a knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences is *peculiar* to some men, and does not belong to others, who might as well have it, if they did but choose it and properly seek after it. Thus, also, justice and benevolence are *peculiar* to some men, although all might possess them if they would. In this latter sense, underived virtue is *peculiar* to the Deity; so that although no creature actually possesses it, yet all *rational creatures* might possess it, if they would; *i. e.*, all creatures, supposing them to be created with barely

* See, for example, p. 64 of the present Memoir.

those natural faculties which constitute them moral agents, may, if they choose it, become possessed of that virtue which shall be underived in any other sense than this: that as they have derived their existence from God, so they themselves, and every act and habit of theirs, or disposition of their wills, is in some sense derived. But their virtue may be as much underived, as men's wickedness is now. I say, there is nothing but a volition or choice of theirs wanting to effect this. For virtue consists primarily and principally in a certain disposition of will; which, let us suppose, for the present, to be *benevolence;* for it makes no odds, in the present question, what disposition we suppose it to be. Then, I say, nothing but a choice is necessary in order to put one in possession of benevolence; for if we do but choose benevolence, we are pleased with it, and are in love with it; and if we are in love with it, then we have an inclination or disposition of will to it. If we have a disposition of will to it, then we have a disposition to wish well to all beings. If we have a disposition to wish well to all beings, then we have benevolence; for this is nothing but such a disposition. Therefore, if we do but choose benevolence, we actually have benevolence. Therefore, there is nothing but a volition or choice wanting in any creature, in order to his becoming possessed of underived virtue. In this latter sense, therefore, underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity.

"Thus we have shown in what sense underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity; *viz.*, only *actually*, or in fact, peculiar to him, and not *necessarily; i. e.*, there is no other impossibility but a moral one, that a rational creature should possess it. And since that (by the forementioned axiom) does not excuse from duty, notwithstanding underived virtue is peculiar to the Deity, yet it may well enough be the duty of creatures to have it.

"This, then, is the answer to the first question: *Yes, it can be the duty of a creature to have it;* and actually is so, if it be his duty to have every amiable quality which [it] is in his power to have, which he has a fair offer of, to choose or refuse, as he pleases.

"Now, against this answer, I perceive several objections will be vehemently urged. As, 'That men *can't* become possessed of underived virtue, it is *absolutely impossible*, and men might as well give themselves a new heart, which we know from Scripture to be the peculiar work of God,' &c.

"As to the words *can't, impossible*, &c., I suppose it is generally well understood what a fallacy is couched in them; and how vastly different their signification is, when used in a moral and philosophical sense, (which is the case here,) from what it is when they are used in their vulgar sense. So that I need say nothing to explain the matter here.

"Again, when it is said, 'men might as well give themselves a new heart,' this is granted, that they might. And although we allow that this work is *peculiar* to God, yet it is peculiar only in the latter sense, above [named]. So that the greatest sinner on earth can renew his own heart, or change his will, whenever he pleases; which he is bound to do immediately; and is threatened with eternal damnation if he finally does not.

"It may also be objected, 'That it is impossible that God should make a creature to be possessed of *underived virtue;* how, then, is any such thing possible at all, since *Almighty God* cannot effect it?' To which I answer, It is just as possible, as sin was before it entered into the world. If by God's making a creature to be possessed of underived virtue, be meant his enduing a creature with it, we grant it is impossible, *naturally* impossible. For it is a contradiction, to suppose that that which is endued or bestowed should be underived. But that God should make a creature having perfect liberty, is in no wise impossible. Neither is it, nor can it be, any other way impossible, but in a moral sense, that such a creature should choose virtue, and so become possessed of it, as much underived as any disposition or volition whatever.

"It may further be said, after this manner: 'How is it possible that any creature should have underived virtue, when all virtue is as much diffused from God, as its fountain, as light is from the sun? Might not men as well

see light without its being disseminated from the sun, as have any virtue underived from God?' It is readily granted, as has already been intimated, that all virtue is as really and actually from God as light is from the sun; yet still this instance is not exactly parallel. And concerning all such illustrations, transferred from the natural world to things of a moral nature, it is worthy of observation, that there is a great fallacy in them, and they greatly tend to deceive; as in such affairs, in the natural world, the will of no creature, perhaps, or at least of the person spoken of, can make any alteration in any respect, let it be which way it will. But things of a moral nature are all dependent on the will, and are just as that is. So, in the present instance, if the sun should be removed, or cease to diffuse light, men could not see, let them choose and desire it as much as they will. Whereas it has been before shown, that if men did but once choose virtue, they would be actually in possession of it, however uncommunicated by God.

"Thus it is shown, that though underived virtue be peculiar to the Deity, yet it may be, and in fact is, the duty of every rational creature to have it. And also several objections which might be made against this doctrine, have been answered; all which, taken together, may suffice for an answer to the *first* question.

"The first being answered, there need but a word or two be said to the others.

"Question second. If we actually have all that is actually communicated to us, is not this all we should have?

"Answer. No; because, by the foregoing answer, we are obliged to have what is not communicated to us, viz., *underived virtue;* (or, we are obliged to have and exercise virtue, whether it is communicated to us or not.)

"Question third. If it is, is not every man as good as he should be?

"Answer. But it is *not*, by answer second. Every man, therefore, is not as good as he should be; because, although he has all that is actually communicated, yet he has not all that he should have.

"Great Barrington, February 11, 1766."

If the preceding document had been published before Emmons wrote his sermon on "The Excuse of Sinners their Condemnation,"* we should suppose that many ideas in that sermon had been suggested by this document. The design of Emmons is to show, first, "What God does not require of sinners which he has not given them;" secondly, "What he does require of them which he has not given them;" and thirdly, "That they have no reason to complain of his requiring that of them which he has not given them." There is certainly a singular coincidence here, between the thoughts of Emmons and those of Dr. Hopkins.

Our author's tenacity of purpose guided him in fashioning his theological system, in adjusting its proportions, and regulating the prominence of its different parts. He contended most stoutly for those articles which were most vehemently opposed. As men objected less to his doctrine of human freedom than to his doctrine of the eternal decrees, he published less on the former truth than on the latter. Through his whole life he taught, that "this sin which

* Emmons's Works, vol. vi. pp. 85, seq.

takes place in the posterity of Adam, is not properly distinguished into original and actual sin, because it is all really actual, and there is, strictly speaking, no other sin but actual sin;" * still, he did not introduce this doctrine into his works, so often as he introduced the doctrine of God's agency in producing moral evil. Why not? Probably because the former doctrine was not gainsaid by many of his readers. This seems to have been a chief reason, why the proportions of his system differ, somewhat, from those which we find in some other Hopkinsian works. In other circumstances, he might have varied the relative position of his doctrines. He was not ready to yield any thing which he deemed true and important. There is something great in his faithfulness to himself. We honor him for his firmness, amid adversaries. When reading some of his very latest epistles, we admire his adhesion to the creed of his earlier days. It was not the obstinacy of a bigot, but the constancy of a Christian student. It reminds us of his pertinacity in the physical habits of his youth. "Dr. Hopkins told me," writes one of his admirers, "that in early life he was very sprightly, and could put his hands on a five-rail fence and throw his feet over with ease, and that in his old age he tried to perform the same manœuvre, but failed, falling his whole length on the ground." He never gave up, unless he were obliged to do so by Providence. "*Justus propositi tenax*," is his fitting designation.

The tenacity of purpose for which this good man was so eminent, did not always prevent his yielding his own judgment to the advice of his friends, on matters of secondary importance. Thus we are told by Dr. Patten, that Hopkins was inclined to publish in his "System" a certain section on the "agency of God in the existence of sin;" but was induced to omit it by the counsel of men whom he valued. He afterwards regretted that he had complied with their advice; but he abandoned no important principle in the compliance. †

Our author's love of free, rational, and biblical inquiry, had an influence on his doctrinal faith. We may say of him what he says

* Hopkins's Works, vol. i. p. 224.

† See Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 142, seq. That omitted section is now lost. It is well known, that on the subject of the divine agency in producing moral evil, Hopkins did not exactly agree with Drs. Emmons and Samuel Spring. He was not quite willing to say, that God's agency in regard to our wrong doing is as immediate and direct, as his agency in regard to our right doing. When Dr. Emmons read to Hopkins the manuscript of the celebrated sermon, entitled "Man's Activity and Dependence Illustrated and Reconciled," Hopkins did not positively disapprove of it, but advised him to read it to Dr. West before publishing it. Emmons read it to West, who coincided with it, and it was published. On this point, Hopkins remained unwilling to say so much as Emmons, although on other points of the subject he said more. Several friends of Hopkins assert, that in his later years he looked upon Dr. Emmons as the ablest theologian of New England.

of President Edwards: "He took his religious principles from the Bible, and not from any human system or body of divinity. Though his principles were Calvinistic, yet he called no man father. He thought and judged for himself, and was truly very much of an original."* Hopkins has been called a metaphysician; but one great object of his life was, to break down a system of false metaphysics, which interferes with the plain meaning of the written word. He was not perfect, but he bowed before the revelation of God. His reverence for the Creator made him independent of creatures. Many European theologians have been slaves to each other; but what had the minister of Great Barrington to fear from foreign prescription? Oxford could not overawe him. No œcumenical council could reach him. In many respects, it was well for him that he was retired with Edwards, in the forests of Berkshire. He studied more profoundly and more freely at the base of Monument Mountain, than he would have done amid the fashions of a court. He was a Congregational minister in the New World; and therefore, if true to his calling and position, he must have examined the truth for himself. He derived from Congregationalism one of its chief blessings, — an impulse as well as a liberty to believe according to evidence, rather than according to prescription.

Of course, he was accused, as an independent thinker is apt to be accused, of all kinds of heresies. Once, when charged with adopting Arminian interpretations of the Bible, he replies in his sturdy way: "It does not fright me at all, to be told that Arminians understand this text as I do. For who would not much rather join with the grossest Arminians, so far as they are right, than with the most orthodox Calvinists, wherein they are wrong?"† When tired of hearing the stale charge that he had started new doctrines into life, he responds: "I now declare, I had much rather publish *New Divinity* than any other. And the more of this the better, — if it be but true. Nor do I think any doctrine can be 'too strange to be true.' I should think it hardly worth while to write, if I had nothing *new* to say."‡ In his "Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue," Hopkins alludes to his having been falsely accused of propounding new theories, and replies: "This he [Mr. Hart] has over and over again, above a dozen times. He calls them 'new doctrines,' 'new orthodoxy,' 'a new scheme,' 'new notions,' 'a new system or rather chaos of divinity,' 'upstart errors,' &c. And the teachers of them he calls 'new apostles,' 'new divines,' 'new teachers,' &c. — If this were true, I see not what reason there would be to make such a great outcry about it. This is really no evidence against those doctrines. It is at least *possible*, that there is some truth contained in the Bible, which has not been commonly taught;

* Memoir of Edwards, p. 44. † Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 393. ‡ Ib. p. 345.

yea, has never been mentioned by any writer since the apostles; and whenever that shall be discovered and brought out, it will be *new*. And who knows but that some such *new* discoveries may be made in our day? If so, unhappy and very guilty will be the man who shall attempt to fright people, and raise their prejudices against it, by raising the cry of NEW Divinity. Indeed, I question whether an author can, with a right temper and view, take this method to run any doctrine down, by appealing to the prejudices of people, and keeping up a constant, loud cry of *new, upstart* divinity." *

So far does Hopkins indulge his independent spirit, that often when he quotes other writers, even Edwards himself, he disclaims all intention to quote them as establishing the truth of his positions, and he says in one passage: "I hope I never shall be guilty of referring to any uninspired *man* as an *authority*. When I mentioned a sense which *others* put upon this text, I referred to the Doctor [Doddridge] as one of them, not as any evidence that this was the right sense; but that it was in fact so understood by some, as I asserted." † We must concede that, here and there, our author adopts a style too intense and unqualified, ‡ in asserting the duty of free thought. When reprimanded for controverting some of the fathers, the intrepid man replied, in language more nervous and cogent than some would think him capable of using:

"If it could serve any good purpose, I might say, that as great a number of divines, as old or elder than they, and as famous for piety and learning, might be mentioned, who are on our side of the question. And we might proceed to set father against father, and try who shall get the most on his side. But this is in truth nothing to the purpose. The opinion of the most venerable and renowned fathers in this case, in determining what doctrines are true, and what are not so, ought not to have the least weight. And it is foolish, and even carries a degree of impiety in it, for us, who have the Bible in our hands, to lay the weight of a straw on the opinion of the wisest and best men that ever lived. I am sorry to have any occasion to make this observation at this time of day, among *Protestants*. It is very weak and ridiculous, if not something worse, for a divine to attempt to support or confirm any doctrine by appealing to the judgment and decision of any man; or to run down and reject any tenet that is advanced, merely because it is a *new* doctrine, or embraced by few, and is contrary to the opinion of the fathers, and what has been established by common consent. Since people in general are too apt to be influenced by this, and it is common for every one to have his *father*, on whose sleeves he pins his faith in a great measure, without examining for himself, it is pity they should be upheld and confirmed in it by public teachers, when it is of such importance that they should by all possible means be beat off from this sandy foundation, and learn to judge for themselves by 'reasoning out of the Scriptures,' and 'searching them daily, to see if these things are so.'" §

* See p. 9 of the Animadversions.

† Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 387.

‡ It has been already asserted, (see pp. 29, 30, above,) that our author, stable as he was, often indulged himself in a style of writing too unqualified. He trusted, that the good sense of his readers would suggest at once the needed limitations.

§ Hopkins's Two Discourses on Law and Regeneration, Works, vol. iii. pp. 564, 565.

Averse as Dr. Channing was to the spirit and genius of Hopkinsianism, he yet never accuses Hopkins himself of a blind adherence to human creeds, of a slavish and bigoted subjection to any uninspired men. He rather commends the Rhode Island patriarch for the opposite virtues, and considers them as exerting an influence upon his theological system. He says, in language needing qualification:

"His [Hopkins's] name is, indeed, associated with a stern and appalling theology, and it is true that he wanted toleration toward those who rejected his views. Still, in forming his religious opinions, he was superior to human authority; he broke away from human creeds; he interpreted God's word for himself; he revered reason, the oracle of God within him."

". . . From such a man, a tame acquiescence in the established theology was not to be expected. He, indeed, accepted the doctrine of predestination in its severest form; but in so doing, he imagined himself a disciple of reason as well as of revelation. He believed this doctrine to be sustained by profound metaphysical argumentation, and to rest on the only sound philosophy of the human mind; so that in receiving it, he did not abandon the ground of reason. In accordance with his free spirit of inquiry, we find him making not a few important modifications of Calvinism. The doctrine that we are liable to punishment for the sin of our first parent, he wholly rejected; and not satisfied with denying the imputation of Adam's guilt to his posterity, he subverted what the old theology had set forth as the only foundation of divine acceptance; namely, the imputation of Christ's righteousness or merits to the believer. The doctrine that Christ died for the elect only, found no mercy at his hands. He taught that Christ suffered equally for all mankind. The system of Dr. Hopkins was, indeed, an effort of reason to reconcile Calvinism with its essential truths. Accordingly, his disciples were sometimes called, and willingly called, Rational Calvinists. The impression which he made was much greater than is now supposed. The churches of New England received a decided impression from his views; and though his name — once given to his followers — is no longer borne, his influence is still felt. The conflict now going on in our country, for the purpose of mitigating the harsh features of Calvinism, is a stage of the revolutionary movement to which he, more than any man, gave impulse. *I* can certainly bear witness to the spirit of progress and free inquiry which possessed him. In my youth, I preached in this house at the request of the venerable old man.* As soon as the services were closed, he turned to me with an animated, benignant smile, and using a quaintness of expression which I need not repeat, said to me, that theology was still imperfect, and that he hoped I should live to carry it towards perfection. Rare and most honorable liberality in the leader of a sect! He wanted not to secure a follower, but to impel a young mind to higher truth. I feel that ability has not been given me to accomplish this generous hope; but such quickening language from such lips, though it could not give strength, might kindle desire and elevate exertion."†

The quaint expression which Dr. Channing did not repeat in the preceding extract, he has repeated in another document. It is an expression illustrating the opinion which Hopkins, as well as Bellamy and Edwards, entertained, with regard to what the younger Edwards terms "improvements in theology." Dr. Channing writes of Hopkins, in a more familiar paper:

* Dr. Channing was ordained at Boston, in the very year of Hopkins's death

† Channing's Works, vol. iv. pp. 342, 343, 344.

"I preached for him once; and after the service in the pulpit, he smiled on me, and said, 'The *hat* is not made yet.' On my asking an explanation, he told me that Dr. Bellamy used to speak of theology as a progressive science, and compare the different stages of it to the successive processes of *making a hat.* The beaver was to be born, then to be killed, and then the felt to be made, &c. Having thus explained the similitude, he added, 'The hat is not made, and I hope you will help to finish it.'" *

It has been said, that for a man like Hopkins to cherish the love of progress in a youth like Channing, is of dangerous tendency. But *real* progress will always lead into the truth. All movement toward error is retrograde, and where the allowance of independent thought has made one Unitarian, the repression of it has made ten infidels. Attempts to fetter the human mind have maddened it, until it has burst through all restraint into scepticism or atheism. Channing was a youth of meditative and even ascetic habits. He admired Hopkins, but he cherished a still higher reverence for Stiles. There is no more evidence of his having been led into Socinianism by the independence of Hopkins, his neighbor, than by the eminent catholicism of Stiles, his former pastor; nor can he be more justly said to have been repulsed into Unitarianism by the stern features of Hopkins's *new* divinity, than by the rigid expression of Stiles's *old* divinity. If the charge had not been so often repeated, we should not deign to notice it; but if it be honorable to ascribe the career of Channing to the fact of his having been trained amid Hopkinsian influences, it would be equally honorable to ascribe the career of Buckminster to the fact of his having been trained under Calvinistic and anti-Hopkinsian influences. All such charges are idle, unless they be proved.

It is not wonderful, that so dauntless an inquirer as Hopkins should have awakened the fears of less manly thinkers. His antagonist, Mills, who reprimanded him for so many things, once expressed the grief of "many worthy fathers in the ministry, whose praise is in the gospel through the churches, and who are not so far *superannuated*, but that, with good old Eli, they *tremble* for fear of the ark, when they see it in danger of a wrong touch from the vigor and sprightliness of younger years." In our times it is unusual to characterize Hopkins as a *sprightly* author, but he replied to this reprimand of Mr. Mills with a Hopkinsian vigor: "Who these worthy, aged, *trembling* fathers are," he remarks, "I know not, and have no inclination to detract from their praise. But I think I have a right to say, *they fear where no fear is;* and if they *tremble*, and handle the ark as Mr. Mills has done, no thanks are due to them, that it has not been completely overset long ago." †

But while our author was a champion for untrammelled thought, he was peculiarly deferential to the decisions of the inspired word.

* Letter of February 14, 1840. † Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 417.

Independent as he was, he aimed to sink all human metaphysics beneath the Scriptures; to have no other than a biblical philosophy. He went beyond the divines of his day, in deriving his science from the sacred volume. His doctrines will be misunderstood by men who do not appreciate his marked reverence for the letter, as well as the spirit of the Bible.

There are different opinions on the question, whether a system of divinity should be expressed in the language of the inspired penmen, or whether it should exhibit the biblical ideas in a more modern and occidental form. But whatever may be our own mode of answering this question, we must admire the masculine genius of him who combines the greatest freedom of inquiry, and the purest love of rational investigation, with an humble deference to the meaning and also to the phraseology of the sacred writers. Even if men disapprove of his judgment, they must commend the reverential spirit which led our author to adopt the phrases, as well as the ideas, which he deemed to be scriptural. He exposed himself to much obloquy, by adhering to the forms of utterance which he found in the bold appeals of inspired men. He felt himself justified in asserting, because the Bible asserts, that "the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh," "and the heart of his servants," and "moved David to say, Go, number Israel;" and he "put a lying spirit in the mouth of" the prophets, and "hath poured out upon men the spirit of a deep sleep," etc., etc., etc. He might have avoided many censures, if he had couched his ideas in other phrases. But no. "The Bible says it, —therefore I say it," was the ceaseless language of his heart. He would yield to no objections against the words of holy men, who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Did Samuel Hopkins aim to exalt his logic above inspiration? It is not too much to affirm, that no divines before his day could express their faith in the precise words of the Bible, so thoroughly and minutely as he. This gave to his system its excellence, in his own lowly view. Throughout his Journal we are every where meeting such nervous comments as the following, from this admirer of a biblical creed:

"'And whom he will, he hardeneth.' Saint Paul here has reference to God's hardening the heart of Pharaoh, and does not soften the expressions used respecting the hardening his heart, in the least. The *softeners* of our day would not speak so. They would say, 'Whom he will, he *permits* or suffers to harden themselves.' We may hence infer, that they do not think and feel respecting this matter as Paul did." See also Hopkins's Works, vol. i. pp. 111–130, new edition.

The modesty of our divine had an obvious effect upon his theological speculations. He cherished a native lowliness, which was

beautified by divine grace into a Christian humility. His Journal, already quoted, discloses the depth of his penitence. This humbleness of mind gave both impulse and guidance to his love of progress. Feeling that he knew but little, he longed to know more. He was not ashamed to learn. He remembered, that the temple of sacred science is entered by those only who bow low at its portals. His self-abasement was the secret of his success. It regulated his independence of mind. It led him to revere the authors whom he would not adore. Few men have cherished a deeper veneration than he for Calvin and the reformed divines. This veneration prompted him to examine their writings with rare diligence. He did not love to differ from them. He never aspired to be the leader of a sect. He did not vaunt over his discoveries, but was pleased whenever he ascertained that they had been anticipated by other writers. His humble claim was, that from the contradictory statements of Calvinistic standards, he had collated those which were consistent with each other, and had reduced them to a scheme, every part of which had by itself been explicitly or implicitly sanctioned by some Calvinist, but the whole of which had been consistently defended by no one. In his eightieth year, he addressed the following lowly reply to an epistle from Mr. Miller, and disclosed in it how little he had been influenced in his speculations by a desire for notoriety, or any censurable love of novelty.

"Newport, January 23, 1801. Reverend Sir: Yours of December 16 came to hand on the twelfth instant. The most proper and satisfactory answer to your questions, perhaps, will be, to refer you to my publications; the first of which was printed near half a century ago. You may, in them, see what doctrines I hold, and be able to judge wherein and how far I differ from those Calvinistic divines who have written before me. I believe that most of the doctrines, if not all, I have published, are to be found in the writings of former divines; viz., Calvin, Van Mastricht, Saurin, Boston, Manton, Goodwin, Owen, Bates, Baxter, Charnock, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, Willard, Ridgley, Shepard, Hooker, &c. These indeed did not fully explain some of those doctrines, which are asserted or implied in their writings; and many, if not most of them, are in some instances inconsistent with themselves, by advancing contrary doctrines.

"If I am in any measure an original in any thing I have written, it is in asserting, that the unregenerate, under the greatest convictions, and in all their external reformations and doings, are more criminal and guilty than they were in a state of security, and really do no duty; (all their moral actions are sin; this is necessarily implied in the doctrine of *total depravity*, which all Calvinists hold;) and that all true holiness consists in disinterested benevolence, and those affections which are implied in it; and that all that self-love which is not implied in disinterested benevolence, is sinful, and that in which all sin essentially and radically consists; that the original threatening, 'Thou shalt surely die,' does not mean or imply a separation between soul and body, but the destruction and misery of soul and body in hell forever, which is in Scripture called *the second death*, which the finally impenitent will suffer.

"But it is really no great matter who first advanced a doctrine; if it be agreeable to Scripture, it ought to be received; if not, let it be rejected.

"No scheme of doctrines has got the name of *Hopkintonian* by my consent or invention, or desire of any of my friends. This was the invention of the late Rev. William Hart, of Saybrook, who published some remarks on what Mr. Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, and I had written, to which I replied, and the controversy perhaps was too personal. He was, to be sure, irritated; and wrote a pamphlet in which he mentioned a number of doctrines as mine, and set them in as bad a light as he could, by way of reproach; and to fasten an odium upon me and them, he gave them the name of *Hopkintonian doctrines*. This epithet has been since used both by friends and enemies. The latter and many others have, in many instances, used the term as carrying an odium with it, while they do not know what are the doctrines implied in it. — I am your friend and servant, S. H."

This letter modestly reconciles the contradictions which have so often been imputed to the Newport divine. "He claimed to be a disciple of Calvin," it is said, "and yet spent much of his life in contending against the Calvinists. He pretended to have made improvements in theology, and yet avows that all his improvements were known before his day. The same system, and yet an amended system! How can a man make advances, and still keep pace with those whom he has outrun?" It is very true that our modest divine regarded his theological scheme as consistent Calvinism, and yet as differing somewhat in its proportions, and in its sequences, from the prevalent Calvinism of the schools. It excluded some parts, which were repellent to other parts of the prevailing system. It carried the Genevan principles to their logical results. Hopkins was original in his combinations of old ideas. He used established truths in a new way. Here and there, this writer and that writer had suggested all which Hopkins taught; but he united their suggestions into a system which was new in its harmonies and completeness. It were easy to corroborate all of our author's peculiar doctrines, by quotations from the Reformed divines. He was wont to make these references in his own defence. His originality, then, lay in his eclecticism and in his logical inferences. He chose to regard Hopkinsianism as a statue found in an ancient block of marble. His own estimate of the relation between his conclusions and the premises which he had learned from Calvin, was expressed by his energetic pupil, Samuel Spring, in words which the "Hopkinsian Calvinists" have loved to quote: "It is evident," says Dr. Spring, "that Hopkinsian sentiments are only the genuine, flourishing, and fruitful branches of the Calvinistic tree. For we plead that there is no duty in the actions of sinners, because they are totally depraved. As total depravity, therefore, is the great pillar in the Calvinistic theory, there is no more difference between Calvinists and Hopkinsians, than there is between a tree and its branches, or between first principles and consequences. The broad foundation which supports our ample superstructure, was long since deeply and most firmly laid in the first principles of Calvinism. To support my theory, I need no first

principles, except those which Calvinists have adopted and improved against Pelagians and Arminians." *

Our author's confidence in the extent of divine truth influenced his theological inquiries. If all his writings had perished, the fruits of this confidence would still remain. It waked up the energies of men who "were giants in those days." The great success of Hopkins was in the spirit, more than in the letter of his teachings. His mind was fixed on God, and he did not believe it possible for any single generation to exhaust the science of the Infinite One. He looked with far deeper reverence upon the boundlessness of God's truth, than upon the faithfulness of scholars in their past explorations of it. "Men are a long time finding out," he says in his Journal, "what is in the natural world. This volume of science has been open to men in all ages. But new things are found out and seen in one age after another, which before lay hid, not discerned. And there is reason to think, there will be yet greater discoveries of things contained in this volume of nature, by the search and experience of inquisitive men, which have never yet been thought of. And why may not this be equally true of the volume of the moral world, the volume of divine revelation? Many things, many truths, may be contained in it, which have not yet been discovered; but remain to be found out by inquisitive men, who will rise hereafter."

Such hopeful passages enliven both his letters and his diary. The spirit of them prompted his own mind, and the minds of his pupils, to an unremitted study of the divine perfections. He favored all possible modes of penetrating into the truth; and his school have always been noted for sharp and severe investigation. He has been condemned for his metaphysics; and yet few divines have done more than he, in destroying the credit of that false metaphysics which has loaded the faith of men with cumbrous inventions. He believed that metaphysical science is susceptible of expansion. He has been censured for exciting a love of theological inquiry. The investigating habit does not result in unmingled good. But in the end, truth is better learned and more deeply felt, where the curiosity is cherished, than where it is repressed. There was far more of sound orthodoxy in New England when Hopkins closed his labors, than when he began them. The history of the future will record, that he has raised the tone of religious doctrine throughout the land. He has done this, not so much by his rhetoric or his logic, as by his spirit of hopeful study. This spirit has incited men to investigation. This investigation has led men into the truth. The boundaries of truth are enlarged by the fit indulgence of an inquisitive temper.

* See Spring's Disquisitions, pp. 44, 45, second edition. See the same passage quoted with approbation by Emmons in his paper on Hopkinsianism, published in Miss Hannah Adams's View of Religions, p. 130, third edition.

The inquisitiveness of Hopkins was proverbial. Had it been less eager, there would have been, during his life, less complaint of his novel speculations, but more distrust of the Bible, a narrower view of its teachings. Infidelity is the ultimate result of checking the desire for expanded knowledge. "There is nothing," says Dr. Arnold, "so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and so convulsive to society, as the strain to keep things fixed, when all the world is, by the very law of its creation, in eternal progress; and the cause of all the evils of the world may be traced to that natural but most deadly error of human indolence and corruption, that our business is to preserve and not to improve. It is the ruin of us all alike, individuals, schools, and nations." *

Our author's comprehensiveness of mind gave a peculiar character to his theological system. That capacious frontal development which marked his figure, indicated the type of his theology. As his personal qualities, his sternness and mildness for instance, have been thought to be incompatible with each other, so his creed, because so comprehensive, has been deemed self-contradictory. His great aim, however, was to form a self-consistent scheme. He disliked heterogeneous and fragmentary thoughts. Dr. Ashbel Green says of him: † "He is certainly a man of a subtle and discriminating mind. He is indeed more calculated for minute inquiries, than for comprehensive views. His mental optics seemed [seem?] formed to see small objects distinctly, but are unable to survey large ones. He sees parts, but not the whole. His love of distinguishing sometimes leads him to make distinctions where there are no differences. He separates, in reasoning, things which are never separated in fact." This portraiture of Dr. Hopkins is exactly the reverse of the truth. He was less remarkable for acuteness than for comprehensiveness of intellect. His analysis was less accurate than his generalization was extensive. His mind loved to expatiate on the vast and illimitable. His theology is, what it ought to be, the science of the great God; — the decrees, the sovereignty, the universal government of God, — above all, the infinite love of God in Christ. We take up his volumes with awe, for we know that they will present thoughts of vast compass. They will develop the *religious* sentiment which loves to enthrone Jehovah, and abase the creature. But with all his fondness for exalting the claims of God, our comprehensive divine unites an amiable desire to maintain the free agency of man. He brings together, in one extensive scheme, the fixed certainty of all events, and such a liberty of the human will as leads him often to say, that sinners "are under no inability, but what consists in their inexcusable, voluntary

* Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D., p. 173, first Am. ed.
† Memoir, p. 240.

wickedness;" and that the unregenerate sinner "is under no kind of inability or difficulty that is in the way of his turning to God immediately, which the open profligate is not under, as a bar in the way of his reforming his wicked conduct immediately."* Our author's theology was offensive to unrenewed men, because it held before them the sovereign dominion of the Creator on the one hand, and the doctrine of our natural ability on the other. The combination of these two truths has a rare power over the heart. Men dislike to hear, that the only reason why they do not submit to the sovereignty of Jehovah is, their own vile choice. They love to hear, that they are naturally unable to do what the law is said to require. This is a pillow for their sweetest sleep. Hopkins irritated them by taking the pillow away. "For," he says in his decisive style, "this doctrine of man's inability, as consisting in some difficulty in the way of holiness, which is independent of the will, and for which they are not wholly to blame, is as agreeable to the corrupt heart of man, as any Arminian or Pelagian doctrine whatsoever can be. How many of those who are called Calvinists have fled to this refuge of lies, and here are like to perish, God knows!"† And because our author was wont to speak thus, is he to be called an Arminian or a Pelagian? One great use of his writings is, to show, that the doctrine of man's entire freedom may be combined with that of his entire and certain sinfulness. The man who rejects either of these truths, merely for the sake of holding the other, is contracted, one-sided. It is because Hopkins was large-minded and large-hearted, that he held together what less capacious minds are tempted to put asunder. He asserted in the boldest terms, that God is the original Cause producing the certainty of sin; but he combined this assertion with another, that man is under no natural inability to be holy. He did not teach, that God produces wickedness in any such sense as implies that men are forced or compelled to be wicked; nor did he teach that men have natural power to be holy, in any such sense as implies that their sin is not made certain by the providence of God. We may not think that all his language and illustrations are wisely chosen for a scientific treatise,‡ but the *substance* of his teachings on these themes is neither more nor less than this: God so makes and preserves, and circumstances men, that the unregenerate do uniformly and certainly sin; their sin is made certain by the efficiency of Him who predestinated their whole moral course;§ but yet they are

* Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 296.

† Ib. p. 299. — A fundamental idea of our author's system is, that all our inability to obey the law is itself wickedness, and not the mere occasion of wickedness. See, for one expression of it, his System, vol. i. pp. 235, 509, 510.

‡ See pp. 29, 30, of this Memoir.

§ Hopkins asserts and proves, often, that his theory of the divine agency in sin is the same which is taught by the Westminster Assembly; see Hopkins's Works, new edition, vol. i. pp. 106–110.

as free as moral agents can be; their inability is the certainty of their sin, and their certain sin is their free choice. One of these doctrines explains the other. One of them prevents fatalism; the other excludes a "liberty of indifference" which is uncontrollable by the Deity. In their reciprocal bearings upon each other, both of these doctrines combined make out the truth to which our comprehensive theologian devoted a large part of his life. Future generations will honor him, for having so asserted our natural power to do our duty, as to render it preposterous for men to brand this dogma with Pelagianism. His rare merit is, that he has defended not one truth alone, but many truths; and has proved that the divine and human action are harmoniously blended. He stands out as a promontory in the sea, around which and against which the waves of theological misrepresentation break and foam without avail. If the assertion of man's ability commensurate with his duty, be Pelagianism, then Hopkins was a Pelagian, — and the very sound of this last clause refutes it. If the assertion that God causes the certainty of all acts, be fatalism, then fatalism is consistent with the doctrine so often avowed by Hopkins, that "the creature acts as freely as if there were no agent concerned but himself, and his exercises are as virtuous and holy, and it is as really and as much his own virtue and holiness, and he is as excellent and praiseworthy, as if he did not depend on divine influences for these exercises, and they were not the effect of the operation of God." *

Sect. XLIV. WRITINGS OF HOPKINS.

"I have thrown together these recollections of a man, who has been crowded out of men's minds by the thronging events and interests of our time, but who must always fill an important place in our ecclesiastical history." So writes one † who had a decided aversion to the creed of Hopkins, but knew the historical value of his writings. Had they no other merit, they would deserve to be studied for the instruction which they impart with regard to our Dogmatic History. No man can rightly appreciate the theology of New England, either in its progress or in its present condition, without understanding the works of this veteran divine. That these works are free from every mistake, the most zealous admirer of them will not pretend. They combine, however, in a more than usual degree, the vigor of a theological pioneer, with the accuracy of a critical philosopher. They could not have accomplished their predestined good, unless they had been strong, positive, aggressive; and

* Works, new edition, vol. i. p. 139.
† Dr. Channing, in his Works, vol. iv. p. 352.

if they have these excellences, can we expect them to possess also the gentle and mellowed character of treatises composed in pacific times? They broke up the green-sward. They levelled the uneven places. They encountered a rough opposition. They subdued many an obstacle. It were strange if, in this stern contest with difficulties, they had preserved themselves immaculate. Equally strange were it, if they had not exerted so much influence over our New England theology, as to become a part of our theological history. In this respect, they will always retain an interest for one who aims to be an accomplished divine. It is important, then, for the historian, as well as the theologian, to know the circumstances in which our author performed his theological labors. Therefore, let us now glance at the character, object, and influence, of his various writings.

A. *Discourses on Sin.*

We have already seen,* that about the time of President Edwards's dismissal from Stockbridge, Hopkins was engaged in a singular controversy with a parishioner at Great Barrington, in regard to the divine purposes respecting sin. In a twelvemonth after the close of that dispute, and in the thirty-eighth year of his age, our author published a pamphlet of eighty pages, entitled:

"Sin, through Divine Interposition, an Advantage to the Universe, and yet this no Excuse for Sin or Encouragement to it; Illustrated and Proved: and God's Wisdom and Holiness in the Permission of Sin, and that his Will herein is the same with his Revealed Will, Shown and Confirmed: in Three Sermons, from Rom. iii. 5, 6, 7, 8. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., a Minister of the Gospel at Sheffield, 1759."

These Three Sermons were reprinted at Boston, in 1773, "by J. Kneeland, next to the Treasurer's Office in Milk Street." They were also republished, about the same time, in Edinburgh, Scotland. The title of the sermons was, as their author narrates in 1796, "so shocking to many, that they would read no farther. And many who read the sermons, were far from falling in with the sentiment advanced. But few had studied the point, and it was a new doctrine to many. Yet no one undertook publicly to confute it. And many who read the sermons were convinced of the truth exhibited in them; and thought the reasoning from Scripture to be unanswerable, and the sentiments which were advanced to be important and useful. And this conviction has been spreading from that time to this; and the most who are serious and attentive, whether ministers or others, approve of this publication, so far as I can judge. And light on this subject has been, and still is increasing." †

These sermons are of some historical importance. They show,

* On pp. 68, 69, of this Memoir.

† Sketches, p. 93.

in the first place, that the sentiments of Dr. Hopkins were suggested by his religious feelings. One of his young children was very sick, and was not expected to live more than a few hours. He had provided a faithful and trustworthy nurse for it; physicians had exhausted their skill upon it; and at night, when the father could do no more, he retired to his study, and consoled himself with the thought, that all the evils of the world would be overruled for good. Rather than look on the suffering child, and pour out his unavailing regrets, he chose to meditate on the holy purpose of God, in exposing children and adults to sin and pain. These meditations he afterwards incorporated into the three discourses, by which he first attracted the public attention to himself as a theological author. He wrote, not under the influence of a merely metaphysical theory, but from the impulses of a heart panting for solace from the afflictions which result from sin.

In the second place, these discourses prove, that the first opposition which Hopkins, as an author, encountered from his brethren, arose from the *Calvinistic* features of his theology. He advanced nothing peculiarly severe on the doctrine of sin overruled for good. The Calvinistic standards abound with expressions far more unpopular, than those contained in these sermons. Hopkins was not distinguished from Edwards and Bellamy in the censures which were heaped upon him; but the well-known triumvirate were universally regarded as contending for the same doctrine on this, as on other topics. "So much of late," said an ingenious author of that day, "has been written to persuade us that the existence of all the wickedness of men and devils is agreeable to God's will, necessary to his glory, and for the benefit of the universe, that I found, by reading such [writers] as E——s, H——s, B——y, and I know not whom, my abhorrence of sin did much abate, and a more favorable idea of vice grew up insensibly in my mind; as he who often converses with atheists and swearers, will find his horror and detestation of their language daily lessen. Yet my scruples are not quite gone; but I find a strong suspicion that all they can say to beget in me a good opinion of sin, is a mere device of the father of lies."* This

* See pp. 25, 26, of "A Preservative against the Doctrine of Fate," in opposition to Edwards on the Will. Boston, 1770.

In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 23, 1767, Hopkins says: "Mr. Dana, of Wal——rd, has just published two sermons, preached at Cambridge, last May, in which he has given a bold stroke at you and me, for what we have wrote on the permission of sin, though he has not named us."

A few months after Hopkins had printed his Three Sermons, he sent to Bellamy a letter, which illustrates the intimacy known to exist between the two divines, and the annoyances which they endured from the *espionage* of their common enemy. — "Yours of the fifth of November," says Hopkins, "I found at one of our taverns, on the twenty-third. It was opened, and one enclosed to Mr. Kneeland [publisher of the sermons] was opened also. The landlord says, he found them in his counter, on the floor, and who left them there neither he nor any of his family knows." — "I am much obliged to you for your good opinion of my sermons," etc.

is precisely the objection which has been made for centuries to the Calvinistic system. That system goes even so far as to assert, that sin is inflicted on man as his punishment. Must not a punishment inflicted by Jehovah be useful?

Thirdly, these discourses illustrate their author's reverence for God, and abhorrence of moral evil. Whatever men may think of his Calvinistic theory, that sin is an occasion without which it is impossible for creatures and their Creator to secure the highest conceivable good, men must approve of his teachings that sin, *as sin*, is merely pernicious, but the Providence of God with regard to it is merely beneficial; that whatever man does in violating the law tends in itself to evil, and nothing but evil, but that whatever God does in so causing the certainty of sin as to prevent its natural necessity, and in so counteracting its tendencies as to preclude the evil which it is fitted to produce, tends to the highest good which Omnipotence can secure; that although sin in its own nature leads to nothing useful, yet the acts of God in making it certain though avoidable, and then in resisting its appropriate influence, do lead to more useful results than Omnipotence can otherwise secure; that God could not have promoted the best interests of his kingdom, unless he had so planned the world that sin would certainly be committed; and yet the welfare of his kingdom does not result from the moral evil viewed in itself, but rather from the divine plan of thwarting the moral evil. "In a word, 'tis not the tendency of sin, as such, that Mr. Edwards is here speaking of [as beneficial], but the tendency of God's permitting it, and holding it in his hands, and overruling it to answer his own wise and good ends by it."*

B. *Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel.*

In our author's forty-fourth year, he published his first controversial volume. He says of it:

"In the year 1765, I published a book of one hundred and forty-five pages, octavo, the title of which was, 'An Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel: whether any of them are made to the Exercises and Doings of Persons in an unregenerate State. Containing Remarks on two Sermons published by Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, [entitled "Striving to enter in at the Strait Gate, explained and inculcated; and the Connection of Salvation therewith, proved from the Holy Scripture." Also, a brief Inquiry into the use of Means; showing their Necessity in order to Salvation; and what is the true Ground of Encouragement for Sinners diligently to attend on them.' Published in Boston.] In these sermons Dr. Mayhew attempted to prove that there are promises to the doings of the unregenerate. In the tenth and last section of this book, I attempted to show what is the design and end of the use of means, with respect to the unregenerate, in order to their salvation; where I observed, that the end was not to render the unregenerate better or less sinful while they continued unregenerate; for persons while they continued to

* See Hopkins's Appendix to the above-named Three Sermons.

reject the gospel, which all the unregenerate did under all the means used with them, and with all the light and conviction they might have, did not become less sinners, but greater and more guilty, whatever external reformation might take place. Though this truth had been at least implicitly asserted in the writings of many Calvinists, and in their preaching, yet it had not been so explicitly and particularly asserted and explained by Calvinistic writers and preachers in general; and many, in contradiction to what they at other times said, and to true Calvinism, said things which implied the contrary, and represented the convinced and externally reformed sinner, though unregenerate, and continuing to reject the gospel, as a much less sinner, and less guilty than the unawakened, secure sinner. Therefore, though Dr. Mayhew, who was not a Calvinist, made no reply to my remarks on his sermons, yet many professed Calvinists thought the sentiment I had advanced was contrary to the truth, and of very bad tendency." *

In the fifth, seventh, and other sections of this Inquiry, our author first advances the doctrine, that no change of nature, antecedent to the change of moral act, entitles the subject of it to the promises of life; that regeneration, if viewed as distinct from conversion, is not in itself an improvement of *moral* character; but that moral character lies in the exercises of the heart. He believed that there is a certain state of the soul, preparing the unregenerate to disobey the law; that this state of the soul is in itself neither holy nor sinful, but that the disobedience, being active, is sinful; that in regeneration the state is changed; that the soul is passive in this change; that there is in the regenerate a certain state of the soul inclining them to obey the law; that this state is neither holy nor sinful, but that the obedience, being active, is holy; and that this change from disobedient to obedient act, is conversion, to which alone the promises of the gospel are addressed. In one of the numerous papers, on which our author penned his theological meditations, are found the following statements:

"Question I. Are infants united to Christ? If they are, how is this union brought about?

"Answer. They are not *actually* united to Christ, but *virtually* so, if regenerated. They are actually united to him as soon as they come to act, which takes place as the natural and necessary fruit of conversion.

"Question II. If a doctrinal knowledge of gospel truth is necessary in order to conversion, how then can infants be converted?

"Answer. Infants are not *converted:* they may be regenerated, but not *converted*, till they come to the knowledge of the truth." [Of course, then, Hopkins believed that infants are saved in a manner differing, in one respect, from the manner in which converted adults are saved: see p. 103 of this Memoir.]

C. *Reply to Mills on the Character of the Sinner's Acts.*

The most noted peculiarity of Hopkinsianism is the doctrine, that sinners have no promises addressed to them as such, and they should not be exhorted to perform any act in the character of sinners, and

* Sketches, pp. 93, 94, 95.

should be urged to perform, without delay, those acts only which involve holiness. They ought to use means, but to use them in a holy way. In his discussion of this topic and its correlates, Dr. Hopkins achieved his most signal victories. Speaking of the opposition to his criticisms on Mayhew, our author says: "Mr. Mills, of Ripton, in Connecticut, was greatly alarmed, and thought the doctrine I had published was new and strange, contrary to the Bible, and tended to great mischief. He therefore thought it his duty to oppose, and attempt to confute me, and published a book of one hundred and twenty-four pages against me, in the year 1767." *

The title of Mr. Mills's work is, of itself, a small volume, characteristic of his times. It proceeds thus:

"An Inquiry concerning the State of the Unregenerate under the Gospel; whether on every rising degree of internal Light, Conviction, and Amendment of Life, they are (while unregenerate) undoubtedly, on the whole, more vile, odious, and abominable (in God's sight) than they would have been had they continued secure and at ease, going on in their Sins, under the same external Means of Light; containing Remarks on the Tenth Section of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Hopkins's late Answer to Doctor Mayhew's Sermon on Striving to enter in at the strait Gate; intitled 'A brief Inquiry into the Use of Means.' By Jedidiah Mills, Minister of the Gospel in Ripton, Stratford. [Published in] New Haven: Printed by B. Mecom, 1767."

The Preface of this once noted "Inquiry" is dated November 5, 1766. The work was published in the early part of 1767. At this time, there was a great commotion in Hopkins's parish at Great Barrington. The public controversy with regard to his doctrines, made this commotion the more ungovernable. He was dismissed January 18, 1769, and immediately betook himself to the refutation of Mr. Mills. Without a parish to sustain him, with a severe opposition of the clergy, and a deep-seated prejudice among the churches against his doctrines,† with but little prospect of ever being able to secure another settlement, Mr. Hopkins was led to look upon this controversy, at this juncture, as peculiarly hostile to the cause of true religion; and he therefore expressed his feelings with great decision. His subsequent comments on the spirit of his Reply are characteristic.

"In the year 1769," he says, "I published my answer to Mr. Mills of one hundred eighty-four pages, octavo, in a small, comprehensive type. The

* Sketches, p. 95.

† See p. 76 of this Memoir. The line between the old school and the new had been distinctly drawn, for several years. Bellamy and Hopkins were, since the death of Edwards, the stoutest living champions of the new school. There was often a struggle between the two parties, when a vacant pulpit was to be filled. "A certain clergyman, in the county of Litchfield," — writes Hopkins to Bellamy, March 18, 1766, — "I hear, told a Sheffield man, that Sheffield [a destitute parish] might not get a minister unless he was in a straight line from Great Barrington to Bethlem. This being spread, some begin to say, 'We shall never get a minister, so long as Messrs. Bellamy and Hopkins are our advisers.'"

following was the title of it: 'The true State and Character of the Unregenerate, stripped of all Misrepresentation and Disguise: [a Reply to Mr. Mills's Inquiry, etc. Printed at New Haven.'] I believe this book, with what was afterwards published on the same subject, was the means of spreading and giving much light and conviction with respect to the real character and doings of the unregenerate, and has in a great measure put a stop to exhorting the unregenerate to do duty in order to obtain regeneration, which was very common among preachers before that time. Some of my friends thought I treated Mr. Mills with too much severity, in taking pains to show how many self-contradictions were to be found in his writings, and to discover his weakness, &c.; since I, as well as others, believed he was a good man, and had done much good, and the opposition he had made to me was more owing to his weakness and his old age, and his speculative error, than to his opposition of heart to the truth. And I believe there is something of this kind which ought, all things considered, to be left out, or otherwise expressed; though I had no perception of it in the time of it, but thought I was conscientiously careful to leave out all personal reflections and every thing which was not necessary in the best manner to expose error and vindicate the truth. But how deceitful is the heart! Who can understand his errors?" *

The severity, for which the venerable author thus apologizes, and which is mildness itself in comparison with the style of many subsequent disputes among theologians, seems to have arisen from his honesty. He abhorred all controversial arts, all attempts to excite the *odium theologicum* against a divine. He was at this time suffering persecution in consequence of such appeals to popular prejudice. There is a real eloquence, in some of his indignant protests against one common stratagem of theological disputants:

"When I have attended," he says, "to this method Mr. Mills has taken in his dispute with me, and the way in which he has managed it, (which seems almost peculiar to himself,) and how he has not only tacked Sandeman upon my back, and took care to keep him fast there, and held him up in sight from beginning to end, but has also ranked me with Arminians and Quakers, yea, with the devil himself;† I say, when I have attended to this, it has brought to my mind the method the Roman Catholics have often taken with Protestant martyrs who were to be put to death; that is, to place a large cap on their head, on which are painted a number of hideous monsters and ugly devils, on purpose to raise the indignation of the crowd against them. It is to be observed, however, that they do this to those only who they really think deserve such treatment, they being in their view as bad at least as the devil himself; whereas Mr. Mills has done all this to his '*dear brother*, and *worthy author*, and one whom he *highly esteems*.'" ‡

D. *Reply to Hart's Dialogue. — Epithet "Hopkinsian."*

Mr. Mills was effectually silenced by Hopkins's celebrated Reply. But in the latter part of 1769, Rev. William Hart, the friend of Dr. Stiles, published a pamphlet of seventy-one pages, entitled, "Brief Remarks on a Number of False Propositions and Dangerous Errors,

* Sketches, pp. 95, 96.

† Speaking of Mr. Hopkins's book, Mr. Mills says, "Nor is it in my power to doubt, that the grand enemy of Christ's cause and precious souls, puts his hearty Amen to it."

‡ Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 351.

which are spreading in the Country; collected out of sundry Discourses lately published, wrote by Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Hopkins. Written by Way of Dialogue, by William Hart, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Saybrook," [Connecticut. Printed at] New London, 1769. The title page bears among its mottoes, Job lxii. 7, 8. This pamphlet is, as its author was, very respectable. Before Hopkins replied to it, he wrote thus to Dr. West:

"January 12, 1770. [When my Reply] is finished, I am to send it to Mr. Hart, of Preston, and he will get it printed, if he and Mr. Austin approve of it. I am sorry you and a number of others could not see it, before it goes to the press, (if it does go,) for I think my judicious friends might be of great service to me in this way; and now believe my Reply to Mr. Mills would have appeared to better advantage, had you and some others spent considerable time upon it, in correcting it. The first and general complaint against that, I perceive, is, that I put on a haughty, supercilious air, by which I discover the pride of my heart, — and treat *good old* Mr. Mills in an unmannerly, saucy manner, looking *down* upon him with contempt, &c. And some of my judicious friends say, (and perhaps *all* of them now *think*,) it might have been wrote in a better style and manner, and without *one* witty sarcasm, or any thing that should look like an ill-natured reflection, to his best friends; but, on the contrary, with an air of benevolence and tenderness which especially becomes those who have professedly espoused the most *benevolent* scheme. *They* ought, above all others, to avoid every thing that looks like selfishness and ill nature, and [to] distinguish themselves in *generous benevolence*, &c. I have not read my reply, since I have heard the objection; but am now ready to think it is not wholly without grounds."

Hopkins's Reply appeared in a pamphlet of thirty-one closely printed pages, with the following title: "Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue; in a Letter to a Friend. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., Minister of the Gospel." New London, 1770. It bears, as its motto, Acts xxiv. 14. It must be confessed, that some parts of this Reply are written in a more caustic style than the Dialogue of Mr. Hart seems to have required. There are two circumstances, however, which account for the severity of those passages. One is, that Mr. Hart's Dialogue appeared to have been written with some design to prevent Hopkins's resettlement in the ministry, and that the free circulation of it in Newport did in fact excite the early revolution of the First Church against him.* Another circumstance is, that soon after Mr. Hart had published his Dialogue, "there was," says Dr. Hopkins, "a small pamphlet published, which was doubtless written by the same Mr. Hart, which was written in a sarcastical way, without argument or reason, in which the doctrines I, and others who agreed with me, had published were misrepresented; attempting to set them in a ridiculous light. And with a particular design, as it appeared, to disgrace me before the public, he called them *Hopkintonian* doctrines. This is the original of this epithet. And since that time, all who embrace the Calvinistic doctrines which

* See p. 76 of this Memoir.

were published by President Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, Dr. West of Stockbridge, and myself, have been called *Hopkintonians*, or *Hopkinsians*. Thus I am become the head of a denomination, who have since greatly increased, and in which thousands are included, and a large number of ministers, who, I believe, are the most sound, consistent, and thorough Calvinists; and who in general sustain as good a character, as to their morality, preaching, and personal religion, as any set of clergymen whatever, and are most popular where there appears to be most attention to religion; and, at the same time, are most hated, opposed, and spoken against, by Arminians, Deists, and persons who appear to have no religion. And I believe, though this denomination or name originated from no such design, that it has proved an advantage to truth and true religion; as it has given opportunity and been the occasion of collecting those who embrace the scheme of Christianity exhibited in the fore-mentioned publications, and ranking them under one standard. It has excited the attention and promoted inquiry into the principles and doctrines which are embraced and held by those of this denomination, by which light and conviction have been spread and propagated." *

Mr. Hopkins took no public notice of this pamphlet, which originated the appellation "Hopkinsian;" but his "Animadversions" seem to have been tinctured by his abhorrence of its spirit. To these Animadversions Mr. Hart replied, in "A Letter to the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, occasioned by his Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue, in which some of his Misrepresentations of Facts and of other Things are corrected. By the Author of that Dialogue. 'He that is first in his own cause, seemeth just, but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him.' New London, 1770." Mr. Hart accuses our author again of "new doctrines," "new divinity," "Calvinism improved," etc.; and complains of having been "treated in an injurious, unfriendly, and ungentlemanly manner." "Indeed, sir," he says, "you do not write in a good spirit." Of Mr. Hart's spirit, the following extract from his Rejoinder will give an illustration; — rather more unfavorable, however, than is the general character of his defence. The extract proves two important facts: first, that the epithet "Hopkinsian" was originally applied to the New Divinity in special reference to its doctrine of the utter sinfulness of all acts preceding regeneration, and the consequent necessity of enjoining immediate repentance; secondly, that Hopkinsianism was then supposed by its most intelligent opponents, as well as friends, to be indissolubly connected with Edwardeanism. If one falls, the other was thought to fall. Hopkins was not fifty years old, and had not published his most important works, when the New Theology began to be called after his name.

* Sketches, pp. 97, 98.

"I observe, sir," says Mr. Hart, in his letter, "you complain of injury and falsehood, in that I sometimes call the new doctrines Sandemanian errors. When you objected this to me at my house, I answered, that the new scheme and Sandeman's are near akin, coincident in some things, and both come to much the same issue. More than this is not pretended in the Dialogue, though in some particular passages I may have expressed myself too loosely. If your smiting was that of the righteous, I would esteem it as excellent oil. But, unhappily for you, you are come abroad this time, in the spirit of a Jew at the close of his fast. As the teachers of the *new* scheme of doctrine had not given it a *new* name, I was a little in doubt what name it ought to be called by. Calvinism I could not call it, without misleading my readers. It appeared to me much nearer related to Sandeman than to Calvin; so I sometimes loosely called it the Sandemanian scheme. But, since it displeases, I forbear. Please, sir, to give the *poor stranger* a proper name. It is your right to name your own children. If it is called after your own name, I believe nobody will be displeased.

"You, sir, labor to convince your readers that I have embraced several of Mr. Sandeman's distinguishing doctrines, and know it not. (p. 14.) This is pleasant enough. First of all, you represented me as agreeing with the devil, (p. 8;) now with Mr. Sandeman. If your wrath rises a little higher, I fear you will undertake next to prove, that I have also embraced Mr. Hopkins's sentiments, and know it not. You have actually done so towards the close of your letter.

"Speaking of Mr. Edwards's piece on the Nature of Virtue, you observe, that his notion of virtue and natural conscience, &c., 'are *fundamental* to the scheme of doctrines I oppose.' They are so! And his notion of virtue is new and strange, and the scheme you have built upon it [is] new. Both must stand or fall together. You ask, 'Why did not Mr. Hart take this Dissertation in hand, and censure and confute it? This would be laying the axe to the root of the tree.' It would. I will also tell you why I did not. I had not then seen that Dissertation, though I had heard of it. If I had seen that and your Sermons, before I wrote, my Dialogue would, in some respects, have been more perfect. I have since read that Dissertation, and laid the axe to the root of the tree: and, perhaps, shall publish some remarks upon it, showing that Mr. Edwards's notions of virtue, of the *primary* and *secondary* beauty of moral things, &c., are wrong, imaginary, and fatally destructive of the foundations of morality and true religion. If I do, I hope to have the piece out of the press by next commencement. Since you think this will be doing something, and that I ought to have done it before, I presume this intelligence will please you, and that you will subscribe for a dozen copies, at least."

It is interesting to look through the dust and smoke of a theological controversy, to the solitary musings of the controversialists. We have often heard, that no man is a hero to his *valet de chambre*. But we must say, that the private disclosures of Hopkins are a more striking proof of his honest regard for the glory of Jehovah, than is to be found in his public manifestations. The nearer we come to him, the more must we honor him. He was assailed so violently, that his ministerial usefulness seemed to be destroyed. "I think it most probable," he writes, January 12, 1770, "that I shall return to private life, if I live much longer, unless there shall be a remarkable turn in religious affairs in New England. They are rousing more and more every where, and [are] determined to crush and extirpate the *new orthodox heresy*." Very seldom has an American divine been called, like Hopkins, to contend abstrusely and metaphysically for

his official reputation and his daily bread. Yet how heavenly were his thoughts during this severe contest! It was in the very thickest of it, that he wrote the meditations on pp. 73–76 of this Memoir. The following extracts from his Diary do not seem to have come from a dismissed pastor, whose enemies were toiling to bar the doors of the churches against him:

"Newport, Thursday evening, January 18, 1770. Have begun to write remarks upon Mr. Hart, and think it my duty to prosecute it as fast as I can, supposing I am called to it by God. O that God would guide my heart and my pen through the whole!

"Lord's Day, January 21. Preached from Heb. ii. 3: 'How shall we escape,' &c. Had freedom of speech, and now feel calm and easy in my mind, as having in some measure declared the truth clearly and plainly, and recommended myself to men's consciences in the sight of God. I pray God to give his blessing to what has been said. May it be the means of salvation to some poor soul.

"Saturday, January 27. I seemed to have some sense, to-day, of God's goodness to me. It surpasses all expression — all thought. O, how reasonable, how comely is praise! Let me spend an eternity in this!"

The man who wrote thus, and felt thus in his closet, could not himself lie buried, nor let the truth lie buried under the missiles of his adversaries. Nearly all the main principles for which he was thus sacrificing his temporal interests, in this controversy on the use of means, are now generally adopted by the most successful preachers of New England.

E. *Work on Holiness.*

Rev. William Hart published, in 1771, his valuable "Remarks on President Edwards's Dissertation concerning the Nature of True Virtue." He endeavored to disprove the Edwardean theory, and thus to undermine the foundation of Hopkinsianism. He often alluded to Hopkins, as the chief representative of Edwards. About the same time, Dr. Moses Mather took up the pen against the doctrines of Edwards, Bellamy, and Hopkins, three men who are to stand or fall together. Dr. Hemmenway was loudly called upon, by many Calvinists of his time, to come forth in aid of Mr. Hart. Hemmenway had an exalted reputation as a scholar and divine. His friend Buckminster said of him: He "was a sincere and firm Calvinist of the old school, though candid and charitable to such as had their doubts and scruples upon some of its doctrines. He was alarmed at some of the strange cions [scions] which modern Calvinism has attempted to graft upon this stock, and, by the subtleties of metaphysics, to prove that they were legitimate sprouts from its venerable roots."* In 1767, Dr. Hemmenway had published seven

* See p. 16 of an excellent "Sermon delivered at the Interment of the Rev. Moses Hemmenway, D. D., Pastor of the First Church in Wells, (District of Maine.) By Jo-

sermons, on the obligation of the unregenerate to strive for eternal life. He, of course, regarded Hopkins's Reply to Mills as a virtual reply to those sermons. Accordingly, in 1772, he printed a volume of a hundred and twenty-seven octavo pages, entitled: "Vindication of the power, obligation, and encouragement of the unregenerate to attend the means of grace: — Against the exceptions of Rev. Mr. Samuel Hopkins." In reply to these various attacks from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine, our author published, in his fifty-second year, a volume of two hundred and twenty pages, entitled: "An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness, with an Appendix, containing an Answer to the Rev. Mr. William Hart's Remarks on President Edwards's Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue; and brief Remarks on some Things the Rev. Mr. Mather has lately published. Also, an Answer to the Rev. Mr. Hemmenway's Vindication, &c. By Samuel Hopkins, M. A., ... Newport, R. I. 1773." . . . . . He rightly judged, that the differences between himself and his opponents resulted from their respective views on the nature of holiness. His Treatise on this subject was republished in 1791, in an edition of fifteen hundred copies. Mr. Hart and Dr. Mather made no rejoinder to this Reply; but Dr. Hemmenway published, in 1774, a hundred and sixty-six pages of "Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Hopkins's Answer to a Tract, entitled, 'A Vindication,'" etc. In the conclusion of his Remarks, Dr. Hemmenway says, "Truth is not afraid of giants." These words betray his conviction that he had fallen into the grasp of a giant. He was an able man, but Hopkins had the better cause. Therefore, Dr. Hemmenway was driven to the well-understood methods of a defeated controversialist. He heaps upon our author injurious charges, of ignorance, pride, anger, Arminianism, Pelagianism, *et id omne genus*; accuses him of denying original sin, and condemns both him and Edwards for their remarks on Ability, etc. As Hopkins took no notice of Mr. Hart's personal assault in 1770, so he passed over in silence the vituperative Reply of Dr. Hemmenway. He says that the Reply "was not much read, and had but little influence on the minds of any."* Dr. Hemmenway lived to regret and to confess his fault, in assailing Hopkins with so much acrimony. It must be conceded, however, that Hopkins appeared to feel rather too conscious of his superiority to Hemmenway, and wrote against him in a style of occasionally too severe reprimand. His honest contempt for weak, inconsistent reasoning was mistaken for a haughty, domineering temper. His severity, however, was far less than that of many controversialists, who have lived in a more refined age.

seph Buckminster, D. D. 'He was a good man.' 'A great man has fallen.' — 1811." Dr. Buckminster was the father of the celebrated Unitarian preacher, Joseph Stevens Buckminster, of Boston.

* Sketches, pp. 99, 100.

Hopkins's Theory of Holiness was assailed by an English writer, in the Theological Magazine, vol. ii. pp. 139, seq., and defended in the same Magazine, vol. iii. pp. 274, seq. To this Reply the British divine published a Rejoinder, in vol. iii. pp. 418, seq., and before a surrejoinder could be prepared, the Magazine was discontinued.

With his Treatise on Holiness, the controversial career of our author, as a theologian, ended. In his old age, he looked back upon this career with peculiar satisfaction. "Dr. Hopkins, in conversing with me on his past history," says Channing, "reverted more frequently to his religious controversies, than to any other event of his life, and always spoke as a man conscious of having gained the victory; and in this, I doubt not, that he judged justly. He was true, as I have said, to his principles, and carried them out fearlessly to their consequences, whilst his opponents wished to stop half way." *

F. *Sermon on the Divinity of Christ.*

Our author's theological forecast, his quickness to discern the beginnings of error, and to oppose it in its very inception, are strikingly manifest in a sermon preached at Boston, in his forty-seventh year. He says of it:

"In 1768, a sermon which I preached in the Old South Meeting-house, in Boston, was published at the desire of a number of the hearers. The title of it is, 'The Importance and Necessity of Christians considering Jesus Christ in the Extent of his high and glorious Character.' The text [is] Hebrews iii. 1. It was composed with a design to preach it in Boston, as I expected soon to go there, under a conviction that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was much neglected, if not disbelieved, by a number of the ministers in Boston." †

Sixty-two years after this sermon was published, it was reviewed in the Spirit of the Pilgrims, vol. iii. pp. 582–591, and its prophetic character was distinctly commended. It is noteworthy, that the very man whose writings are sometimes said to have prepared the way for Unitarianism among us, was the first to sound the alarm in regard to it, more than forty years before it had awakened a general opposition in our orthodox community. It was the resolute, uncompromising spirit of such discourses as this, which led an opponent to say of our author: "He was a singularly blameless man, with the exception of intolerance towards those who differed from him." ‡

G. *Sermons on Law and Regeneration.*

In a letter to Dr. Bellamy, dated July 23, 1767, our author writes:

[I have recently] "preached at Boston, Salem, ———, Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury, I imagine generally to good acceptance. They are much

* Works, vol. iv. p. 350. Dr. Channing proceeds to give a synopsis of the Hopkinsian controversy; but in that synopsis we cannot agree with him.

† Sketches, p. 95. ‡ Channing's Works, vol. iv. p. 352.

more religious, and zealous to hear preaching at the east of Boston, than in any other part of New England. Two sermons which I preached at Ipswich are [likely] to be printed. I send you some of the proposals. I have more, which I propose to carry to the commencement. If you will wait for me, I will endeavor to be at your house Monday night."

These two sermons were printed in a pamphlet of sixty-five pages, in 1768, and reprinted in 1793. The title of the first edition is:

"Two Discourses: I. On the Necessity of the Knowledge of the Law of God, in order to the Knowledge of Sin. II. A particular and critical Inquiry into the Cause, Nature, and Means of that Change in which men are born of God. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., Minister of the Gospel in Great Barrington. Boston: Printed and sold by William M'Alpine, about midway between the Governor's and Dr. Gardiner's, Marlborough Street. 1768."

In the third division of the second of these discourses, our author teaches the moral innocence of all states preceding choice; and it is noticeable that this doctrine elicited but little comment from the multitude who opposed him. Even Dr. Hemmenway uttered only a feeble protest against these discourses. In a note to the second of them, (see vol. iii. p. 553, of Hopkins's Works,) our author expresses his doubt, whether all that lies back of moral exercises may not be resolved into a mere constitution or law of nature. He declares that "it is difficult, and perhaps impossible to form any distinct and clear idea" of a passive "principle, taste, temper, disposition, habit, &c." As early, then, as 1767, the germ of Emmonism was found in the New Divinity.* At this time, Dr. Emmons was a member of the senior class at Yale College. When Emmons had been only three months a licentiate, and before he had made any impression on the theology of our land, Mr. Hopkins wrote the following words to Dr. West: "January 12, 1770. Messrs. Smalley, Hart, and Austin are much opposed to the *new* notion of no spiritual substance, which they call *Berkshire Divinity*. The two latter insist upon it, that such a notion is inconsistent with what I have published concerning regeneration; and that according to this, regeneration is nothing but conversion, and is wholly by light. I wish you would turn your thoughts a little on this subject. I should be sorry if the *few* Edwardeans should get into divisions among themselves." This letter proves that the Exercise Scheme, which *took no notice of* (whether or not it allowed the existence of) any nature or state back of the will, was not an invention of Dr. Emmons. The letter also proves that Hopkins was not so sensitive

* The differences between Hopkins and Emmons pertained *chiefly* to other subjects than those of sin, ability, etc. Thus, after the publication of one of Emmons's most important volumes, Hopkins writes to West: "October 17, 1800. Have you seen Dr. Emmons's late volume of sermons? I differ from him on two points, which perhaps you do not; viz. the sonship of Jesus Christ, and the perfection but inconstancy of the holy exercises of Christians; their imperfection consisting wholly in the latter." Hopkins was more particularly sensitive to what he regarded as Emmons's error on the subject of baptism; and wrote an essay against the supposed error, but after reading the essay to Emmons, concluded not to print it.

as Smalley and Hart, with regard to the scheme, which professed an utter ignorance of a passive state or temper occasioning holiness or sin. The principles of this scheme had, in fact, been intimated in the above-mentioned note to Hopkins's two discourses. He looked upon it, as a whole, with more of distrust, and even of respect, than of positive aversion.* The letter further suggests, that while Hopkins opposed the prevalent Calvinism of New England, and asserted that regeneration is performed without the instrumentality of divine truth, some of his followers, as West, Emmons, Spring, coincided with that Calvinism, so far forth as to assert that regeneration is not performed without the instrumentality of divine truth. They meant by regeneration what Hopkins meant by conversion. So curiously have the systems of our divines been intertangled with each other. In their nomenclature on this theme, Hopkins was farther from the New England Calvinism of his day than were his disciples, West, Emmons, Spring!

The life of Hopkins was a battle. Every thing which he published was opposed by some one of the parties then in the field. The above-named two discourses were violently assailed in a political newspaper. Jonathan Edwards, Junior, then a young man of twenty-four, came to the rescue, and wrote a spirited defence of his revered teacher. The controversy was too personal, and was exciting in the highest degree.

H. *Work on Future Punishment.*

In his sixty-second year, our author published an octavo volume of one hundred and ninety-four pages, entitled:

"An Inquiry concerning the Future State of those who die in their Sins: wherein the Dictates of Scripture and Reason upon this important Subject are carefully considered; and whether endless Punishment be consistent with Divine Justice, Wisdom, and Goodness. In which, also, objections are stated and answered. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport. 1783."

The work was written several years before its publication. In his memoir of himself, our author remarks: "I published that book at that time, because the doctrine of universal salvation was preached and propagated by a number, and began to spread in the country." † In the fourth section of this Inquiry, the author says of the wicked: "The smoke of their torment shall ascend up in the sight of the blessed forever and ever; and serve, as a most clear glass, always before their eyes, to give them a constant, bright, and most affecting view of all these. And all this display of the divine character and glory will be in favor of the redeemed, and most entertaining, and give the highest pleasure to all who love God, and raise *their* hap-

* See pp. 176, 200, of this Memoir. † Sketches, p. 101.

piness to ineffable heights, whose felicity consists, summarily, in the knowledge and enjoyment of God." Again, he says, that "this eternal punishment reflects such light on the divine character," and "makes such a bright display" of the Redeemer's worthiness, etc., "that, should it cease, and this fire could be extinguished, it would in a great measure obscure the light of heaven, and put an end to a great part of the happiness and glory of the blessed."* This sentiment is by no means peculiar to our plain-spoken divine. It pervades the Calvinistic treatises. Hopkins clothes it, however, in language more apt than the common phraseology, to give offence. He feared not the face of man. What word more obnoxious than the word "entertaining," could have been selected for such a theme? Elsewhere, he uses the word "relish" in the same application, and with the same boldness. Such a choice, or rather such an *employment* of nervous phrases, for teaching the standard Calvinistic doctrines, illustrates the fact, more fully than it can be shown by a lengthened criticism, that the charge of hyper-Calvinism, so often preferred against our author, is suggested by his diction, more than by his meaning. He meant to express forcibly and effectively the real idea of the Calvinistic creed. He meant to be understood and felt. He thus awakened the popular prejudice, that his faith on the subject of eternal punishment exceeded the standards of orthodoxy. He suffered far more opprobrium for his teachings on this theme, than for all his assertions that sin consists in choosing wrong, and this wrong choice can be avoided by the transgressor. At least two caricature prints were circulated, for the purpose of representing him as being "entertained" with the woes of the lost. The above-cited passage, with the word "entertaining," was quoted in a sharp *critique*, which appeared against him in the Newport Mercury of September 20, 1783. It is pleasing to notice, however, that the author of this newspaper criticism, like every other citizen of Newport, treated the *personal* virtues of Hopkins with deference; commended him as a man, but rebuked him as a theologian; spoke of him as one "whose education, conduct, and long experience in the ministry render his character respectable; but," he adds, "though far my superior in years, experience, and understanding, it may not be amiss for him, in the words of the poet, to

> 'Lend me, for a while, his patience,
> And condescend to hear a young man speak.'"

To this newspaper Review of Hopkins, two Replies appeared in the Mercury, one of them apparently from our author himself.

No one can attentively read this Treatise of Hopkins on Future

* Dr. Hopkins was always prepared to defend his use of these expressions, by the fact that words equally intense are employed in the sacred poetry. His style was not adopted through carelessness, but on principle. See his Works, vol. ii. pp. 457, 458.

Punishment, and compare it with succeeding discussions of the same topic, without perceiving the originality and profoundness of our author, and the often unacknowledged indebtedness of other writers to him. Perhaps not one of his Treatises more fully illustrates his eminent holiness, as well as his deep penetration.

I. *Theological System.*

Mr. Whelpley, in his celebrated Triangle,* says, that this "is one of the noblest bodies of divinity in the English language;" and he predicts that when it shall be candidly studied, "and, especially when it shall have the good fortune to be judged by those who have read it," "it will stand as high on the shelves of future libraries, and be regarded as a work of as much utility and merit, as Pictet, Ridgely, and Turretin." Hopkins himself thus writes the history of the work:

"In the year 1793, was published my 'System of Doctrines contained in Divine Revelation, explained and defended; showing their Consistence and Connection with each other. To which is added, a Treatise on the Millennium.' In two large octavo volumes, the whole containing one thousand two hundred forty-four pages; sold to subscribers at three dollars a set. There was a large subscription for this work, of above one thousand two hundred. I sold the copyright to the printers for nine hundred dollars, which has been a help to me, in the low, deranged state of my church and congregation; without which I know not how I should have subsisted. I had no expectation of getting a penny by the publication when I began, and while I was preparing it for the press, nor had the least view or thought of it. I was about ten years, composing and preparing it for the press. It has been a laborious work to me, which I consider as the greatest public service that I have ever done. It has met with more general and better acceptation, by far, than I expected, both in America and Europe; and no one has undertaken to answer it, though some cursory remarks have been made upon some parts of it, by way of objection, which, I believe, will not have much, if any, influence to prevent the credit and usefulness of it." †

Our author began the composition of this System, on the thirty-first day of December, 1781, and the Preface to it was dated August 20, 1792. He labored on it, then, from his sixty-first to his seventy-first year. He hesitated much with regard to the place of its publication. He said: "No printer in this town is equal to it [i. e. to publishing so large a work]; for unless it could be done well, I would not have it printed." He finally sent it to Thomas & Andrews, in Boston. He wrote, but did not publish, the following Dedication of it:

"[*O thou Head*] *of the Church*, [*Sovereign*] *Lord of all!*

"In thine infinite condescension and goodness, permit and assist the most unworthy of thy servants to dedicate the ensuing labor and production to

* See pp. 90, 91. † Sketches, pp. 101, 102.

THEE, and humbly lay it at thy feet, asking thy gracious acceptance, patronage, and blessing.

"Hast not THOU called him and pointed out his way to this work? And hast not THOU supported, assisted, and carried him through it? THOU seest all the defects of it, and every thing that is wrong. THOU only art able to prevent the evil effect of these, and overrule them for good. THOU only canst bless and succeed this endeavor to serve thy cause, and vindicate and promote thy truth, and the interest of thy church and kingdom. Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings, THOU dost ordain and perfect strength and praise; and art able to make this attempt the mean of supporting and promoting thy saving truth, and a blessing to millions; and cause it to produce those happy effects which shall promote thine honor and the happiness of thy kingdom, forever.

"This is thy cause, and to THEE it is cheerfully committed, with joy that it is wholly in thine hand, and that thou doest whatsoever pleaseth thee, in heaven and on earth.

"And wilt not THOU, O thou highly exalted and most merciful Saviour, accept this offering from one who, though infinitely unworthy, esteems it the highest honor and happiness to be thy devoted servant, forever?

SAMUEL HOPKINS."

Bellamy, who had rendered such fraternal aid to Hopkins, in criticizing his preceding works, had now been in his grave two years. His son-in-law, Dr. Hart, of Preston, first examined the System in manuscript; then, it was criticized by Dr. West, of Stockbridge; afterwards by Dr. Jonathan Edwards, of New Haven. The last-named divine was also requested by Hopkins, to comment on the System after its publication. A copy of his remarks is here subjoined. They illustrate the frankness and faithfulness of the criticisms upon one another, which our great men were wont to encourage. They also prove, that Edwards agreed with Hopkins on the more important parts of the Hopkinsian System, and that this system received, in the main, the sanction of the more eminent divines in that day. Hopkins indorsed on Edwards's letter the following words: "Dr. Edwards's Remarks on my System; — to be attended to, if there should be a second edition. March 19, 1795." This second edition, however, was not printed until 1811, eight years after our author's demise.

"New Haven, October 29, 1793. Reverend and Honored Sir: I have received your request by President Stiles, that I would send you remarks on your System; now sit down to comply [with] it. In general, I approve it, and thank you for it, and think you deserve the thanks of all friends to the truth. Still, some things struck me as capable of amendment. They are as follows:

"1. Would not real and manifest miracles now wrought in favor of any doctrine, not agreeable to the gospel, either prove that doctrine to be from God, or prove that the miracles wrought by Moses and Jesus were no proof of their doctrines? This refers to what is said, vol. i. pp. 14, 15.*

"2. How do the prophecies of the Old Testament prove that the writings of the New are from God? (Vol. i. pp. 20, 21.) Would not the prophecies

* Dr. Edwards's references are modified, so as to make them conform to the complete edition of Hopkins's Works.

of the New Testament equally prove any true history of the popes to be from God?

"3. Is the goodness of the doctrines and duties revealed in the Scriptures, a proof that they were given *by inspiration*? (Vol. i. pp. 23, 24.) It undoubtedly proves that those doctrines are *true*, and that those duties are *obligatory*; but that a number of doctrines and precepts, all favorable to real virtue and godliness, could not be invented and published by uninspired men, does not appear. Therefore I do not believe what President Edwards has written on this subject, in his Treatise on Religious Affections.

"4. Is it impossible, that the Scriptures should be understood by men of corrupt mind? (Vol. i. pp. 25, 26.) I do not believe it.

"5. Goodness and justice are not always the same thing. (Vol. i. pp. 47, 48.) It is goodness to pardon a sinner believing; but it is not justice. It would be justice to damn Paul, but it would be no goodness.

"6. Goodness, truth, and faithfulness do not appear to be properly distinguished. (Vol. i. p. 48.)

"7. That God loves and regards himself infinitely more than the whole creation, (vol. i. pp. 51, 52,) appears to me not true. For any being to love himself, is to love his own happiness. But all God's happiness consists in producing a happy creation; otherwise he is not a benevolent being. Now, to say that God regards his own happiness infinitely more than he does that on which all his own happiness depends, is manifestly not true. The proposition rests on the supposition, that God has a private, selfish happiness, not consisting in benevolence and beneficence; which, though implied, will not be avowed.

"8. God is not above all obligation to his creatures, (vol. i. p. 55,) unless by obligation be meant something which implies dependence, subjection to power, and exposure to punishment. Doubtless it would be as really sinful and wicked for God to abuse a creature, as for a creature to abuse God; and surely wickedness is a violation of moral obligation.

"9. The proof of the moral perfections of God seems to be defective.

"10. I conceive that future existence may be made an end, (vol. i. p. 72,) and that the then future, perfect creation was the real end for which God created every thing. God makes himself his end, as he makes his happiness his end. But the happiness which he makes his end, is the happiness which he takes in benevolence and beneficence, or the happiness which he takes in the perfect and highest happiness of the created universe. So that to make himself his end, and to make the happiness of the creation his end, is perfectly one and the same thing. Yet, if I understand Dr. Hopkins, he does not view it thus, or, at least, his expressions imply the contrary.

"11. I wish the conjecture concerning the particular kind of probation of the angels (vol. i. pp. 173, 174) were omitted; it is more suitable to *Paradise Lost* than to a System of Divinity. A systematic divine has no *licentia poetica*. The same I may observe concerning what is said of the gift of language to Adam, and some things concerning the tree of life. At least, I wish conjectures were advanced as conjectures, and not as if they were granted truths.

"12. The first sin of Adam no more, in its own nature, tended to all sin, than the first act of holiness in a regenerate man tends to all holiness.

"13. Dr. Hopkins considers Adam's sin as the sin of all mankind, and supposes that his posterity were *considered* by God as sinners in consequence of Adam's sin. But God is not deceived; he does not consider them as sinners, unless they really be sinners. But they are not really sinners, before they are guilty of personal sin. (Vol. i. pp. 212, 213.)

"14. He takes it as an axiom, that every moral creature is dependent on God for all his moral exercises. (Vol. i. p. 219.) Is this fair, when it is so much disputed?

"15. Adam, in his first sin, no more wished all men to sin than every sinner wishes this, in every sin.

"16. *Loving self as self*, is to me an obscure and unhappy expression. I presume what is meant, is what President Edwards meant, by loving that happiness which consists in such gratifications as are entirely private and personal, not implying any benevolence; such as the pleasure of eating and drinking, rest, venery, gratified ambition, &c.

"17. That the lowest degree of self-love is wrong, is not true, unless *self-love* be used in an uncommon sense. Will it be said that the lowest degree of regard to the pleasure of eating and drinking, of matrimony, and of a good reputation, is wrong? Regard to these pleasures is what President Edwards meant by self-love, and I believe is commonly meant. But, no doubt, Adam, before he fell, had some regard to these pleasures, yet not a supreme regard. Dr. Hopkins seems to mean by self-love, a supreme regard to them. No doubt the lowest degree of *this* is wrong.

"18. Dr. Hopkins seems to represent, that faith not only implies love to God, repentance, benevolence to men, &c., but that it is the very same thing.

"19. He seems to go too far into the idea, that Adam's sin is the sin of all his posterity, and that they consent to that sin; yet they no more consent to that sin than they do to the sin of Joseph's brethren, or any other sin.*

"20. Is there not an inconsistency in holding, that all the children of believers are included in the covenant with their parents, and therefore are to be baptized; and yet holding that no children are entitled to the promises of the covenant, but the children of those believers who are faithful, who are allowed to be but few, of even real believers? And since we do not know who are or will be faithful, how can we know who have a right to baptism for their children; especially since professing Christians do not profess the high degree of faithfulness which is requisite? Nor, indeed, is there a foundation for them to profess or promise it, since God has not promised it to them.

"21. In p. 121 of vol. ii., there appears to be a contradiction: 'Though they may not be what they appear to be [holy];' 'though there be *no reason to believe* that they are all such.'

"22. That freedom or liberty consists in volition, seems to me not true. External liberty is not action, and why should internal? A man may be externally free who does not act at all; and why may not he be free internally, with respect to that concerning which he has no present volition? External liberty is purely negative, implying the absence of obstacles. So the liberty of the will is the absence of natural necessity. Otherwise, the unregenerate have no liberty to love God, &c., &c.

"23. I do not believe that, before the millennium, my neighbor will kill me because I am a Calvinist, and I kill him because he is an Arminian. This was the fashion of Queen Mary's time; but the fashion is antiquated, and not likely to return.

"24. I hear, you intend to insert your section on being willing to be damned.†

* Throughout his journal, Hopkins alludes often to his favorite idea, that Adam's sin is ours because we consent to it, and that all transgressions may be imputed to us, provided that we voluntarily delight in them. Numerous passages may be found, like the following:

"If any object, that they are undone by the sin of Adam, they may be told that whenever they disapprove of [i. e., hate, refuse to imitate] the sin of Adam, they shall not be hurt by it; but be delivered from all the evil consequences of it, and be saved, and be more happy forever than if he had not sinned."

"Rom. ii. 1, 2, &c. — The apostle here supposes and asserts, that every impenitent, wicked man does *the same things* which the most corrupt and openly wicked do. Every allowed act of sin approves of all sin. He who hates his brother, is a murderer; who looks on a woman to lust after her in his heart, is an adulterer. He who is under the government of self-love, has the root of all wickedness, and *in embryo* practises all the sins which men do or can commit."

This idea lies at the basis of Hopkins's theory of imputation, although some of his phrases appear to be inconsistent with this as the fundamental principle of the theory.

† In the second edition.

I have mentioned it to all the ministers of this neighborhood, friendly to the System, and they all wish it may not be inserted; [in] particular, Mr. Upson. The System is now in credit, and I wish nothing may be done to hurt the credit of it, and to prevent its doing good. The enemies of the truth will take advantage of that section, and triumph. Now, they are silent. Besides, it would be an injury to the property of Thomas & Andrews; and certainly they, by asking you to correct it, do not imagine that you are empowered to hurt the sale of the work. If they did, they would not suffer you to meddle with it. Indeed, I think you cannot insert that section, consistently with justice to them. I will subscribe for half a dozen, if you will print that section in a separate pamphlet. I wish the Dedication to the Millennarians [vol. ii. p. 224] were left out; it is too fanciful.

"These, dear sir, are the principal remarks which I have made. As the bearer is going, I can only add, that with great esteem and sincere friendship, I am yours, JONATHAN EDWARDS.

"Doct. Hopkins."

These are the criticisms of one of the most keen-eyed Reviewers of his own or of any day. They are the results of an examination, which he made for the express purpose of finding in the volumes of Hopkins every fault, which the pupil would desire his teacher to remove. They were made, as they were received, in the spirit of honest and indissoluble friendship. There was, probably, no theological System extant, to which the sharp-minded critic would have proposed so small a number of objections. The fact that the criticisms of such a man on a work of such extent, are so few, and so far from being fundamental, is one of the most pleasing encomiums which the work could have received.

To some it may appear singular, that Dr. Edwards should dare to imply that the System of Hopkins was imaginative in the slightest degree. There are hundreds of expressions, however, in the System, which indicate a simplicity of character, a childlike feeling, seldom belonging to an abstruse logician. Thus, in reasoning against the idea, that the saints of heaven will return and dwell bodily in the world, during the millennium, he says: "They would take up that room in the earth, which will be then wanted for those who will be born in that day." — Works, Vol. ii. p. 266. In objecting to the personal reign of Christ on earth, during the millennium, he says, that the Messiah is now "in the most proper, agreeable, and convenient situation, to govern the world and take care of his church." — Ib. p. 263. Our author teaches, that Adam "was created on the latter part of the sixth day, but soon fell into a deep sleep, and had no great enjoyment or thought till the next day." — Ib. p. 88.

This stern metaphysician made no attempt to adorn his volumes with poetic imagery. But if a man like Byron could be induced to read the System of Hopkins, and to look through its unpolished style, he would detect in it the elements of a poetic grandeur and sublimity. "It gives me," says Byron, — and he often repeated similar remarks, — "a much higher idea of the majesty, power, and wisdom of God, to believe that the devils themselves are at his nod, and are

subject to his control, with as much ease as the elements of nature follow the respective laws which his will has assigned them." * Now, a prominent feature of Hopkins's System of Divinity is, the supremacy and dominion which it ascribes to the Eternal One. Perhaps no work has a more uniform aim to exalt the Creator, and to abase the creature. Here is seen the depth and fervor of the author's religious sentiment, and this sentiment is one of the fountains of poetry.

Far be it from any critic to imply, that Samuel Hopkins ever sacrificed his judgment to his imagination. We err, however, when we surmise that he had no imaginative tendencies. No one born of woman is without them. A decided opposer of his System has remarked concerning him:

> "His doctrines, indeed, threw dark colors over the world around him; but he took refuge from the present state of things in the Millennium. The Millennium was his chosen ground. If any subject of thought possessed him above all others, I suppose it to have been this. The Millennium was more than a belief to him. It had the freshness of visible things. He was at home in it. His book on the subject has an air of reality, as if written from observation. He describes the habits and customs of the Millennium, as one familiar with them. He enjoyed this future glory of the church not a whit the less, because it was so much his own creation. The fundamental idea, the germ, he found in the Scriptures, but it expanded in and from his own mind. Whilst to the multitude he seemed a hard, dry theologian, feeding on the thorns of controversy, he was living in a region of imagination, feeding on visions of a holiness and a happiness which are to make earth all but heaven." †

Hopkins was, above most others, a prosaic divine; but there is a poetic grandeur in the very thought, that an indigent and often invalid pastor, after having been reproached and persecuted for half a century, should waver not a hair's breadth from his obnoxious faith; and in his extreme age should publish it, without a single attempt to subdue its offensive features, or to win patronage or renown; and, with a seemingly pure aim to glorify his Sovereign, should insist, sternly as ever, on a reverence for the unconditional decrees, and the every where penetrating agency of that august Being. It is pleasant, as well as instructive, to know that this disinterested love of all that he deemed true, was rewarded with the esteem of the wise and good; and that the Body of Divinity on which our author had expended his maturer years, was ushered into the world with the approval, after a most rigid review, of the three men whose position and relations gave them an unusual influence over the mind of Hopkins. There were no three men living, whose sympathy was more gratifying to this early friend and brother of President Edwards and Bellamy, than the three who gave their careful sanction to his System: one of them, President Edwards's

* Galt's Life of Byron, p. 276.
† Channing's Works, vol. iv. p. 353.

son; another of them, President Edwards's successor in the ministry at Stockbridge, the revered "Patriarch of Berkshire County;" another, the son-in-law, and for many years the intimate companion, of Bellamy. These men were the representatives of a strong and resolute body of clergymen, whose influence has been felt in our own and in other lands.

We by no means intend to imply, that there was no public opposition to this most important of Hopkins's writings. Among the pamphlets which appeared against it was the following:

"Remarks on the Leading Sentiments in the Reverend Dr. Hopkins's System of Doctrines, in a Letter to a Friend, from Samuel Langdon, D. D. Published according to Act of Congress, for the Author. Printed at Exeter, by Henry Ranlett, for and sold by the Author; sold also by most of the Booksellers in New England, and by the Printer hereof. April, 1794." pp. 56.

President Langdon, in this pamphlet, accuses Dr. Hopkins of "artful reasoning," of "an artful way of summing up the whole character of the great God of love," "of venturing boldly into logical speculations," of agreeing too much with Dr. Priestly on the subject of the will, of "scholastic speculations," "over-curious inquiries," "cobweb schemes," etc., etc. He says that Hopkins "has prepared a balloon which mounts him very high into the ethereal regions, until he almost loses sight of earth." In this single pamphlet of the worthy President, he has anticipated many phrases of succeeding but less original critics. It is almost amusing to notice the style, in which the old patriarch of Rhode Island received these criticisms of Dr. Langdon. "He finds much fault," says Hopkins, "but has not written so as to mortify me in the least." "If a thousand pamphlets were to be written to no better purpose, I should think them not worthy an answer."

J. *Dialogue on Disinterested Submission.*

Dr. Hopkins wrote several essays on the duty of entire resignation to the will of God. One of them, which was written several years before his death, was not published until two years after it. The treatise was entitled "A Dialogue between a Calvinist and a Semi-Calvinist." It occupied only twenty-six duodecimo pages, but has probably elicited more prejudice against its author, than has been excited by all his other writings, except those on the divine government over sin. Yet his speculations on this subject illustrate the intrepidity, with which he followed the principles of Calvinistic authors to their logical conclusions. With what a firm tread he moves on, from the proposition that men ought to feel as God feels, to the proposition, that if God wills them to be lost, they ought to acquiesce in his preference. They should be willing to lose their eternal life, provided that, and in the same sense that God is willing that they

lose it. They ought to submit to their own condemnation, provided that, and in the same sense that they ought to submit to the condemnation of those fellow-creatures, whom God may in any sense choose to condemn. They ought to love neither sin nor misery, as such; but ought to be resigned to any and all evils, so far forth as these evils are essential to the highest good of the universe, and are therefore willed by the Holy One. In whatever sense sin and misery are not conducive to the general welfare, we should not feel resigned to them, either in our own or in other persons. Dr. Samuel Miller seems to regard the Hopkinsian doctrine of Disinterested Submission, as a logical result from the Edwardean theory on the nature of True Virtue; * but it should rather be regarded as a logical result from the old Calvinistic principles, that God in any sense prefers to condemn transgressors, and that all men ought to harmonize with *every* divine preference.

Such was the habitual view of Dr. Hopkins. He never claimed to have done any thing more on this subject, than to have drawn a simple inference from admitted principles, and he regarded this inference as nothing new.† The few pages of his Dialogue give a remarkable exemplification of his entire theological character. He treated the apostle's words in Rom. ix. 3, on the principle so often sanctioned by Calvinistic writers, that "it is safe to speak according to the Scriptures; and so far as any man does not, it is because, in that instance, there is no light in him."‡ Dr. Patten narrates the following incident:

"A minister of some eminence, from a distance, possessed of great zeal, came to Newport, and the writer invited him to preach for him. In his sermons he denounced what were considered Hopkinsian doctrines, as very erroneous and absurd. On Monday morning, the writer inquired if he had any wish to see Dr. Hopkins. He expressed his assent. On being introduced, he said, in a very frank, or rather abrupt manner, 'I want, Dr. Hopkins, a statement from you of the most important arguments in favor of *your* doctrine, that *men ought to be willing to be damned for the glory of God!*' 'Why,' said Dr. Hopkins, 'do you call it *mine?*' 'Because,' replied the stranger, 'it is ascribed to you, and I presume you preach it.' 'I do not recollect,' said Dr. Hopkins, 'that I ever used those expressions in a sermon, in my life, or that I maintain a doctrine which has not been expressed by other orthodox divines, and which is not scriptural, and therefore [it is] not my doctrine.' The divines to whom he might refer, are, Dr. Cotton Mather in his article in his diary on a private fast, and Dr. Doddridge in his Penitent in the Rise and Progress of Religion, and various others, who express the spirit of the doctrine as maintained by Dr. Hopkins."§

It has been supposed by some, that our author loaded his sermons with the phraseology, "men must be willing to be damned;" but according to the preceding statement, he adopted for the pulpit a

* See Miller's Life of Edwards, p. 244.
† See a suggestion of the inference, on p. 22 of this Memoir.
‡ Hopkins's System, vol. i. p. 430.
§ Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 98, 99.

different style from that which he admitted into his Dialogue. It has been also supposed, that he pressed upon all disciples, old and young, the duty of a conscious willingness to be lost. But it is the testimony of some valuable witnesses, that while he believed this duty to be involved in all hearty submission to the divine government, he did not expect that all who were truly pious would be *distinctly* conscious of having performed it; he did not expect that all youthful, or uninstructed, or mistaught, or feeble Christians would analyze their consciousness so thoroughly as to detect this grace, although it was an element in every act of their self-consecration. It is said that he regarded the *perceptible* and *prominent* exercise of the virtue, as an attainment of the more enlightened or mature disciple.*

There is a striking resemblance between the feelings of Dr. Hopkins and the feelings of Fenelon, Madame Guion, and many other mystics, with regard to the endurance of *pain* for the divine glory. It is unnatural for any man to rise into these heights of sentiment and of reasoning, unless he have an ideality far above that of the masses. Hopkins, with all his logic, had a comprehensive though not an active imagination, and he took into his range the loftiest suppositions conceivable. His Dialogue is a permanent refutation of the slander, that Hopkinsianism is a scheme of low utilitarianism. It is the expansive benevolence of his theology, which captivated the enthusiastic mind of Channing; and if Hopkins had adorned his sentiments with the graces of a poetic style, he would have been a favorite with those imaginative writers who lose themselves in the praises of a self-sacrificing spirit, of a self-forgetful soul, swallowed up in the well-being of the universe.

"His system," says Channing, "however fearful, was yet built on a generous foundation. He maintained that all holiness, all moral excellence, consists in benevolence, or disinterested devotion to the greatest good; that this is the character of God; that love is the only principle of the divine administration. He taught that sin was introduced into the creation, and is to be everlastingly punished, because evil is necessary to the highest good. To this government, in which the individual is surrendered to the well-being of the whole, he required entire and cheerful submission. Other Calvinists were willing, that their neighbors should be predestined to everlasting misery for the glory of God. This noble-minded man demanded a more generous and impartial virtue, and maintained that we should consent to our own perdition, should be willing ourselves to be condemned, if the greatest good of the universe and the manifestation of the divine perfections should so require. True virtue, as he taught, was an entire surrender of personal interest to the benevolent purposes of God. Self-love he spared in none of its movements. He called us to seek our own happiness as well as that of others, in a spirit of impartial benevolence; to do good to ourselves, not from self-preference, not from the impulse of personal desires, but in obedience to that sublime law which requires us to promote the welfare of each and all within our influence. I need not be ashamed to confess the deep impression, which this system made

* This is the testimony of several who sat under his ministry, and whose recollections on the topic are definite, if not correct.

on my youthful mind. I am grateful to this stern teacher, for turning my thoughts and heart to the claims and majesty of impartial, universal benevolence." *

In the same posthumous volume which contained the above-named Dialogue, was published "A Serious Address to Professing Christians, in the name, and from the words of Jesus Christ, recorded [in] Revelation vi. 15." This Address of our author was originally a sermon, and illustrates the practical character of his pulpit.

K. *Volume of Sermons.*

The last theological work which our author prepared for the press, was a volume of "Twenty-one Sermons on a Variety of Interesting Subjects, sentimental and practical. They were published at Salem, Massachusetts, in an octavo of three hundred and eighty-seven pages, a short time before his death, under the auspices of his brother, Dr. Daniel Hopkins. "That they will be printed in my lifetime, or ever," says their humble author, as soon as he had fitted them for publication, "or whether they are worth printing, is to me very uncertain." They *are* worth printing, although they display less versatility of genius than is exhibited in his sermon to the Stockbridge Indians.† They are well worth reprinting, as the developments of a singularly consecutive logic. Those principles which permeate his System, — that the original cause or occasion of sin cannot be itself sinful, ‡ that sin is not the punishment of sin, § that a person may be "guilty in those exercises and that conduct in which he has no knowledge or consciousness that he is doing wrong," ‖ and that if he *can* not learn the divine will, he "is not guilty at all, so does not things worthy of any stripes, because in this case his ignorance is properly *invincible;*" ¶ — those and similar principles affect the whole train of thought in these discourses. One of our author's successors in the ministry ** has remarked, and every student of this volume will readily believe the assertion, that "no man ever insisted more fully on both doctrines, [divine sovereignty and human liberty,] than Dr. Hopkins. Of no man was it more frequently said, that he contradicted himself flatly, than of him. This charge always had exclusive respect to the doctrines of ability and decrees." Hopkins never seems to have been disheartened, when accused of contradicting himself in regard to these two doctrines; for he well knew the tendency of one-sided men, to suppose that the will is not free if God's agency be universal.

* Channing's Works, vol. iv. pp. 342, 343.
† See pp. 46–49 of this Memoir.
‡ See System, vol. i. pp. 100–104, 124, new edition.
§ System, vol. i. p. 194, new edition.
‖ Ib. p. 132.
¶ Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. p. 323.
** Rev. Calvin Hitchcock, D. D., Randolph, Mass.

L. *Writings on Slavery.*

The poet John G. Whittier predicts, that "when distracted and divided Christendom shall unite in a new Evangelical union, in which orthodoxy in life and practice shall be estimated above orthodoxy in theory, he [Dr. Hopkins] will be honored as a good man, rather than as a successful creed-maker; as a friend of the oppressed, and the fearless rebuker of popular sin, rather than as the champion of a protracted sectarian war."* The activity of this divine, however, on the subject of slavery, formed, in his own view, but an episode in his life. Still, could all the letters which he addressed on this theme to lay and clerical philanthropists in Europe and America, and could all the essays which he printed concerning it in the newspapers of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, be now gathered up, they would form no inconsiderable volume. His Dialogue, mentioned on p. 117, and his Sermon, mentioned on p. 144 of this Memoir, constitute but a small part of his writings on the subject.

M. *Biographical Writings.*

I. At the age of forty-one, our author wrote, and two years afterward published, his first biographical work: "The Life and Character of the late Reverend, Learned, and Pious Mr. Jonathan Edwards, President of the College of New Jersey; together with Extracts from his Private Writings and Diary. Boston, 1764." The Seventeen Sermons of Edwards which Hopkins edited, were published in the same volume, together with President Edwards's Farewell Sermon to his people at Northampton. A second edition of this volume was published at Northampton, in 1804. An edition of it was published at Edinburgh, in 1799, under the auspices of Dr. Erskine. An English edition of the volume, revised and enlarged, was published in 1815, in London. Hopkins's Memoir of Edwards has served as the basis, for the other Memoirs of that great man. It is a narrative by an eye-witness of the scenes described. The world are indebted to it, for the best portraiture of Edwards which was ever drawn by a man who knew him. One or two of President Edwards's children objected to it as incomplete; and during the last thirty years it has fallen into unmerited oblivion. In a coming age, however, it will be prized as the result of a confidential intercourse with the father of New England theology.

There are many facts recorded in this Memoir, which give us a vivid idea of President Edwards as a man, and which are doubly valuable, as the same or very similar facts are reported concerning

* National Era, July 12, 1847.

Dr. Hopkins himself. Thus we read in the biographer's simple-hearted and honest style, that:

"He kept a watchful eye over his children, that he might admonish them of the *first* wrong step, and direct them in the right way. He took opportunities to treat with them in his study, singly and particularly, about their own souls' concerns, and to give them warning, exhortation, and direction, as he saw occasion. He took much pains to instruct them in the principles of religion; in which he made use of the *Assembly's Shorter Catechism:* not merely by taking care that they learned it by heart, but by leading them into an understanding of the doctrines therein taught, by asking them questions on each answer, and explaining it to them. His usual time to attend this, was on the evening before the Sabbath. And, as he believed that the Sabbath, or holy time, began at sunset the evening before the day, he ordered his family to finish all their secular business by that time, or before, when they were all called together, and a psalm was sung and prayer attended, as an introduction to the sanctifying the Sabbath. This care and exactness effectually prevented that intruding on holy time, by attending on secular business, too common in families where the evening before the Sabbath is pretended to be observed.

"He was a great enemy to young people's unseasonable company-keeping and frolicking, as he looked upon it as a great means of corrupting and ruining youth. And he thought the excuse many parents make for tolerating their children in it, (viz., that it is the custom, and others' children practise it, which renders it difficult, and even impossible, to restrain theirs,) was insufficient and frivolous, and manifested a great degree of stupidity, on supposition the practice was hurtful and pernicious to their souls. And when some of his children grew up, he found no difficulty in restraining them from this pernicious practice, but they cheerfully complied with the will of their parents herein. He allowed not his children to be from home after nine o'clock at night, when they went abroad to see their friends and companions; neither were they allowed to sit up much after that time, in his own house, when any came to make them a visit. If any gentleman desired acquaintance with his daughters, after handsomely introducing himself, by properly consulting the parents, he was allowed all proper opportunity for it, and a room and fire, if needed; but must not intrude on the proper hours of rest and sleep, nor the religion and order of the family." *

II. At the age of seventy-five, our author published "The Life and Character of Miss Susanna Anthony. — Worcester, 1796."

III. At the age of seventy-eight, he published "Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn. — Worcester, 1799." This and the preceding volume consist chiefly of extracts from the writings of the women to whom they are devoted. They have an historical worth, as illustrating the style of piety which was cultivated under the ministrations of our author.

IV. Two years after his death, was published a duodecimo of two hundred and forty pages, entitled, "Sketches of the Life of the late Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, written by himself; Interspersed with Marginal Notes extracted from his Private Diary: to which is added a Dialogue, by the same hand, on the Nature and Extent of True Christian Submission; also, a Serious Address to Professing Christians: closed by

* Life of Edwards, pp. 50, 51, Edinburgh edition.

Dr. Hart's Sermon at his Funeral; with an Introduction to the whole, by the Editor. Published by Stephen West, D. D., Pastor of the church in Stockbridge. [Printed in] Hartford," [Conn.] The Autobiography occupies a hundred and fifteen pages. It was composed in 1796 and 1799. Its style is one of singular condensation, and breathes all the honesty and lowliness, although, alas! none of the grace of Izaak Walton. Soon after its publication, it was very severely reviewed by Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, in the Anthology. Not having been personally acquainted with Dr. Hopkins, Mr. Buckminster speaks of him with far less reverence than is exhibited in the criticisms of Dr. Channing; although both of these writers "shrunk with abhorrence" from the Hopkinsian tenets.

N. *Editorial Labors.*

Our author was urged to edit the writings of President Edwards by the President's widow, her eldest son, and her son-in-law, the father of Dr. Dwight. He was probably induced to undertake the work, by the known wishes of his revered teacher. We are told by Dr. Patten, that "by request of Mr. Edwards, all his [Mr. E.'s] manuscripts were placed in the hands of Mr. Hopkins. These, not including his sermons, amounted to many volumes. He considered it not a little to his credit, compared with many ministers who have books but do not read them, that he gave all the manuscripts a perusal. This he did, not as a task, but as a gratification."* He is said, on good authority, to have spent six years mainly in the study and preparation of these manuscripts. In 1764, he thus describes the labor which had been devolved upon him:

"Mr. Edwards has left a great many volumes in manuscript, which he wrote in a miscellaneous way on almost all subjects in divinity; which he did, not with any design they should ever be published in the form in which they are, but for the satisfaction and improvement of his own mind, and that he might retain the thoughts which appeared to him worth preserving. —— He has wrote much on the prophecies of the Messiah, justification, the divinity of Christ, and the eternity of hell torments. He wrote a great deal on the Bible, in the same way, by penning his thoughts on particular passages of it, as they occurred to him in reading or meditation; by which he has cast much light on many parts of the Bible, which has escaped other interpreters, and by which his great and painful attention to the Bible, and making it the only rule of his faith, are manifest.

"If the public were willing to be at the cost, and publishing books of divinity met with as much encouragement now as it has sometimes, there might be a number of volumes published from his manuscripts, which would afford a great deal of new light and entertainment to the church of Christ; though they would be more imperfect than if he himself had prepared them for public view.

"As the method he took, to have his miscellaneous writings in such order as to be able with ease to turn to any thing he had wrote upon a particular

* Patten's Reminiscences, p. 45.

subject, when he had occasion, is, perhaps, as good as any, if not the best that has been proposed to the public, — some account of it will here be given; as what may be of advantage to young students who have not yet gone into any method, and are disposed to improve their minds by writing.

"He numbered all his miscellaneous writings. The first thing he wrote is No. 1; the second, No. 2; and so on. And when he had occasion to write on any particular subject, he first set down the number, and then wrote the subject in capitals or large characters, that it might not escape his eye when he should have occasion to turn to it. As, for instance, if he was going to write on the happiness of angels, and his last number was 148, he would begin thus: 149. ANGELS, THEIR HAPPINESS. And when he had wrote what he designed at that time on that subject, he would turn to an alphabetical table which he kept, and under the letter A, he would write, ANGELS, THEIR HAPPINESS, — if this was not already in his alphabet; and then set down the number 149, close at the right hand of it. And if he had occasion to write any new thoughts on the same subject, if the number of his miscellanies were increased, so that his last number was 261, he would set the number 262, and then the subject as before. And when he had done writing for that time, he turned to his table, to the word ANGELS; and at the right hand of the number 149, set down 262. By this means he had no occasion to leave any chasms, but began his next subject where he left off his last.

"The number of his miscellaneous writings ranged in this manner, amounts to above fourteen hundred. And yet, by a table contained on a sheet or two of paper, any thing he wrote can be turned to at pleasure." *

It is an interesting fact, that the first printed volume for which Mr. Hopkins felt any personal responsibility, was Edwards on Original Sin. This treatise was published in 1758, before Mr. Hopkins had written any thing for the press, except in the newspapers. A few sheets of the volume had been printed, several months before President Edwards's decease. The subject of this work was one which had long occupied the mind of Hopkins. At the age of twenty-three, he wrote in his Journal: "I have been reading Mr. Taylor's works, who denied original sin. I cannot fall in with him. If I give up this doctrine, I must give up Christianity." Although Hopkins often declares in his System, that the children of Adam are not answerable for his sin, and it is not their sin, any further than they approve of it, by sinning as he did, — in this way only they become guilty of his sin, viz., by approving of what he did, and joining with him in rebellion," — and although Hopkins expressly defines original sin to be "that total moral depravity which takes place in the hearts of all the children of Adam, in consequence of his apostasy, which consists in exercise or act, as really as any sin can do, and therefore cannot be distinguished from actual sin;" † he yet, in some of his expressions on this theme, approaches more nearly to the style of Edwards's treatise on the same doctrine, than has any other eminent divine of New England within the past century. ‡ It is a proof of his most affectionate attachment to his theological

* Life of Edwards, pp. 98, 99, Edinburgh edition.

† See System, vol. i. pp. 218, 224, 230, etc.. etc.

‡ In proof of this statement, see Hopkins's System, vol. i. pp. 199, 200, 210, 211, 213.

instructor, that he nowhere specifically *declares* his dissent from Edwards's philosophy on this theme, and he frequently speaks of Edwards's treatise with high commendation.*

On the tenth of December, 1759, Hopkins writes to Bellamy:

"Mr. Foxcroft [pastor of the First Church, Boston] has offered Mr. Edwards's children [that he will] assist in the publication of some of Mr. Edwards's manuscripts; and promises faithfulness, if they will commit any to him. Mrs. Gill has sent a letter to them, urging them, by many arguments, to accept of Mr. Foxcroft's kind offer; and Mr. Hawley has wrote about it to Mr. Dwight. And Mr. Dwight has wrote up, proposing that some manuscripts should be sent to Mr. Foxcroft, by my advice and help. The children seem to be pleased with the scheme. Accordingly, the two Dissertations on the End of God, &c., and on Virtue, and forty-six volumes of Sermons are selected to be sent to Boston.

"Mr. Foxcroft proposes, that some history of Mr. Edwards's life shall be prefixed to the first publication, and desires me to send him what I have wrote. [I] have encouraged him I will transcribe and send it, but almost regret that I have done it, on several accounts."

More than two years after the date of this epistle, Hopkins wrote again to Bellamy, in a characteristic way:

"March 24, 1762. I have a letter from Mr. Cumming, [Pastor of Old South Church, Boston,] from which I gather, that nothing is done toward printing Mr. Edwards's Life and Sermons. The sermons not transcribed; they depend much upon me to do it, while the sermons are at Boston! The printer waiting for subscriptions, very few of which come in. Mr. Foxcroft, [on whom chief reliance had been placed,] sick, and can do nothing towards it. Mr. Cumming, out of health and under difficulties, and a degree of persecution, has thoughts of printing in his own defence. Mr. Searle [a particular friend of President Edwards] cannot transcribe. That on the *End of God*, &c., is not transcribed yet. Nothing will be done. I have been much out of health of late; have not preached the two Sabbaths past; have done no business for some time. My people are in an uncommon ferment, and I am dejected and discouraged."

We wait more than two years longer, and find Hopkins himself in Boston! His printer had struck off only six of Edwards's sermons and three sheets of Hopkins's Memoir. Of the forty-six volumes of manuscript, only seventeen sermons were printed as late as the close of 1764! Edwards had then been in his grave nearly seven years. So difficult was it, in that day, to bring forward the publications of one whose most trivial manuscripts are now regarded as treasures. It has been supposed, that the writings of President Edwards received, from the churches of our land, a far more cordial welcome than was given to the productions of Hopkins. But between the first and second editions of Hopkins's Works, a shorter interval elapsed, than between the first and second editions of Edwards's valuable publications. It is a humiliating fact, that several of Edwards's writings were sent to Scotland for publication, because our own community would not patronize them!

* See his Memoir of Edwards, p. 61, Edinburgh edition.

In the early part of 1765, our author succeeded in carrying through the press the two Dissertations "Concerning the End for which God created the World," and the "Nature of True Virtue." Together with Hopkins's Preface, etc., they formed a duodecimo of only a hundred and ninety-eight pages; a small volume, written and edited by ministers in the forests of New England, but destined to enchain the attention of such philosophers as Dugald Stewart and Sir James Mackintosh. The proof-sheets of this volume were corrected by Messrs. Pemberton and Eliot of Boston. Edwards had written the Dissertations three years, at least, before his death. He had made a public announcement of his intention to publish, soon, the Treatise on Virtue. The main idea of that treatise he had developed in his college life; and had thus matured it during his forty years of study. It was, therefore, incumbent on Hopkins to prepare it as soon as possible for publication. Both he and Bellamy had reviewed, in company with Edwards, the Treatise on the End of God in creating the World; and there is no doubt, that the Treatise on Virtue had been the topic of earnest consultation among these three friends.* Hopkins, especially, was so intimate with Edwards, and was withal so inquisitive, and eager for information, that he must have ascertained the opinions of his teacher with regard to the practical bearings of the theory which, more than almost any other, contains the "seeds of things." He spent much of his life in defending and applying this theory of virtue. He founded many of his peculiarities upon it. No man had enjoyed so signal an advantage for learning the varied uses which Edwards would make of it. Dr. Samuel Miller says: "It is confidently believed, that if he [Edwards] had foreseen the use which has since been made of the doctrine of this Dissertation [concerning Virtue], he would either have shrunk from its publication, or have guarded its various aspects with additional care."† But Hopkins expresses the general opinion, when he affirms, in the Preface to these Dissertations, that Edwards "had a rare talent to penetrate deep in search of truth; to take an extensive survey of a subject, and look through it into remote consequences." Some of these consequences, there is reason to believe that Edwards himself would have more fully developed, had he lived to edit his own manuscript; for Hopkins says in his instructive Preface, that "if his [Edwards's] life had been spared, he would have reviewed them [*i. e.*, the two Dissertations,] and rendered them in some respects more complete. Some new sentiments, here and there, might probably have been added, and some passages brightened with farther illustrations. This may be conjectured from some brief hints or sentiments, minuted down on loose papers found in

* See pp. 49, 50, of this Memoir.
† Miller's Life of Edwards, p. 244.

the manuscripts." Hopkins knew what these additions were. If they had been at all inconsistent with the main doctrine of the Dissertations, his honesty would have prompted him to publish the fact. But he knew the contrary. He implies that they confirmed and illustrated that great doctrine. Here we see a new cause for thankfulness to an all-wise Providence, that the editorial supervision of Edwards's works was committed to his confidential friend, who had a better acquaintance than any other man, with the inner views and aims of the "prince of metaphysicians;" and who, in his reverent spirit, chose to call himself an Edwardean, while in his modesty he never desired to be called a Hopkinsian.

After preparing several other works of Edwards for the press, the disheartened editor became satisfied that they would not be sold, and he therefore turned his mind to other projects.

Much instruction may be derived from the changes which have taken place, in the relative estimate of these two divines. It has been a cherished intent of some, to magnify the differences between the teacher and the pupil. But formerly, the most jealous admirers of Edwards were wont to say, that his pupil was indebted to the six years' study of the President's manuscripts, for the most important peculiarities of the Hopkinsian creed, and therefore the creed ought to be called Edwardean. Dr. Channing is equally sure of the substantial agreement between the two friends, but takes an entirely different view of their relation to each other. "My impression is," he writes, "that President Edwards was a good deal indebted to Dr. Hopkins for his later views of religion; especially for those which we find in his Essays on Virtue and on God's End in Creation. Dr. Hopkins had not the profound genius of Edwards, but was he not a man of a freer and a bolder mind?" *

Doubtless the two friends, in their frequent conferences during an intimacy of seventeen years, in their many social rides and walks, and their closet interviews, which are so often mentioned in the Diary of Hopkins, gave to each other many hints, and opened before each other many views, which neither would have received alone. The pupil loved to confess, that his mind derived an unwonted stimulus and enlargement from the earnest study of his teacher's manuscripts; and the fact that those manuscripts were committed to his care, is one indication of the confidence which his teacher was known to have reposed in him. The pupil revered the instructor, and the instructor relied on the sound judgment of the pupil. With his characteristic honesty, Hopkins avows in regard to the most vital of all his speculations: "In this, however, I don't pretend to be an original. President Edwards, in his Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue, has given the same account of holiness, for substance,

* Letter of February 14, 1840.

(though under a different name,) which the reader will find in the following Inquiry.* All I can pretend to, as an improvement on him, is to have explained some things more fully than he did, and more particularly stated the opposition of holiness to self-love; and shown that this representation of holiness is agreeable to the Scripture, and to have answered some objections he has not mentioned, and made a number of inferences." Dr. Jonathan Edwards acknowledges, that Hopkins effected the great improvement in American theology, with regard to the use of means in an impenitent state; and yet both Dr. Edwards and Dr. Hopkins strenuously contended, that this improvement is a logical result of premises laid down by the President himself.† These doctors may have misunderstood the principles of the Edwardean theology; but if Hopkins did not, more fully than any other man, comprehend these principles, he must have been singularly obtuse; for he was more conversant than any other man with their author, when he first developed them; he aided in that development; his suggestive mind was often consulted and confided in by their author; he was intrusted with their defence; he examined them with rare intenseness after their author's demise; he devoted the studies of sixty years to them; he saw them in their practical workings; he learned them by living them. He did not mean to be a copyist of Edwards. He believed, however, and loved to believe, that, if Edwards had lived to a good old age, the two friends would have remained as firmly united with each other in faith, as they had ever been; that they would have continued to plead for essentially the same theories, to enjoy essentially the same aids, and to contend against essentially the same objections.

O. *Miscellaneous Essays.*

These were very numerous; too much so to be here specified. Many of them were published in the Theological Magazine; a periodical to which himself and Drs. Edwards and West contributed the ablest articles. Some were published in the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, in the newspapers of Hartford, Boston, Providence, and Newport. In his Diary, Hopkins often speaks of manuscripts which he was interested in writing. Some of them are now lost. Several which are preserved relate to baptism, miracles, prayer, the nature of "saving faith," the atonement, free justification, and kindred topics. The greater part of them, however, are expositions of biblical texts, and prove that the Bible, rather than books of metaphysics, was his chief study. The following is a single specimen of

* "Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness;" from the Preface to which volume, these words are quoted.

† See the Essay in Dr. Edwards's Works, vol. i. pp. 488, 489, on the Improvements made in Theology by President Edwards.

his exegetical* papers. The present biographer would, on some accounts, choose to make a few alterations in it, but as he has, in other instances, abstained from any changes in his author's compositions, (except in those rare cases which are denoted by brackets,)† so he prefers, on the whole, to let the ensuing illustration of Hopkins's philology speak for itself, *verbatim et literatim.*

"December, 18, 1786. I have been attending to Gal. iv. 12: 'Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are: ye have not injured me at all.' The original is, 'Be ye as I; for I as you.'

"I find it capable of *four* senses different from each other, which have been put upon it.

"By some it has been taken as expressing his desire to be *one* [with the Galatians] in affection and love, which is effected by [their] loving each other as themselves. He wishes them to love him as he loved them, and exercise the same kind of affection. The words of Jehoshaphat, they suppose, are an illustration of this sense, (1 Kings xxii. 4,) 'I am as thou art.' In the original it is 'I as thou.' This sense is embraced by Luther, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, and Gomarus.

"Others give the following sense: 'I have put off the Jew, and considered their rites of circumcision, &c., as not binding, and have, in these things, conformed to you Gentiles, and conversed freely with you. I am, in this respect, as you Gentiles; I beseech you to continue to be as I am, and not forsake me by turning Jews, in conforming to their rites, which I have renounced, but be as I am.'

"This is the construction of Estius, Monochius, Erasmus, and Tinius.

"Another sense is put upon this text by some Greek expositors, mentioned by Estius, by Paraeus, Vestius, Vatabulus, and Dr. Doddridge. They render the text thus, 'Be ye as I now am, for I was once as ye are,' *i. e.*, I was once in the same error, into which you are now running. I know the sin and danger of it; I wish you to renounce it, as I have done, and be as I now am.

"I find, by examining my manuscripts, that above forty years ago I understood this passage in a sense different from all the fore-mentioned, which seems to have been the sense to which I was led by attending to the original, without consulting any author, or knowing how it had been understood by expositors. I then paraphrased the verse as follows: 'Be ye as I am; for I am as ye *were*, and ought to be. Brethren, I am concerned for your good, and seeking your benefit, and not my own interest; for that is not concerned in the matter; for what you have done no way hurts or injures me in my personal interest.'

"In the original, the words ἀδελφοὶ δέομαι ὑμῶν come in after the first sentence, 'Be ye' as I; for I as you,' and seem to be a sentence by itself, agreeable to the punctuation in the Greek Testament; and not as the English translation puts it, by transposing the words. The sense I have given of the words in my paraphrase, perhaps, is *strained.* It is there supposed that a peculiar emphasis is to be put on the word δέομαι; that it expresses his tender concern for their interest, by which he was led, in the most tender manner, and with the greatest concern and compassion for them, as on his knees, to entreat and beseech them, not in the least influenced by any personal interest or resentment; which the last words express: 'Ye have not injured me at all,' *quod dicit,* You have hurt yourselves, and not me, by renouncing the truths which I taught you; and I am entreating you, and exercising disinterested compassion for you, and seeking not my own profit, but yours.

"'For I *am* as ye *were*.' This is as easy and natural a supply to the original,

* The word *exegesis* is occasionally used by Hopkins, in his comments on the Bible.

† See the Preface to this Memoir.

as 'I *was* as ye *are*,' or any other. They did, at first, embrace the truth preached by Paul, and did *run well* for a time. They turned away from the truth. Paul continued steadfast as he was, and wished them to return to him, and be as they once were."

Many of Dr. Hopkins's biblical Expositions are much more accurate than the preceding, and would have been here substituted for it, if the aim of this Memoir had been to proclaim his merits and conceal his faults. He would doubtless have applied to this Exposition the epithet, which he so often applied to his manuscripts, "*non dignum typis.*" But the most incorrect of his philological essays prove, that he was accustomed to study the original languages of the Bible, and the ablest commentaries upon it, and then to form his own independent judgment.

P. *European Correspondence.*

This was elaborate and voluminous. Our author's letters are scattered among the documents of Erskine, Sharp, Macaulay, Fuller, Ryland, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and various other associations and individuals. No one can say, that Dr. Hopkins did not accomplish as much for the world, by his epistles to the English and Scotch divines, as by his published volumes. He influenced men who had great power over their race. He touched the hinges of a large community.

It is well known that "*American Theology*," as it was termed, had a marked influence in breaking down the Antinomianism of the English dissenters. The three American writers who were most carefully studied by the British assailants of that Antinomianism, were Edwards, Hopkins, and Bellamy; and this triumvirate exerted, through Andrew Fuller and his coadjutors, nearly as much power over Old, as over New England. No small part of this influence came through the correspondence of Hopkins. At one date, we find him urging his friends to print an English edition of Bellamy's works. At another date, we find him remonstrating, in a letter of eight closely written pages, against James Hervey's doctrine of justifying faith. In all his epistles he has a serious object.

The most important of his letters were in reference to the writings of the celebrated Abraham Booth. In 1796, Mr. Booth published his "Glad Tidings to perishing Sinners;" a work written in designed opposition to the school of Andrew Fuller. Mr. Booth "suspected, that Mr. Fuller and his friends were too much attached to the sentiments of President Edwards and other American divines of later date; and that by importing their metaphysical refinements, there would be some danger of relaxing that muscular system of theology [?] to which he himself was so ardently attached." "In the progress of his inquiry, Mr. Booth did not fail to animadvert pretty

severely on some of the American writers; whom he mentioned, rather in terms of contempt; and the sentiments of Dr. Hopkins in particular, on the subject of regeneration and justification, he considered as 'pernicious' and tending to 'corrupt the Gospel.' His pamphlet soon crossed the Atlantic, where it was attentively examined by Dr. Hopkins, who transmitted to a friend on this side the water a complete refutation of several of Mr. Booth's positions, accompanied with some pointed strictures on the temper of his performance, and the inconclusive nature of his reasonings. The respect entertained for Mr. Booth, did not permit the printing of this valuable manuscript, and it obtained only a private circulation; for, whatever difference of opinion might exist on some speculative points, all parties were agreed in paying homage to his [Mr. B.'s] character. Mr. Fuller apologized to Dr. Hopkins for Mr. Booth's manner of writing, and his seeming contempt for contemporary authors, in a letter dated March 17, 1798; while he, at the same time, expressed his own opinion of the manuscript in question. 'I sincerely thank you,' says he, [Mr. Fuller to Dr. Hopkins,] 'for your remarks on Mr. Booth's performance; which every person of judgment who has seen them, within my knowledge, considers as a decisive refutation.'" * It was common for Hopkins to receive like testimonies of gratitude from his English friends, for his aid in their controversies.

Mr. Fuller encountered a severe opposition in consequence of his esteem for the "American theology." He was sometimes derisively called the "American doctor." † Very frequently was he reproached as an Arminian. "In fact," says his biographer, "so blind was the enmity directed against him, that one of the churches in his own neighborhood refused, for seven years, to hold communion with him, or to allow any of their members to have fellowship with his church." ‡ It is natural, therefore, that both Fuller and his biographer should feel desirous of dissociating his name with those peculiarities of American divines, which he did not approve. In a letter to Hopkins dated March 17, 1798, he specifies the following objections to Hopkins's "manner of writing," and also to the metaphysical tendencies of some more youthful writers in our land:

I. "I am not sure that your idea of God being 'the author of sin,' is essentially different from the notion of those Calvinists who consider sin as the object of divine decree; but I am satisfied of this, that to say 'God is the author of sin,' does so naturally convey to almost every mind the ideas that God is the friend and approver of sin; that we are mere passive instruments;

* See Morris's Life of Fuller, chapter xi.

† This may have been owing, in part, to the circumstance that he received a doctorate from the College of New Jersey, in 1796. This doctorate, however, was declined by Mr. Fuller, in a letter to Dr. Hopkins in 1798; as the same honor from Yale College was declined by him in 1805, in a letter to Dr. Dwight.

‡ Morris's Memoir of Fuller, chapter ix. See also Ryland's Life of Fuller, chapter viii. and Appendix.

and that he himself, being the grand agent, ought only to be accountable for it, — that I should think, by using it, I conveyed ideas directly contrary to James i. 13; and I must say, that the whole of that passage, taken together, appears to me to represent an important truth, which your manner of writing seems to overlook, and which is thus expressed by M'Laurin in his sermon on the passage: 'Whatever dishonorable thoughts sinful men may have of God to the contrary, yet it is a truth clearly evident, that God is infinitely free from the blame of their sins.' Your observations on the passage in the 4th chapter of your System, go only to prove that your views do not represent God as tempting men to sin, or as being tempted himself to sin; but you do not observe the *opposition* in the context, that evil is *not* to be ascribed to God, (ver. 13–15;) that every good and perfect gift *is* to be ascribed to God, (ver. 16–18.)"

II. "I have enjoyed great pleasure in reading many of your metaphysical pieces, and hope those who can throw light on evangelical subjects in that way, will continue to write. But I have observed that wherever an extraordinary man has been raised up, like President Edwards, who has excelled in some particular doctrines or manner of reasoning, it is usual for his followers and admirers too much to confine their attention to his doctrines or manner of reasoning, as though all excellence was there concentrated. I allow that your present writers do not implicitly follow Edwards, as to his sentiments, but that you preserve a spirit of free inquiry; yet I must say, it appears to me that several of your younger men possess a rage of imitating his metaphysical manner, till some of them become metaphysic mad. I am not without some of Mr. Scott's apprehensions, lest by such a spirit the simplicity of the gospel should be lost, and truth amongst you stand more in the wisdom of men than in the power of God."

Dr. Hopkins replied to this letter in the same fraternal spirit which prompted it. His answer is very instructive, as in it he disclaims all belief in the theory which Fuller condemns, respecting the divine agency in producing sin, and also discountenances all such use of metaphysics as appeared unsafe to his transatlantic friend. Fuller was objecting, not to strict Hopkinsianism, but to an erroneous view of it; not to the substance, but to Hopkins's expression of the doctrine, that God decrees the existence of sin and insures the fulfilment of his decrees. This is obvious from the ensuing reply, which contains nothing but a straightforward Calvinism dressed in the Hopkinsian style.

"Newport, October 12, 1798. Dear Sir: I feel myself much obliged to you for your letter to me of March 17, which did not come to hand till the third instant.

"I am far from wishing to say or do any thing to alter your opinion of the honesty and holiness of Mr. Booth; but, from what I have seen of his writings, — which are only his Reign of Grace and Glad Tidings, — I cannot consider him as a divine of a clear or orthodox head; and I think I have a divine warrant to say, that the religion which has its foundation on the principles he has asserted, both in his Glad Tidings and Reign of Grace, (see pp. 248, 270, of the later edition of 1795,) is altogether a selfish religion, and therefore abominable to God. (See Matt. iv. 46.)

"I could not see how his treatment of my sermons on Law and Regeneration could be reconciled with Christian candor or honesty. But as I am not so proper a judge of that matter as you are, I am willing the apology you make for him should be admitted.

"I am, I confess, a great enemy to that religion which originates in selfish-

ness, and consists wholly in it, as I am certain it is directly contrary to the religion which Jesus Christ inculcated; and fear that millions in the Christian world have perished, and are perishing with it. I have, for a number of years past, made exertions to detect and oppose it. And I am not surprised, that so many condemn me as carrying matters too far on this head. They appear to me to be unwilling this abominable idol should be wholly destroyed.

"I allow your observation to be in some measure just, that some American writers are 'metaphysic mad.' I know not, however, what writings you refer to, unless it be some pieces which have been published in the Theological Magazine. A number of them, especially those written by SPECULATOR, Vol. I. No. V., have offended many of the subscribers for the Magazine, and a number have withdrawn their subscription on that account. But very few Americans, and none, perhaps, but the author or authors, approve of writings of that complexion.

"You might well say, 'I am not sure that your notion of God being *the author of sin*, is essentially different from the idea of sin being *the object of a divine decree*.' You may be sure it is not, so far as you can rely on my declaration, and you can see any force in the arguments I have offered to prove there is no difference, and which I thought amounted to a demonstration. (See System, Chap. IV.)*

"To say that God is the author of sin, without any explanation and showing in what sense he may be said to be so, and in what sense he is not, would doubtless be wrong, and convey to those who do not understand the subject, wrong ideas, injurious to the divine character. I think I am not chargeable with this. I have endeavored to prove that God being, in the sense explained, the origin or cause of sin, does not imply any thing contrary to his infinite holiness, or that he is pleased with sin, considered in itself. (System, Chap. IV.)

"It is impossible to prevent wrong ideas on this subject, in those who are strongly prejudiced against the truth, and will not *think* carefully and impartially, or to stop their mouths. The doctrine that God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, (which I have declared, and think I have proved implies all which I have advanced on the subject,) has been always objected to, as making God the author of sin, and implying 'that he is the friend and approver of sin.' Thousands and millions in the Christian world have *felt* and said this was true. And all that Calvinists have said to remove the objection from the minds of most, has not done it. And the objection cannot be well answered, without at the same time answering all the objections that are made to the divine agency in the existence of sin. The objection to the divine agency in originating sin, 'that we are passive instruments, and that he himself being the grand agent, ought only to be accountable for it,' is equally against God working in men to will and to do that which is good, as his agency in the existence of moral evil. They, therefore, who believe the former, cannot consistently make this objection to the latter. (See System, fourth chapter.) And, indeed, the objection has no foundation in reason, as, I think, has been fully shown in my System.

"On the whole, if God's decreeing or willing the existence of sin, and, consequently, doing all that without which it could not exist, and which ensures its existence, (the latter being necessarily implied in the former,) does represent him as being pleased with sin itself; then his decreeing and producing natural evil, does equally represent him as delighting in the misery of his creatures for its own sake, which is as inconsistent with his goodness

* Here is a definite proof, that Hopkins meant no more, by teaching that God is the author of sin, than is meant by teaching that God foreordains sin, and secures the fulfilment of his decree. He who does not believe this, may be a good man, but is no Calvinist.—The phraseology of Hopkins often does injustice to his real meaning.

as the former is with his holiness. And there is no way to obviate the objection against the latter, which will not equally remove that against the former. (See System, Chap. IV.)

"But what the apostle James says (chap. i. verse 13–18) is thought to be inconsistent with divine agency in the existence of sin, and 'teaches that evil *is not* to be attributed to God; but that every good and perfect gift, especially that of regeneration, is.'

"You observe, that 'my observations on the passage go only to prove that my views do not represent God as tempting men to sin.' If I have *proved* this, then the apostle's words are not contrary to my views, or inconsistent with the divine agency in the existence of sin. Consequently, his saying that every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights, &c., is not opposed to this; but to his tempting men to sin, if opposed to any thing, (which is quite a different thing.) The apostle does not say, that God has no agency in any thing but that which is in itself good, and is not the origin and cause of that which is not in itself a good and perfect gift; but only that every such gift is from him, without affirming or implying that he has no agency in any existence or event which is not in itself a good and perfect gift, and which cannot properly be called *a gift*. The agency of God in producing natural evil is never represented in Scripture, I think, to be a gift, much less a good and perfect gift; because what is produced is in itself evil; and is consistent with every good gift coming from God; and asserting the latter does not deny the former, nor is in any degree inconsistent with it. This may be applied to moral evil with equal truth and propriety.

"If there were no other passage in the Bible but this, in which any thing is said relating to this subject, it might be liable to a misconstruction, and considered as asserting that moral evil did in no sense originate from divine agency. But since so much is said in the Scriptures on this point, and it is so often and in so many ways expressly asserted, that God hardens the hearts of men, and makes them obstinate, turns their hearts to hate what they ought to love, and puts it into their hearts to do that which is sinful, &c., &c., (see System, Vol. I. fourth chapter,) it is not reasonable to put a sense upon the words of James inconsistent with those numerous express declarations, and to which they cannot be reconciled without putting an unnatural, forced meaning upon them; especially since, taken in their natural meaning, they convey no idea inconsistent with the divine holiness, and with the freedom of man, and his being wholly blamable for every deviation in his heart from the divine law; and since they appear perfectly consistent with the words of James, upon a careful examination of them.

"I have been greatly pleased with the distinguished piety and zeal of Messrs. Carey and Thomas, and am glad to hear that they are of your sentiments, which I before hoped, and even supposed. We wish them success, and doubtless thousands are praying for them in America.

"I rejoice that any circumstances in England give you opportunity to spread your sentiments. I have, for some years, felt my heart united to Dr. Ryland, yourself, and Messrs. Sutcliff and Pearce, in esteem and affection. May prosperity attend your attempts to support and propagate the truth; to promote the cause of Christ and the salvation of sinners. I am your obliged, affectionate friend, S. HOPKINS.

"Reverend Andrew Fuller."

There was one other point, on which Mr. Fuller held a controversial correspondence with Hopkins. It must have been grateful to our American divine, to perceive that the objections of his English friend related, not to the doctrines of ability, active sin, personally merited imputation, but to the less fundamental peculiarities

of the Hopkinsian faith. Referring to an epistle from the "mighty reasoner," Mr. Fuller writes:

"Dr. Hopkins thinks that I have given up the doctrine of disinterested love, because I have observed concerning David, — when he said, 'Here I am, let him do with me as seemeth good in his sight,' — that he *could* not mean by this, If God have no love to my soul, I submit to be forever separated from him; for such submission is not required of any who lives under a dispensation of mercy. — I have written an answer to Dr. Hopkins, in which I have defended that position. He is a mighty reasoner; but on this subject I feel my ground. Should he furnish a reply, the correspondence may hereafter be published."

The friendly correspondence of Hopkins with Dr. John Ryland, was as extensive as that with Andrew Fuller. It sometimes, though rarely, took the form of dispute; but in all his letters, Dr. Ryland never seems to controvert any of the more essential doctrines of Hopkins, such as those relating to the nature of sin, natural power, etc., but he criticizes the ambiguous propositions, that God is the author of moral evil, and that men should be willing to be lost. One of the last letters which Hopkins ever wrote, was a defence of his misunderstood opinions on these topics, against the criticisms of his very amiable friend.* The influence which Hopkins exerted upon "that disciple whom Jesus loved," is indicated in the following words of Robert Hall:

"The system of divinity to which he [Dr. Ryland] adhered, was moderate Calvinism, as modelled and explained by that prodigy of metaphysical acumen, the celebrated Jonathan Edwards. For the writings of this great man, and those of his followers,† he formed a warm predilection very early, which continued ever after to exert a powerful influence on his public ministry, as well as his theological inquiries and pursuits. It inspired him with the most elevated conceptions of the moral character of the Deity, to the display of which it taught him to refer the whole economy of providence and of grace, while he inculcated the indispensable duty of loving God, not merely for the benefits he bestows, but for what he is in himself, as essential to true religion. Hence, he held in abhorrence those pretended religious affections which have their termination in *self*. Whether he attached an undue importance to these speculations, and rendered them occasionally too prominent in his public ministrations, it is not for me to determine; it is certain that they effectually secured him from the slightest tendency to Antinomianism, and contributed not a little to give purity and elevation to his religious views. The two extremes, against which, you are well aware, he was most solicitous to guard the religious public were, Pelagian pride and Antinomian licentiousness; the first of which he detested as an insult on the grace of the gospel; the last, on the majesty and authority of the law." ‡

* See the Letter at the end of vol. ii. of Hopkins's Works, new edition.

† To some it may appear singular, that Mr. Hall should denominate the theology of these men, "moderate Calvinism." It was "moderate Calvinism," in some of its relations, and "high Calvinism," in other relations.

‡ See "Funeral Sermon for Dr. Ryland," in Hall's Works, vol. i. pp. 220, 221. It could not have been expected that Mr. Hall, so sensitive to the graces of English style, should be an admirer of "the American divines of the Hopkinsian stamp." In 1800–1801, he uttered a sharp criticism upon them, "President Edwards always excepted," who was considered by Mr. Hall as bearing "the Hopkinsian stamp." Hall was

That Hopkins was one of the principal Edwardeans who had this power over the English divine, is evident from several facts. Dr. Ryland was wont to express a higher reverence for our author, than for any other of President Edwards's disciples. He maintained a more instructive correspondence with Hopkins than with any American divine. He was introduced by Hopkins to Dr. West and others, who continued, through their correspondence, to preserve, in their estimable friend, the same regard which had been cherished in him by the Newport divine, for our Edwardean theology.

Q. *Home Correspondence on Theology.*

More than two hundred of Hopkins's letters to Dr. Buell, Dr. Davies, and New England ministers and laymen, are still preserved. A large number of these are theological. Some of them show his activity in exciting his brethren to those labors, which have resulted in so much of spiritual benefit to our churches. As Robert Hall loved to set his "brother Fuller's troops in motion," so Hopkins gave impulse to minds which worked nobly for their race. The world are indebted to him for various animating letters, like the following to Bellamy:

"February 20, 1755. I find three neighboring ministers have a great esteem of *Mr. Ashley's* sermons on *Churches consisting of Saints;* and I believe it is generally thought, by those that oppose Mr. Edwards, to be the best thing that has been published, and even unanswerable. Mr. Williams's piece is wholly done with, and this is trumpeted up. Now, if Mr. Ashley's scheme is built upon a *nonentity*, (*alias*, upon a few of his peremptory assertions only,) and contains a number of palpable contradictions, would it not answer a good end to have this well made out before the world? I think it may easily be done, if undertaken by one equal to the task; and since Mr. Edwards will not deign so much as to read Ashley's performance, if I had the ordering of the matter, I would allot this business to *you*. — A sermon upon the same text, and in much the same method with Mr. Ashley's, with a few particular observations upon Mr. Ashley's, in an Appendix, might perhaps answer the end well. If this is not the best method, then set Paulinus and Agrippa to dialoguing."

One more extract from his letters, will illustrate the abstruse and philosophical style in which some of them are written. The following is a part of a truly Edwardean communication to President Davies, of Princeton:

"April 22, 1760. Reverend and honored Sir: As I was with the Rev. Mr. Bellamy about the time yours of the third of February came to hand, he gave me one of the questions you proposed to be considered and answered, and insisted on my writing my thoughts upon it, and sending them to you. This

particularly severe against the excellent Dr. Spring, of Newburyport. But Mr. Morris, in recording this criticism, says: "It is not believed he [Mr. Hall] would have formed exactly the same opinion at a later period of life." See Morris's Recollections of Robert Hall, pp. 95, 96.

must be my apology for what I have now undertaken; not, indeed, to give you any light and instruction, but for my own profit and the advantage of truth. For I consider myself as one of your pupils, to whom you give out questions, that by answering them they may improve their own minds, and give you an opportunity and advantage to correct their mistakes, and communicate the instruction you are able to give.

"You query, 'Is happiness so essential to the goodness of the universe, that it is by so much the more perfect or excellent, by how much the more happiness there is in it?'

"I answer in the affirmative. Doubtless happiness is something *in itself* valuable, which is to be valued, desired, and sought, for its own sake. And if so, then the more there is of it the better; and that system which has the most happiness in it, is the best and most perfect; and that plan alone is absolutely perfect, in which there is provision for the highest possible degree of happiness. This appears to me undeniably true, unless there is something which is in itself of greater worth and importance, and so more to be valued than happiness, with which the greatest possible degree of happiness is inconsistent; so that the more happiness there is in the universe, the less there will be of that. On such a supposition, [the system is not the most perfect which admits the greatest degree of happiness, but the system is the most perfect] * which admits more of that which is more valuable and excellent than happiness, and which the greatest degree of happiness necessarily excludes.

"But is there any such thing possible in nature? Perhaps it will be said, Yes, — the glory of God is of more worth than the happiness of the creature, and therefore happiness must give way to this, and that system is most perfect and excellent in which God's glory is most displayed, though it be at the expense of the creature's happiness; for *misery may be equally*, yea, more *illustrative of the divine glory* than happiness.

"I answer, Though it may be true that, in order to the greatest display of God's glory, there must be misery, yet it does not follow, that the brightest display of the divine glory is inconsistent with the greatest possible degree of happiness. It may be necessary, in order to the greatest possible degree of happiness, that there should be a great degree of misery; yea, it may be necessary in order to the greatest possible degree of happiness, that there should be the greatest possible display of the divine glory. If the happiness of the creature consists, summarily, in the knowledge and enjoyment of God, then the happiness of the creature will keep pace with the manifestations God makes of himself; so that God's glorifying himself in the highest possible degree, is not only not inconsistent with, but necessary to, the greatest possible happiness, and they are both inseparably cemented together.

"What is meant by the glory of God, or God's glorifying himself, but his communicating himself *ad extra* to the creature, — to the understanding and will of intelligences in knowledge, holiness, and happiness? If so, then God's highest declarative glory and the greatest degree of holiness and happiness are inseparably united. And [though] we are wont to speak of the glory of God and the happiness of the creature as distinct things, and as different and separate ends which God has in view in his works, yet, perhaps, in reality they are but one and the same, and therefore viewed as such by the divine, all-comprehending Mind. We shall see this point particularly considered, when the late President Edwards's Dissertation on the End of God in Creating the World is published.

"The way is now prepared for an answer to the last clause of your question, — 'May not the permission of sin be vindicated, without supposing it is subservient to the greater happiness?'

"I answer in the negative. For it cannot be vindicated, without supposing

* One line of the manuscript is illegible.

it is for the greater glory of God; and this necessarily supposes that 'tis for the greater happiness.

"Perhaps some will object to all this, that 'tis certain that there is not so much happiness in the universe as there might have been; and, therefore, if the more happiness there is, the more perfect and excellent it is, the universe is not so perfect and excellent as it might have been. God might have made a thousand intelligences to behold his glory and be happy in communications from him, where there is one now; and then there would have been a thousand times as much happiness, as now there is or ever will be. Now, if the more happiness there is, the more perfect and excellent the universe is, why has not God created more to be happy? Why does he confine himself to so small a number?

"Answer I. The same objection may be made to the hypothesis, that the more God is glorified, the more perfect and excellent the universe is, and that this is sought as distinct from and inconsistent with the greatest happiness. It may be said, that God has not glorified himself so much as he might; for he might have made a thousand worlds where he has made one, and so have made much greater displays of his own glory.

"Answer II. This objection must be groundless and absurd, it being no more of an objection against God's creating no more intelligences to be happy than he has, than it would be against God's creating no more, if he had created millions of millions where he has one. The question might still be asked, with as much propriety as now it is, Why did he not create more? This is a demand which cannot be satisfied; for, I may say, God could not create so many, but that more might have been created. The question would still remain, Why did he not create more? Now, that objection which is made against a particular case, as being so rather than otherwise, is certainly frivolous, which equally lies against all other supposable cases. 'Tis a senseless question, which demands why God did not create a thousand intelligences where he has one, when, if he had, there would be just as much reason to object against his creating no more, and to ask why he did not create a million, — and so on, *in infinitum*.

"In order to the greatest display of God's glory, and the highest possible degree of happiness, there must (notwithstanding any thing we know) be a certain precise number of happy creatures, with such capacities and in such circumstances. And as infinite wisdom was perfectly able to determine this, doubtless that very number, those very capacities and circumstances, have been pitched upon by God, which will in the best and highest degree answer this end and produce the greatest possible happiness; or, in other words, by which God may communicate himself in the best and fullest manner, and to the highest possible degree.

"Mr. T. Edwards informs me, that you desire a short sketch of President Edwards's private life. This is a very difficult task, and I think it quite impossible for me to do justice to the memory of that great and eminently pious man, in such an attempt; yet perhaps silence, in such a case, would be yet greater injustice. — [Mr. Hopkins here gives a lengthened account of Edwards's religious and social habits.]

"The hope and joy of many, which were greatly raised upon Mr. Edwards's being invested with the presidency of Nassau Hall, were soon damped by his sudden departure. But God, in his great goodness, has caused a new day to dawn. I shall doubtless speak the sentiments of all the greatest and best friends to Mr. Edwards and the interests of the college, when I say that the vacancy is supplied more to their satisfaction than [it] could have been in any other person. And I cannot but congratulate you, worthy sir, on your being placed in this station so much to the general acceptance of the public, and of the college in particular; in which you have opportunity to improve your talents to such noble purposes. May it be seen that you have caught the falling mantle, and [may it] be said, 'The spirit (yea, a double portion of the spirit)

of Elijah doth rest on Elisha!' May you be enabled to answer the expectations of all the friends of Zion, and become a most extensive blessing to the church of Christ."

R. *Collected Works.*

Nearly all the published works of Dr. Hopkins, comprising more than two thousand octavo pages, were reprinted in 1852, by the Doctrinal Tract and Book Society. The writings not reprinted by the Society, are his four Biographies, his "Animadversions on Mr. Hart's Late Dialogue," and the larger part of his essays for the periodicals. It is a fitting tribute to the memory of this philanthropist, that a Society founded by his reverential disciples, and aided by one of his estimable grandsons, should rise up to fulfil a prophecy which he once intimated in his modest way: "I still believe, [that my system] is, *in the main*, right. Dr. Cotton Mather, who published sixty books or more, which had not a very current sale, said to his printer, 'After I am dead, they will read my books.'"

Sect. XLV. HOPKINS'S CONFIDENCE IN HIS THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM.

The last quotation suggests the fact, that with all the modesty of our author, he had a manly faith in his own creed; and with all his confidence in that creed as a whole, he believed and hoped that his successors would make improvements upon it. "There is no reason to doubt," he says in his seventy-second year, "that light will so increase in the church, and men will be raised up, who will make such advances in opening the Scripture and in the knowledge of divine truth, that what is now done and written will be so far superseded as to appear imperfect and inconsiderable, compared with that superior light, with which the church will then be blessed."* It is honorable for the leader of a school to avow, after a life of suffering for his faith, that his own scheme is not perfect, and that in the millennium a church will arise, "which will have all that is good, right, and excellent in the different denominations and churches that exist now or have been, and will renounce all the superstitions and corruptions, in principle or practice, which have taken place."† In his seventy-seventh year, this veteran in theology said to his friend Dr. Ryland:

"As to my writings, I have not the least doubt of the truth and importance of most of the sentiments I have published, but do not pretend to be certain that every thing I have proposed is true, or that I have explained and vindicated every doctrine in the best manner. I do not wish any one to receive what I have written implicitly; but think I have a right to be heard without prejudice and with candor. I thank you for the pains you have taken to effect

* Preface to his System.
† Hopkins's Works, vol. ii. p. 75.

this.* It is with pleasure I expect to have all the mistakes and errors in my publications detected and exploded; and all the truth contained in them set in a much clearer and more advantageous light; and great advances made, far beyond what I have attained, or even all the divines who have written."

In his extreme old age, he was "asked by a clergyman, whether, if he should write his System over again, he would not make some alterations in it. He replied, 'I do not arrogate to myself infallibility, and perhaps some things in it might be altered to advantage.' 'But would you,' continued the clergyman, 'make any alteration in the sentiments?' Raising his withered arm, and kindling with the glow of youthful energy, he brought it down with a solemn and emphatic — '*No: I am willing to rest my soul on them forever.*'" †

About two years before his death, he said to his people, in a sermon:

"I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God, so far as I have understood what it was. . . . . Some of the doctrines which I have preached and published have been opposed from the press and the pulpit, and more privately, and have not been understood, and [have been] represented as horrible and mischievous, tending to destroy all true religion, &c. But all this has no impression on me, to excite the least doubt of the truth of the doctrines so opposed, or to incline me to cease to assert and vindicate them. I have such clear and full conviction, and unshaken confidence, that the doctrines which I have for a long course of years preached and maintained, are the truths contained in the Bible, that I stand as a brazen wall, unhurt, and not moved by all the shafts of opposition and reproach which have been levelled at me, and the system of truth and religion which I have espoused; being assured that it will stand forever; and certain beyond a doubt, from Scripture, reason, and experience, that a cordial belief and love of these truths, with religious exercises and conduct agreeable to them, is connected with salvation, and is a sufficient ground of support and comfort under the greatest trials, and in the nearest view of death and eternity. On this foundation I cheerfully rest my eternal interest, which indeed is infinite, and invite all to do the same." ‡

The discourse from which the preceding paragraph is taken, was published a few weeks before its author's death. It is eminently characteristic of him. A man so modest and lowly must have had a firm confidence in the truth and the worth of his speculations, or he would not have dared to preach, still less to publish, a sermon entitled "The Author's Farewell to the World." An equally interesting illustration of the same faith overpowering his personal diffidence, is seen in the Dedication of his Treatise on the Millennium. It is dedicated "To the People who shall live in the Days of the Millennium;" and it commences thus:

"*Hail, ye happy People, highly favored of the Lord.* To you the following treatise on the Millennium is dedicated, as you will live in that happy era,

* Dr. Ryland had exerted himself much to circulate Hopkins's System and his other works, in England.

† Ferguson's Memoir, p. 153. See also Patten's Reminiscences, Introduction, pp. xi. xii.

‡ See Hopkins's Works, vol. iii. pp. 768, 769.

and enjoy the good of it in a much higher degree than it can now be enjoyed in the prospect of it; and that you may know, if this book shall be conveyed down to your time, what is now thought of you, and of the happy day in which you will come on the stage of life. You will be able to see the mistakes which are now made on this head; and how far what is advanced here is agreeable to that which is noted in the Scripture of truth, and a true and proper description of the events which are to take place, and to rectify every mistake. All is therefore humbly submitted to your better judgment."

This "Dedication to the Millenarians" was condemned by Dr. Jonathan Edwards, as the reader has perceived on p. 207 above. It is, however, as an exhibition of a modest man's assurance, so peculiar that it would have been a pity to expunge it.

Sect. XLVI. TESTIMONIES IN FAVOR OF HOPKINS AND OF HIS THEOLOGY.

Throughout this Memoir many expressions have been made, indicating the deference with which Mr. Hopkins was treated by some of his contemporaries. Without recurring to those expressions, we will simply refer to a few other testimonies which were given in favor of this much injured man.

At a time when a doctorate of divinity meant something, Mr. Hopkins received that honor from Brown University. It was given him in 1790, at the same time that the degree of "doctor of laws" was conferred by the same university upon George Washington. It was conferred during the presidency of Dr. Manning, who was not on terms of personal friendship with the leading Congregationalists of Newport. But the excellence of Mr. Hopkins's character secured the esteem of all candid men.

Dr. Patten narrates the following incident:

"Some time after Dr. Hopkins had sent his manuscript 'System of Divinity,' to be printed, he was obliged to go to Boston to inspect the press. While there, Dr. Clarke, who had been the colleague and was then the successor of Dr. Chauncy, invited him to preach the Thursday lecture for him. Dr. H. declined. 'Why, are you not in health?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Why then,' replied Dr. Clarke, with urgency, 'do you decline?' 'Since you are so candid as to wish me to preach, [said Dr. Hopkins,] I will tell you the reason. My manner is not polished, and my doctrines do not agree with yours, and I cannot accommodate myself to the occasion as your substitute; and if I preach at all, it must be as I am accustomed to preach in my own pulpit, and this, if it should not be a mortification to you, might bring on you some reproach.' 'I do not wish,' replied Dr. Clarke, 'that you should attempt to accommodate yourself to any one; you cannot gratify me more than to preach your own doctrines, in your own way. This is precisely what I wish.' 'Then,' said Dr. H., 'I will preach.' It providentially happened, that a Scotch gentleman of Roxbury, [nearly related to] Governor Sumner's wife, was at the lecture. On leaving the house, he expressed strong approbation of the preacher; said he was such a looking man and such a preacher as he had been accustomed to hear in Scotland; and on learning his name, and that he had a small and pre-

carious salary, made him a present, to the amount, it is believed, of five or six hundred dollars." *

The reputation which Dr. Hopkins's works acquired in Great Britain, in the day when men asked, "Who reads an American book?"—was a sign of their intrinsic value. Such men as Pearce, Thomson, Carey, Sutcliff, expressed in various ways their regard for the "pious metaphysician." The Earl of Buchan sent an elegant portrait of himself, as "a token of his warm attachment," to Dr. Hopkins. There were more subscribers for his System in Great Britain, than among all the "white inhabitants" of Rhode Island.

A signal honor which Dr. Hopkins has received, is the esteem of all his theological opposers who were personally acquainted with him. No divine in this country, has felt a greater repugnance than Dr. Channing, to our author's creed; and the encomiums of Channing were elicited simply by the fact, that he *knew* the character of the man who was regarded as so much better than his creed. By whom was the New Divinity more steadfastly opposed, during the last century, than by President Stiles? But in the very height of his opposition to it, he discloses his own and the general opinion, that Hopkins was both a great and a good man. His statements are instructive, even when they are incorrect. They illustrate the character of the resistance, which was made to what he calls "the *Eurekas* of New Divinity." In the satirical style of the following extract from his Literary Diary, he reveals much that is honorable to his chief opponent:

"August 10, 1787. Reverend Messrs. Hopkins, West, Amzi Lewis, Fowler, and some few other New Divinity gentlemen, are beginning to hold, that the faith of parents in the act of baptismal dedication insures grace and real holiness to baptized children. Reverend Messrs. Sanford, (brother-in-law of Mr. Hopkins,) Emmons, Smalley, Foster, and some others, are beginning to concur with Mr. Bacon in denying a real vicarious suffering in Christ's atonement. They hold atonement, but deny it in the orthodox and Calvinistic sense. Messrs. Hopkins, West, &c., differ from them, and hold the atonement in the just, scriptural sense. The New Divinity gentlemen are getting into confusion, and running into different sentiments. They are generally giving up the doctrine of *imputation*, both in *original sin*, and in *justification*. They are dropping and leaving off the diction of 'love to being in general,' as describing the nature of holiness; and some of them, receding from disinterested benevolence, are going into the idea, that all holy motive operates as terminating in personal happiness, while others are still willing to be damned for the glory of God and the good of the universe.

"They (New Divinity gentlemen) perceive some of the pillars are removed, and others shaken and falling; President Edwards has been dead twenty-nine years, or a generation; Dr. Bellamy is broken down, both body and mind, with a paralytic shock, and can dictate and domineer no more; Mr. Hopkins still continues, but past his force, having been somewhat affected by a fit and nervous debilitation; Mr. West is declining in health, and, besides, was never felt so strong rods as the others. It has been the *ton*, to direct students in

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 130–132.

divinity, these thirty years past, to read the Bible, President Edwards, Dr. Bellamy, and Mr. Hopkins's writings; — and this was a pretty good sufficiency of reading. But now the younger class, but yet in full vigor, suppose they see further than these oracles, and are disposed to become oracles themselves, and wish to write theology and have their books come into vogue. The very New Divinity gentlemen say, they perceive a disposition among several of their brethren to struggle for preëminence; — particularly Dr. Edwards, Mr. Trumbull, Mr. Smalley, Mr. Judson, Mr. Spring, Mr. Robinson,* Mr. Strong of Hartford, Mr. Dwight, Mr. Emmons, and others. They all want to be Luthers. But they will none of them be equal to those strong reasoners, President Edwards and Mr. Hopkins.

"President Edwards's valuable writings in another generation will pass into as transient notice, perhaps, as scarce above oblivion, as Willard, or Twiss, or Norton; and when posterity occasionally comes across them in the rubbish of libraries, the rare characters who may read and be pleased with them, will be looked upon as singular and whimsical, as in these days are admirers of Suarez, Aquinas, or Dion. Areopagita." †

The progress of his opinions was still more honorable to Hopkins, than were the respectful allusions of his antagonists. Can any one doubt, that he has been a means of raising the standard of theology among us, far above that which would have been attained under the influence of his opponents? Hundreds of New England clergymen have made, substantially, the same remark which has been repeated by Professor Stuart: "After reading Dr. Hopkins's System of Divinity, a number of President Edwards's Treatises, several of Andrew Fuller's, a part of Ridgley's Body of Divinity, and some of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and a part of Prideaux's Connection, I was examined and licensed to preach, by the neighboring Association of Ministers." ‡ This relation of Hopkins to the clergy of New England, gave him an influence over them which is now too much forgotten.

The following letter to one of his best friends illustrates the honest, religious spirit of our author, his freedom from personal aims in

* A strong-minded man, father of Professor Robinson, the author of "Researches," etc.

† Stiles's Literary Diary. It is well known that the clergymen here mentioned by Dr. Stiles, differed in some respects from the Newport divine, for they were independent thinkers; yet they were all termed Hopkinsians, in that day, and enjoyed the confidence of Hopkins himself. — It ought to be understood, that several of the clergymen whom Dr. Stiles thus compared with Hopkins, were at that time very young men.

‡ The course here specified was marked out by President Dwight. As Dr. Stiles, in the preceding extract, and as Dr. Hopkins, in his letters, have both mentioned the name of Dwight in connection with the New Divinity, it may be proper to say, that this great man was in early life so much in favor of the Hopkinsian peculiarities, that he wrote an essay to prove man's obligation to be willing to be lost, if the glory of God should require the sacrifice. Subsequently, however, he burned the manuscript. Dr. Hopkins often writes in a eulogistic style, about "young Dwight." As late as 1798, he says: "I think Dr. Dwight's discourse to the citizens of New Haven, on the fourth of July, to be a *masterly performance*; in which he has outdone himself, and all the many publications of orations, &c., on that day. I wish it may have another edition, if not more." — It was a noble trait of Hopkins, that he was inclined, in his old age, to speak well of young men, and had disciplined himself, as very few others have done, to say with composure, "He must increase, but I must decrease."

his theological studies, his full assurance that Hopkinsianism is the same in essence with Edwardeanism, and his modest, unselfish gratitude for the triumph of those principles which he was foremost in defending, and with which his interests were bound up.

To Reverend Andrew Fuller. — "Newport, October 15, 1799. Dear Sir: I thank you for your letter of August 12, which came to hand on the twelfth instant, and brings much agreeable intelligence. That concerning Mr. Pearce is grievous, as it represents him as near to death; since the loss of such an excellent man, in the prime of life, is great, and appears to us very undesirable. Yet there is ground of consolation in this, that Christ has raised up such a man, and continued him so long, and done so much by him, and he is now going to receive a rich reward. And the Lord is able to raise up many more accomplished and excellent men, and will do it when he shall want them, for which we have the greatest encouragement as well as a divine command to pray; to which the removal of this our dear and worthy friend is a strong incitement. My heart has been in a sensible and peculiar degree united to Mr. Pearce, since I saw his writings and perceived his connection with you, Dr. Ryland, &c.

"Since I first heard of Carey and Thomas, I was pleased with their character, — that of Carey especially, — and have had fond hopes that great things will be done by them, and those who may be added to them. I rejoice in the zeal and liberality of the people in promoting that design. May the blessing of thousands who are ready to perish come on you and them. I yet hope the report of the ship Duff being taken by the French will prove not true. But if it prove true, we have stable and sufficient ground of support and consolation in the exalted Head of the Church, who orders *all things, all events*, from the greatest to the smallest, in the most wise and best manner, so as to answer his own ends exactly; by which he will be glorified in the highest degree, and the greatest possible good to the universe will be effected. On this ground we stand firm and unshaken, in the midst of all the evils and revolutions which surround us, and are able to *rejoice always*.

"I am pleased to hear that Edwardean principles are gaining ground and spreading, as I am certain that every contrary scheme of principles [is irreconcilable with] the Bible, and that all or most of the late remarkable exertions to send missionaries among the heathen, and propagate the gospel among others in Europe and America, have originated in a *poor shoemaker*, from having imbibed these principles. I believe all the missionary societies lately formed in America, owe their rise to those formed in England, and their extraordinary exertions. There are five of these societies now in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts States, the leaders in all which, except one, (if that is to be excepted,) are Edwardeans. The Massachusetts Society, which has been formed this year, consists wholly of Edwardeans, which is [likely] to increase and flourish.* That in Connecticut consists of the General Association of Ministers, chosen annually from each of the particular Associations in the State. They have chosen twelve trustees, and these are to be chosen yearly, to manage the business of the society in their recess, and are accountable to them. The trustees consist of six ministers and as many laymen. The trustees they have chosen this year are all Edwardeans, which is an evidence, among many others, that men of these principles prevail, and are esteemed.

"These principles are gaining ground fast in New England. More men of these principles are ordained in churches than others, and they are the most popular preachers. And some of those who have been prejudiced against these principles and opposed them, begin now to think more favorably of them, and to own that many Edwardeans are men of the best abilities. And

* See p. 64 of this Memoir.

well may they allow this, when we have Drs. West, Edwards, Dwight, Trumbull, Emmons, Messrs. Hart, Strong, Spring, Backus, &c., &c., &c.

"There are four presidents of colleges who are Edwardeans — Dr. Edwards, of Union College, in Schenectady, sixteen miles north-west of Albany, which is richly endowed; Dr. Dwight, of Yale College, in New Haven; Mr. Fitch, of Williams College, in Williamstown, Berkshire County, Massachusetts; Mr. Balch, of Greenville College, in the new State of Tennessee, west of the Carolinas. From these seminaries, we may reasonably hope, there will issue numbers of pious young men of good principles, to supply our vacant churches; as many have already come forth from Yale, Dartmouth, and Providence Colleges, and are settled in the ministry, with a number of other pious men who have not had a public education.

"But what appears most favorable now to the spread of our principles and of true religion, is a great and remarkable revival of religion, which is spread wider and has risen higher than any thing of the kind has done in America, for above fifty years. It has taken place in the west and north-west parts of Connecticut, and in the States of New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. It is said to be in above one hundred towns and parishes. There appears to be little or no enthusiasm. It goes on in a still, but strong and energetic manner. Many thousands have been the subjects of deep and strong convictions, and great numbers are hopefully converted. And it is to be remarked, that this revival has taken place in almost all, if not in every instance, under the preaching of those ministers who have embraced Edwardean principles. We hope it is yet on the increase, and will bear all before it.

"As to the Baptists, they have appeared to increase of late years in many places in America; but they have generally had a tincture of enthusiasm and Antinomianism, and believe that all true faith is an *appropriating* faith, *i. e.*, it is a belief that Christ died for me, &c., or that this is necessarily implied in saving faith. Hence, their converts generally become so by first believing that they shall be saved, or to that purpose, and many pass for converts among them of whom I much doubt. But there is a prospect that there will be a favorable revolution of principles among them, and it is, indeed, already begun. I know of eight or ten ministers of that denomination who discard the principles of Dr. Gill, &c., and have imbibed those of Edwards. Some of them have but lately risen on the stage, and are men of good abilities and hopeful piety. I am glad you are writing on the subject you mention. If I should live till it can come to America, I hope for the pleasure and profit of reading it. If you have not seen Strong, entitled Benevolence and Misery, I shall desire Mr. Davis, of New York, to send it to Dr. Ryland or you.

"As to myself, I was taken with a paralytic stroke last January, which affected the limbs of my right side and my speech, so that I was unable to perform any public service for some months; but I am now most mercifully recovered, so that I am able to walk and to preach, and to write thus after a sort with difficulty; but my dearest partner will transcribe it before it goes to you. I was seventy-eight years old the last month, and do not expect to continue much longer in the body, nor do I desire it. I have a pleasing hope of a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; where I also hope to see you. — Mrs. Hopkins is my second wife, and is seventeen years younger than I am. She will transcribe this, with a heart full of love to you and your dear friends. I am yours in the strongest bonds, S. Hopkins."

The preceding letter was written in the seventy-ninth year of the author's life. In the seventy-fifth year he writes:

"About forty years ago, there were but few, perhaps not more than four or five, who espoused the sentiments which since have been called *Edwardean*, and *New Divinity*; and since, after some improvement was made upon them, *Hopkintonian*, or *Hopkinsian* sentiments. But these sentiments have so spread

since that time among ministers, especially those who have since come on the stage, that there are now more than one hundred in the ministry who espouse the same sentiments, in the United States of America. And the number appears to be fast increasing, and these sentiments appear to be coming more and more into credit, and are better understood, and the odium which was cast on them and those who preached them, is greatly subsided." *

It appears, then, that about the year 1756, there were, in our land, four or five Edwardean clergymen; in 1773, there were forty or fifty; † and in 1796, there were more than a hundred. But the spirit of the New Divinity was in the hearts of thousands, who did not favor it in all its forms. The term, "Hopkinsian," soon became the common designation of those evangelical or orthodox divines who favored the doctrines of general atonement, natural ability, the active nature of all holiness and sin, and the justice of God in imputing to men none but their own personal transgressions. Throughout some parts of the land, Hopkinsianism became a synonyme for New England divinity, and one of its decided antagonists said in 1817, that "a very large majority of the professors of religion in the United States, are either Hopkinsians or entire Arminians, and as such, opposed to the doctrine of a definite atonement." ‡ Now the bare fact, that the name Hopkinsian has been applied to such multitudes of enterprising Christians, is one among many signs of the power which Hopkins has exerted, directly or indirectly, on men who disowned some of his peculiar tenets.

Sect. XLVII. FAMILIAR CONFERENCES.

In his later years, our indefatigable pastor recommenced, with some modification, an exercise which he instituted at the beginning of his pastoral life at Newport. § It was a Socratic conversation, for which he seems to have been singularly adapted. One of his successors in the ministry ‖ says of him: "There is no doubt that he was incapable of appearing to advantage in any party of *brilliants*, but in a social circle of intelligent friends, he was cheerful, interesting, incomparable. And this excellence of the Doctor increased as he advanced in life." He is uniformly represented by his

* Sketches, pp. 102, 103.

† See p. 129 of this Memoir. — In 1777, Dr. Edwards, of New Haven, informed Dr. Stiles, that there were three parties among the clergy of Connecticut: "the *Arminians*, who he said were a small party; the *New Divinity gentlemen*, of whom he said he was called one, — who were larger, he said, but still small; and the main body of the ministers, which he said were *Calvinistic*." — The friends of the New Divinity called themselves not Calvinists, so much as "consistent Calvinists."

‡ See "A Historical Sketch of Opinions on the Atonement," etc., by James R. Willson, A. M., pp. 180, 184, 188, 196, 197, 198, 210, 215.

§ See p. 84 of this Memoir.

‖ Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, who was ordained at Newport in the fourteenth year after the death of Hopkins.

Christian admirers, as having shone most of all in familiar discourse on the themes of religious experience. And the above-named exercise, which he conducted in his old age with peculiar comfort to himself, and with an interest still remembered by many who enjoyed it, illustrates this representation. It is thus described by one who often attended it:

"Among the occasional services of Dr. H. was a conference meeting at his own house. This meeting was strictly a conference, and was highly interesting and useful. [It was] conducted in the following manner. After singing and prayer, one or two present collected in writing, questions from as many as desired the resolution of any doubt, or the discussion of any subject, and brought the papers and laid them on the table before Dr. H. He read them, and then taking the first, he requested several of the most judicious persons to express their opinion of it in succession. If he agreed with either of them, he would state it and give his reasons for it. If he differed from the whole, he would express his opinion either by a quotation from some writer, or by making a statement with an illustration.

"To adduce an instance. One evening there was this question, 'What is the order of exercises, when a soul is converted to God?' One to whom it was referred, answered, 'When a sinner is convinced of sin, he always attempts to recommend himself by works of righteousness; finding this ineffectual, and under apprehensions of punishment, he looks to Christ for pardon, and in this way finds acceptance and peace. When it came to Dr. H., he observed, 'The sinner must be convinced of sin, and as sin is a transgression of the law, he is arraigned before God as lawgiver and judge. It is necessary for him to approve of the law, though he be condemned by it; for it is impossible that he should repent of having transgressed the law, while he indulges enmity to the law, or to God as lawgiver, and it is impossible for him to exercise true faith in Christ, as He came not to abolish but to honor the law. To hope in Christ for pardon, and then approve of God and of the law because one's sins are forgiven, is productive of false peace, and is a delusion. It is wholly a selfish act. The condition of the sinner when the law is before him is very trying and distressing. It is a point at which his heart naturally rises in the greatest enmity against God. But when he is brought to approve of the law, he finds that God, instead of executing judgment, exercises mercy. He is prepared to see the provision made for his salvation by Jesus Christ, and he embraces Him with inexpressible joy. This,' said Dr. H., 'as appears from the Scriptures and the nature of the case, must be the order of the exercises, though many true converts are not conscious of it. Especially the act of submission may be followed so instantaneously with the experience of pardon, that it may be overlooked; but it *has* been experienced, and is of essential importance in the case.'" *

Among the papers of Dr. Hopkins is found still another answer, which appears to have been given to another question proposed at this conference. It illustrates the philosophical style of his practical meditations.

"How can we pray to an *unchangeable God*, who has already determined what he will do, and what shall be in every instance, and will not alter any thing?

"Answer. Many things may be said to show the reasonableness and importance of prayer to an unchangeable God; and they will offer themselves

* Patten's Reminiscences, pp. 108–111.

to any considerate, pious person, almost at first thought. But these shall not be mentioned now. We will rather attend to the case of a person who, when on his knees in his devotions, has this thought impressed on his mind of God's unchangeable purposes, so as to put a stop to his proceeding to put up any petition. What shall he do?

"Answer. Let him not try to pray, nor give over his devotions. Let all be turned into *praise*, giving glory to God, and rejoicing that he does reign, and does what he pleases in heaven and earth, — that all things are unchangeably fixed by infinite wisdom and goodness, &c., &c. This will be the natural effect of such a view and impression, if it be from God. If it be a suggestion from Satan, it is with a design to interrupt and put a stop to devotion; and to improve it in the manner above mentioned, will be the most direct and effectual way to oppose and defeat him.

"The same direction may be given if it be suggested to a person, that the *goodness* of God is so infinitely great, and particularly so great toward his children, that there is no need of asking him to do any thing for them; yea, it will be wicked arrogance to do it, as it must arise from a doubt of his goodness, and a thought of ourselves as more kind to them than he is, so that there is need of our *pleading* with him on their behalf, &c. If this suggestion stop him in his petitions for his Christian friends, then let his devotions be immediately turned into thanksgiving to God, and praises for his goodness. And this is the likeliest way to prepare his mind to return to his petitions and prayers."

Thus did the aged divine realize the idea, that the church is a school and the Christian is a student. He could not have been a popular minister, unless in an uncommonly meditative age.

Sect. XLVIII. HOUSEHOLD LIFE AT NEWPORT.

And had the hero of all these wars, political and theological, any domestic relations? What time had he for his family? We have already noticed* the afflictive state of his wife's health, the death of all his daughters, and of one son, and the dispersion of his four surviving children. After lingering twenty years in a state of scrofulous consumption, his wife was relieved from all her pains, in the sixty-eighth year of her age. She had been advised to leave the sea air of Rhode Island, for the sake of gaining strength among her native hills. With a hope of this gain, her husband accompanied her to his former parish, in May, 1793; but she died on the last day of the ensuing August. She now lies buried among her children and children's children, in the beautiful village of Great Barrington.

As early at least as 1764, Mr. Hopkins had met Miss Elizabeth West in the Praying Circle of the Old South Church, Boston. He then formed, and ever afterward retained, an exalted opinion of her Christian character. She left Boston, her native town, for the country during the revolutionary war, and then became acquainted with some of the families who had left Newport at the same time. They persuaded her to establish, after the war, a boarding school at

* See Section xvi.

Newport. She was successful in this school, having pupils from Norwich, New London, and from some of the first families on Rhode Island. She was a faithful member of the Osborn Society. She was a divine. Few masters of the New Divinity had a more intelligent conviction of its truth, than she. Some of her letters to Dr. Hart and Dr. West, are worthy of a theological veteran. She had a depth of Christian experience commending her to the friendship of her pastor. She taught her school in his house, during the later months of her remaining a teacher. On the fourteenth of September, 1794, she was married to him. The ceremony, he says, "was performed in public, on the Sabbath, by Mr. Patten, in the morning, before the public exercises began. Our proceeding, and the manner in which it was done, has had the approbation of all my friends, and of the whole congregation, so far as I can learn." At the time of her marriage, she was fifty-five years of age, and he was seventy-three. They had been acquainted in prayer meetings, more than thirty years. After his death, as during his life, she manifested the deepest interest in his theological opinions. Her criticisms on the faulty style in which the Sketches of her husband were prepared by Dr. West, and subsequently printed, indicate sterling sense and good taste. Some of her friends advised an abridgment of her husband's System of Divinity, for the second edition, in 1811. "But no," she writes; "an abridged work often loses its importance and sinks into oblivion. If the public will not be at the expense of printing it *as it is*, let them do without it till the millennium; then it will be read and published with avidity. If I could gain ever so much, (as things appear now,) I would not give my voice in favor of abridgment." She passed a widowhood of uncommon saintliness, feeling 'desolate, yet trusting in God, and continuing in supplications and prayers night and day.' She died in Taunton, Massachusetts, April 9, 1814, at the age of seventy-five years.* There is something pleasing in the theological style of her husband, when he speaks of himself as "peculiarly happy in finding such a wife," and adds: "I esteem it as one of the greatest favors of my life, to have such a companion in my advanced years, in whose prudence, good family economy, friendship, and benevolent care I can confide; and who is to me the first object among creatures, of the love of esteem, benevolence, complacency, and gratitude." †

While discussing the doctrine of Decrees, in his System of Theology, Dr. Hopkins has the following illustration: "My neighbor now comes into my study, and asks, whether a table he has made for me

* She now lies buried in Taunton, where, after all her solicitude about the style of her husband's Works, an *ungrammatical* inscription is yet suffered to deface her gravestone. — It had been her request to be buried at the side of her husband, at Newport, but the malignant nature of her disease forbade the removal of her remains.

† Sketches, etc., pp. 83, 84.

can be introduced and have room here. I ask him what is the length and breadth of it. He answers, it is three yards square. I tell him, it can then be of no use to me, nor can it be introduced. He is confident [that] I am mistaken. And after some dispute, we at length conclude to take a common measure and apply it to the table, and to my door and study. Upon this the matter is soon decided, and it is found that the former agrees exactly with the latter; for his yardstick was found to be but twelve inches long." *

Our author was certainly right in querying about the admission of such a table into his study chamber; for that room, in which he wrote his System of Divinity and corresponded with an African poetess, and entertained Dr. Bellamy, and Dr. Channing, President Stiles and Newport Gardner, was only eleven feet eight inches long, nine feet seven inches wide, seven feet three inches high; and was entered by a door twenty-six inches in width; a room rather circumscribed for a man who weighed two hundred and twenty pounds. That he must have sat at a narrow table, is self-evident. We can almost see him leaning over his familiar desk, and listening to the roar of the ocean, and writing such words as these:

"The weak Christian, in the midst of strong temptations and potent enemies, constantly seeking and exerting all their power and cunning to devour and destroy him, is preserved and upheld, through a course of trial, by the mighty, omnipotent hand of the Redeemer; and the little spark of holiness implanted in the believer's heart is continued alive and burning, while there is so much, both within and without, tending to extinguish it; which is really more of a constant miracle and manifestation of the power of Christ than it would be to preserve a little spark of fire, for a course of years, in the midst of the sea, while the mighty waves are fiercely dashing against it and upon it, attempting to overwhelm and extinguish it." †

There was certainly a difference between Hopkins confined sixteen or eighteen hours a day within this limited enclosure, and Bishop Berkeley walking out from his Newport residence, with his writing utensils borne by a servant behind him, and at length sitting down on Paradise Rock, and there, "with that joyful instinct which a rural scene and fine weather inspire," composing his Minute Philosopher. Into his contracted study chamber Hopkins entered at four o'clock in the morning, ‡ and remained until his family were prepared for breakfast. When called, he descended a narrow and steep flight of stairs, and, having conducted the morning devotions, sat down at his frugal and generally silent repast of "a cup of coffee and a little Indian bread." Breakfast being over, he went out, if there were need, to make a parochial call, or to purchase some

* Hopkins's Works, new edition, vol. i. pp. 79, 80. † Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 29, 30.

‡ Dr. Channing says, in his letter of February 14, 1840, Dr. Hopkins's "study was visible from my father's house, and I recollect that, rising very early one winter morning, I saw the light of his candle streaming through the window. He took little exercise. His frame was very strong, or he must have sunk under his labors."

articles for his household. When he bought any thing, he paid for it on the spot. He asked no credit. It was "customary with him, when he had purchased a necessary article, as flour, or sugar, &c., to reserve, from the money he weekly received, the amount of the expenditure of that article, that when the whole of it was gone, he might have money on hand to pay for a new supply." *

Having performed these duties out of doors, he moved his giant frame slowly back to his narrow chamber, where he remained until the dinner hour. He then took a little meat, generally in silence, and climbed up again his precipitous stairway; and with the interruption of a brief interval for a cup of tea, he remained in his study until nine o'clock in the evening.† He then (often at least) put his light near his window, in order to apprise a neighboring household that he was going down to his family prayer, and thus to secure with that household a kind of praying concert. At ten o'clock he retired to bed. This was the even tenor of his way.‡

It is said, that in his small room he could not have had many

* Patten's Reminiscences, p. 140. The congregation of Dr. Hopkins took up a weekly contribution for him, and paid it to him on Monday morning. It amounted to about two hundred dollars per year. "One gentleman paid annually sixty dollars, and a lady furnished his family with a dinner several times in a week." One of his wealthiest parishioners put twelve and a half cents into the contribution bag every Sabbath. His pastor considered this worse than nothing. A reason why his people gave him no more than such a pittance was, their faith that he would be sustained without their aid, and that he would give away all that he could possibly do without. He had a farm at Great Barrington, the proceeds of which, however, he surrendered to his children. He had several wealthy friends who made him many presents; and some, who had only a clerical fortune, were affectionately desirous of ministering to his need. An association of ministers in Reading, Massachusetts, at one of their meetings, took up a contribution for him, after he had met a pecuniary loss. It was an unsolicited proof of their filial affection for the man. Mr. Hopkins did not justify his people in contributing so little for his maintenance. He deemed it better for them to give more. He said that even if he did not need their money, "he would take it and cast it into the sea," rather than not encourage among them a liberal spirit. "Occasionally," says Dr. Patten, (Reminiscences, p. 139,) "when there was a prospect of his wanting some necessary stores for the winter, especially fuel, he would make a statement in writing, and deliver it into the hand of some of the church, with a request that he would show it indiscriminately to the members of the society; but with a charge to say nothing by the way of soliciting a donation, but in silence to leave each one to act according to his own inclination. The ground of his request was never charity, in the common acceptation of the word, but assistance to their pastor, in fulfilling his duty to them and the Redeemer; and such applications, it is believed, were never unsuccessful."

† Several of his letters close abruptly with the words, — "The clock strikes nine, and I can only add that I am your affectionate and unworthy friend, S. H."

‡ There were, of course, occasional variations of his daily routine. On Saturday evening, after his fast, he drank a bowl of milk before going to rest, and on Sabbath noon he drank a bowl of chocolate. It was certainly safer to drink such liquids, at such times, than to employ the stimulants which his clerical brethren used; but the dull elocution of which his hearers complained, was not relieved, perhaps, by this soporific diet. — We sometimes catch a glimpse of him riding on horseback to the "Hartford election," and to the "Boston election," and calling on Mr. Sanford, Mr. Emmons, Mr. Spring, Dr. Hart and Dr. Strong. — During the protracted absence from Newport of his first wife, on account of her consumptive habits, he writes: "My little congregation are as friendly to me as ever, if not more so. They feel that I am not dependent on them, or that I am not obliged to stay here in order to get a living."

books. The great majority of the volumes which he read were borrowed from public libraries, or from ministerial friends.* It is ascertained, however, that in his library at Newport, were about fifty folios, about sixty quartos, a hundred octavos, and some duodecimos. They were books of sterling value. It was better to have this select library, and to read it much, than to have a more imposing array of volumes, and read them not at all.

Every fortnight the barber visited the old patriarch and shaved his head. Over his head the aged father wore a white linen cap, and, covering this, a higher cap of red velvet. A gown of blue worsted, lined with green, or of green plaid or baize, was his favorite *dishabille*, always worn by him in the study and sometimes out of doors.† Ordinarily, however, when he appeared in the street, he was clad in the straight-bodied coat so common among gentlemen of the old school; and his head was covered with a powdered wig and three-cornered hat. He wore the clerical neck-band when he preached. The first portrait of him was taken with his pulpit attire, and usually hung in the west parlor of the parsonage. An engraving of it was prefixed to one of Dr. Hopkins's volumes, during his life. The second portrait was taken at the expense of a few citizens of Hartford, when he was in his eightieth year, and presents him in his study dress. This last-named portrait was copied in the engraving prefixed to his Autobiography, and has been more accurately copied for the complete edition of his Works. While this interesting old portrait was in a public gallery at Hartford, it was examined by a gentleman, who disliked the subject of it so intensely, that he thrust his cane through the canvas, near the head of the figure, and made a rupture which yet remains. He gave as a reason for thus defacing the picture, that Dr. Hopkins believed in the damnation of infants. Some of Hopkins's clerical opponents have been equally injudicious in their assaults.

To his dying day, Hopkins retained his love of neatness and order. No member of his household was allowed to move a book or paper in his study. He had a place for every article of his clothing, and he must needs be sure that every thing was in its place. The same peculiarity belonged to West and Emmons, and was often sportively said to be one of the outward signs of a Hopkinsian.

To his dying day, also, Hopkins retained his love of study. Long after his first shock of paralysis, he was wont to climb up his narrow staircase to the favorite south-west corner of his parsonage, and

* The charge of owning few books, is often brought against the New England divines. It is not considered, that they had what amounts to a circulating library, among themselves, and that each read the volumes belonging to his brethren.

† "I can well recollect," says Dr. Channing, (Works, vol. iv. p. 348,) "the impression which he made on me, when a boy, as he rode on horseback in a plaid gown fastened by a girdle round his waist, and with a study cap on his head instead of his wig."

there lose himself in divine contemplations. "I recollect," says Dr. Channing, "that on visiting him one day when he was about eighty years of age, I found his eyes much inflamed by reading and writing. I took the liberty to recommend abstinence from these occupations. He replied, smilingly, with an amusing story, and then added, 'If my eyes won't study, no eyes for me.'" *

This remark is quoted by Channing as an instance of the facetiousness in which Hopkins occasionally indulged. It is said by some, that he had more pleasantry as well as more inquisitiveness, in his later than in his earlier years, and that his house became more and more attractive to his friends.

Sect. XLIX. SHOCK OF PARALYSIS; REFLECTIONS; SELF-EXAMINATION.

In his seventy-eighth year, having performed labor enough for breaking down a constitution of iron, this old divine was struck with a paralysis. Instead of describing his case pathologically, he turns the attention, at once, from the body to the soul.

"December 16, 1799. On the tenth of last January, I was suddenly seized with a paralytic stroke, which affected my right side, and rendered my limbs of that side in a great measure useless, and much affected my speech; but was attended with little or no pain, and the exercise of my reason and mental faculties was not in the least affected. This appeared to threaten my speedy dissolution, in my view, and in the view of my friends, either by a greater and more deadly stroke, or some other way. To be sure, I seasonably considered it as a warning to be ready for death. I felt that God had laid his hand lightly upon me, and that the affliction was attended with much tender mercy; and [I] was resigned and thankful. For a short time, at first, my mind was dark, and I seemed to myself to be in a measure shut out from the sensible presence of God and the Saviour; but soon I was led to a view and sense of Jesus Christ, as exalted to the throne of the universe, having all power in heaven and earth, clothed with infinite power, wisdom, rectitude, and goodness, governing the world and ordering every event, the least and greatest, as it shall be most for his glory, and the greatest general good; having mercy on whom he will have mercy, and hardening whom he will; and showing mercy to every one to whom he can do it consistently with wisdom and goodness, — *i. e.*, consistently with the greatest display of his character and perfections, and the highest happiness of the creation; and that all this, and every thing, and event, and circumstance were determined and fixed from eternity, by eternal, unerring wisdom, righteousness, and goodness. In this view, the Saviour appeared infinitely great and important, and divinely worthy and amiable. I felt myself and all creatures and things to be in his hands, and was pleased and rejoiced in this, knowing that every thing was ordered and conducted in the wisest and best possible manner, so as to answer the best and most desirable ends; that the Saviour would injure none, fulfil all his promises to a tittle, and accomplish all his designs in the best time and the most desirable and perfect manner; so that all is well, in the best

* Works, vol. iv. pp. 348, 349. — It is probable that after his paralysis, the aged divine may not have risen so uniformly at four o'clock, as he had done. He was tenacious, however, of his old habits.

and most desirable situation that possibly can be. In a belief and sense of this, and more, which cannot be expressed, my soul was full of comfort and joy, saying, 'The Lord Jesus Christ reigns, let the earth rejoice. Our God is in the heavens. He hath done, doth, and will do whatsoever he pleaseth.'

"In these pleasing and comfortable views and exercises, I had no particular attention to, or thought of, myself, whether I were a Christian and should be saved or not. But my comfort and joy were derived from, or rather consisted in, a view and sense of the excellent, glorious character of Christ, in whose hands I and all things were, and who would order and dispose of things concerning me and all men and creatures, so as in the highest degree to promote his glory, or the glory of God, which is the same; and effect the greatest general good or happiness, or the wisest and best ends. In this view, my heart said, with strong emotions and the most pleasing sensations, 'Amen! Thy will be done!' — without knowing or considering what his will was concerning me. Had I reflected judiciously on my own exercises, I might have rationally judged them to be agreeable to the truth, and an evidence that I was a friend to Christ; but I did not so reflect as to make this conclusion. This view and sense of things still abides with me, but at different times in a higher and lower degree, but not so that I can infer from it, without hesitation, that I am a real Christian, and shall be saved. My views and exercises appear to me so much below the truth and so inconstant, that, sometimes, I doubt of their reality, or of their being real Christian exercises; and I have such a deceitful heart, that I fear delusion, though at times all doubts subside. My person and whole interest in time and to eternity is, compared with the grand whole, — the glory of God and the best interest of his kingdom, — so small and inconsiderable, that when I have the latter in a sensible view, the former sinks into a mere speck or nothing, and is almost wholly overlooked and forgotten, and the language of my heart is, 'Let God be glorified by all, and the best interest of his kingdom be secured and promoted, let what will become of me and my interest!' And while I see the former grand interest is secure, and will be in the best manner promoted, I am satisfied and rejoice. And this so engrosses my thoughts and reflections, that I do not attend to the interest of any individual person, my own or [that of] any one else, so as to excite any sensible joy or sorrow, hope or fear; the interest of such individual being overlooked as not worthy of any regard, in comparison with the grand interest of the whole; — this so impresses the mind and fills it, as to exclude the other.

"But as my mind cannot have a view of all objects with equal clearness and attention, at one and the same time, but different objects are more attended to, and make a greater impression at some times than at others, so when I attend more particularly to my own state and interest, I naturally reflect upon the views and affections and enjoyments I have experienced in attending to the person, character, and works of Christ, and the greatness, glory, and happiness of his kingdom; and the inference seems to be plain, that I am a friend to these objects; but I am not able always, if at any time, to see the truth of this consequence with clearness and certainty. When the clearness and sensibility of these views and exercises in a measure subside, and I attend more to my own character, and my depravity, stupidity, unbelief, and the evil and deceitfulness of my heart rise into view, I am disposed to call in question my own good estate, and to suspect that my exercises fall short of real Christianity; yet, maintaining a hope that this is not the case, which is sometimes weaker and sometimes stronger, and frequently for a short space rises so high as to exclude doubting; but even then, though this excites gratitude, it does not raise my comfort and joy to that degree, as does the direct view of the character of Christ and his kingdom above mentioned, without any particular attention to my own character and personal interest. When my doubts and fears prevail most, respecting my personal union to Christ, and I attend particularly to my personal concerns and interest, it appears, when considered by itself, to be beyond all conception, and infinitely great, which I feel to be

wholly in the hands of Christ, to be determined by him whether I shall be happy or miserable forever. And this is so far from being disagreeable to me, that I am highly pleased with it, and would not have it otherwise on any consideration whatever. I feel that I am in the best hands, and, in this respect, in the best situation that I possibly could be in. He certainly will not injure me in any respect, or in the least degree. He is infinitely wise, good, and merciful, and knows what is most for his own glory, and the highest good and happiness of his kingdom; and can and will certainly save me and every one else with whom I have any connection, if it may be consistent with his glory and the greatest happiness of his kingdom, or consistent with wisdom and goodness, which is the same; and I cannot so much as wish or have the least desire to be saved on any other supposition, — *i. e.*, if this be inconsistent with infinite wisdom and goodness, and contrary to the greatest good and glory of Christ and his kingdom; and [I] feel that it would be awful impiety and rebellion to ask for salvation on any other supposition.

"But when I reflect on the dreadfulness of being cast away forever by Christ, to suffer the just desert of my sins, feeling the strokes and tokens of his righteous anger and vengeance; and being given up to evil lusts, to join with the devil and exist eternally on his side, an enemy to Christ and his kingdom, my soul recoils, and feels this to be intolerable! Then I fly to Christ and his atonement, and cast myself down at his feet, to dispose of me as he pleases; yet hoping and crying for mercy, — O! be merciful to me, a sinner; — which is accompanied with a number of various exercises which cannot be easily described.

"And when I reflect on these exercises, they appear to me to be consistent with Christianity, and an evidence of real friendship to Christ; and I am sensible that if another person should relate to me such views and exercises as experienced by him, I should think them an evidence that he was a real Christian. Yet I often greatly doubt of my being a true Christian; especially when I have some more clear view and sense of my barren and sinful life, and attend particularly to that.

"These are some of my daily, various exercises, in all which I always maintain a hope that I am a Christian, which sometimes excludes all doubt; being constantly assured of the truth of the gospel, — that this is a revelation of the only true God, and of eternal life; and that the truths which I have preached as contained in the gospel, are indeed the truths of God, and sufficient to support and comfort a Christian in the near view of death and eternity, and under all the afflictions of this life. And I live in the constant assurance of the truth of the doctrine of the decrees of God, and of his universal and particular providence directing every event and every thing which comes to pass, and exercising absolute sovereignty in his dealing with men; without which I could have no support and comfort. And my chief comfort and joy does not consist in or arise from an assurance or hope that I shall be saved; but in a view and sense of the perfections and glory of Christ, his power, wisdom, and goodness, reigning and ordering all things for the glory of God and the greatest good of his kingdom. And this is accompanied with an experimental assurance, that the exercises of true religion are wholly disinterested and in direct opposition to all selfishness, — a doctrine which I have endeavored to maintain and inculcate for many years.

"When I was first taken with this disorder, and for most of the time since, I have had little or no sensible desire of recovering, and was not inclined so much as to ask for it; my mind rather reluctated at the thought of recovering so as to preach after the poor, dull way in which I had hitherto preached, and with as little success. But God has been pleased to recover me, so that I have been able to attend public worship and preach for several months past; and I do not feel that preaching hurts me, or aggravates my disorder, which encourages me to proceed, but with many and great discouragements from my own great deficiencies, and the want of a proper attention apparent in the congregation in general. But Christ will answer his own ends by me, and

continue me in the world, and take me out of it in the best time and manner, so as best to answer these ends; and in this I daily acquiesce and rejoice. Amen." *

On the tenth of January, 1800, this lowly disciple made the following record, first, of the signs that he *was* "a real Christian," and, secondly, of the indications that he was *not* "a real friend to Christ." The favorable signs are thus humbly and honestly given:

"1. I have been so far convinced of my sins and reproved for them, that I know that I am infinitely guilty, and deserve eternal destruction and misery; that God would be just, and I should have no reason to complain, if he should punish me forever, with aggravated torments. This conviction is abiding and increasing, while I heartily approve of the law of God which curses the transgressor, — as holy, just, and good. This conviction and sense of the evil of sin, and of my depravity and sinfulness, rises much higher sometimes than others; but I am never disposed to cast it off or doubt the truth of it, but it is fixed on my mind; and when I have the greatest sense of it, I know that I see but little of what it really is in the sight of God, — that the number of my sins and the magnitude and aggravations of each one are infinitely beyond my comprehension, and are known perfectly to God alone, — that I am wholly and beyond expression depraved and sinful, naturally, being infinitely far from any moral goodness to recommend me to the mercy and favor of God, — and that if my heart be changed so as to exercise holiness in any degree, yet this is so defective, and attended with so much moral defilement and sin, that all taken together it is worse than nothing, and affords matter of condemnation, and is infinitely far from deserving any good or favor. And if I were wholly recovered from my depravity, and were made perfectly holy, this would be so infinitely overbalanced by the guilt of my sins, that it could not be reckoned in my favor, so as to procure the pardon of my sins, or render me deserving of any good thing. I have a constant and growing conviction, that I am wholly dependent on the preventing, sovereign grace of God, for my recovery from this miserable, lost state of infinite guilt and total depravity, and for the least degree of sincerity and faith or conformity to the law of God; that I am wholly lost, and shall sink down to hell, an enemy to God and all good, and justly perish forever, unless Christ, by his sovereign goodness, clothed with omnipotence and infinite wisdom, shall recover and save me, while I shall not do any thing towards my salvation, or make the least exertion for it; but all that I will and do is contrary to it, unless and no farther than he shall work in me to will and to do, of his sovereign good pleasure, what he requires as necessary to my salvation. Thus I feel myself to be an infinitely guilty, odious creature, utterly undone in myself, and have not a word to say, and have not a thought in my favor; my mouth is stopped in this respect, and I am guilty before God, and accept the punishment of my iniquity.

"If this, which I have imperfectly described, implies the essentials of real repentance, in which I humble myself in the sight of the Lord, with a broken and contrite heart, then I have a new heart and am interested in the divine promises. But if not, — then I have never yet understood the true meaning of these words of Scripture, and my eyes are yet blinded with regard to my own character!

"2. I think I do most heartily approve of, and acquiesce in, the person and character of Christ, and am pleased with the way of salvation of sinners by him. All his directions, exhortations, commands, doctrines which he taught, all that he said, did, and suffered, and all his revealed purposes and designs appear wise, good, and excellent, and carry clear marks and abundant evidence of divinity in them. Hence

* Sketches, etc., pp. 105–113.

"3. I do, I think, place all my hope in him, and desire not to be found and accepted in any righteousness of my own, were this possible; but to be pardoned and justified by the merit and righteousness of Christ. I am sensibly and greatly pleased with being wholly dependent on him for righteousness, sanctification, and complete redemption. If there were any other possible way of salvation, which I know there is not, I would reject it, not desiring to be saved in any way but that which is revealed in the gospel.

"4. I think I desire and seek the glory of God and the greatest good and happiness of the universe, as my highest and ultimate end; and in this view am pleased with and rejoice in the character and designs of God and Christ, who is doing every thing for this end, and will accomplish it in the most perfect manner, and in the highest possible degree. And on this account I am highly pleased with Christ and the gospel, as by the redemption of man by Christ, God is glorified in an eminent degree, and the greatest happiness of creatures promoted and effected. And for this reason I acquiesce in it, that all of the human race should not be saved, but a part of them perish forever in their sins, as divine revelation has declared; because I know this is necessary for the glory of God, and the greatest good of his eternal kingdom, and not one will be lost forever, who could be saved consistently with this; and therefore all will be saved who can be saved consistently with infinite wisdom and goodness. Therefore,—

"5. I am most satisfied and pleased, when I have the most clear and feeling sense of my being in the hands of Christ, in the most perfect and absolute sense and degree, and wholly at his disposal in time and to eternity; knowing that he will do with and by me what is most for his glory and the good of his kingdom; and that he will save me, if he can do it consistently with this; and this is all that I can desire. Therefore I am well pleased with being in his hands and wholly at his disposal, let him do what he will with me, and cannot conceive of a better and more desirable situation: yea, I know there cannot be a better.

"When I reflect on the feelings and exercises expressed in the last two particulars, they seem to me to be the expression of true disinterested benevolence, or that *love* by which we are formed after the likeness of God, and he dwelleth in us, and we in him. The reason of my doubting of this, especially at times, has been in some measure suggested before, and will be more fully expressed in the sequel.

"6. I think I do hunger and thirst after righteousness. My longing to be perfectly holy is, sometimes, very sensible and strong, exceeding all desires of earthly things that I have, or of which I am capable. I have often felt willing and a desire to die immediately, if this might bring me to perfect holiness, to a complete conformity to Christ.

"7. I feel my heart strongly united to those whom I consider to be real friends to Christ, in benevolent and complacential love; especially those with whom I am more particularly and intimately acquainted. I have a quite different feeling toward them from that which I have toward others, and have a peculiar delight in their company and conversation.

"8. My preaching and conversation has been generally acceptable and pleasing to those whom I have esteemed the most judicious and best Christians, so far as I have been able to learn. I have not only preached the doctrines which I verily believed to be true, but heartily approved of them, and have delivered those truths of the word of God respecting practical and experimental religion, which were the dictates of my heart, and often, if not commonly, suggested by my own feelings and exercises; and have not endeavored to appear better or in a more agreeable light, than was agreeable to the truth, though I am sensible that my Christian friends have in many instances and respects, thought too highly of me, which has been matter of shame and humiliation to me; yet their love and esteem, I have been ready to consider as an evidence in my favor, though of little weight considered by itself, as we know not each other's hearts, and are liable to be greatly deceived in

others. I therefore mention this as coinciding with, and in some measure strengthening the evidences which have been mentioned. This is, at least, an evidence that what appears in my preaching, conversation, and external conduct, which, so far as I know, is in general agreeable to my heart, (at least I do not on design attempt to play the hypocrite,) is to judicious Christians, who are most acquainted with me, an evidence that I am a real Christian."

How beautiful is the honesty of this aged scholar! How uncommon is the lowliness with which he proceeds to write dark things against himself!

"I proceed to mention some things which appear to me, at times at least, reason of fear that I never have known what it is to be a real Christian, and are at times, if not generally, the cause of many doubts.

"1. My stupidity and hardness of heart with respect to things divine and invisible, or the truths exhibited in the gospel. At times, and I believe I may say generally, I have very little or no sense of these things, and they make very little impression on my heart, if any; and I often feel as if they had no existence, while in my reason and judgment I have no doubt of their truth and reality. And when I have some sense of the truth, reality, and excellence of them, and even when I have the greatest sense and the most affecting view and impression of them on my heart, and I am most strongly and deeply affected with them, I am sensible that the view and sense I have is very imperfect and unspeakably short of the truth, and of what I ought to have, and even the greatest impression, and highest affection that I at any time experience, commonly soon abate and subside, and I am left as stupid and senseless as ever; and what I thought I had experienced seems like a dream, and as if it was not a reality. This stupidity and senselessness is commonly most sensible and burdensome in my public performances of prayer and preaching; and even when I have freedom of speech and a flow of words, and my Christian friends have thought I was greatly assisted, I have been conscious of my great and shameful stupidity, and want of a proper sense of the things of which I have been speaking. This, which is more or less sensibly felt, is my constant attendant, and the grief and burden of my heart, and matter of my constant confessions and prayer to God for deliverance from it; being always sensibly convinced that no external light and advantages, or any means used, will in the least remove this stupidity and hardness of heart; but that the Spirit of God alone can remove it, and give me that spiritual sensibility and feeling of heart which I seem most earnestly to desire. I consider this stupidity, blindness, and insensibility of heart to divine things, to be altogether and infinitely criminal; as it must be owing to the moral corruption and depravity of my heart, or rather consist wholly in depravity and wickedness of heart, being hardened, contracted, and bound up in selfishness and pride, and all the evil propensities which are implied in these. This is *unbelief of heart*, which is consistent with a conviction of the reason and judgment, of the truths contained in the gospel; for no degree of such conviction will in the least remove this blindness, hardness, and *unbelief* of heart, which I am considering. But blindness and unbelief of heart have a strong tendency to prevent or remove a conviction of the judgment and conscience of the truth and reality of invisible things, and to promote speculative unbelief of them; and are the real and only ground of all deism and atheism, and all speculative infidelity. This gives Satan great advantage to blind the minds of them who believe not, and lead them captives to infidelity, which he improves to the utmost of his power.

"I do not sensibly perceive the real ground and reason of this darkness and stupidity of my mind with respect to invisible things, but am most sensible of the fact, while the cause of this lamentable fact is out of sight, and is rather the object of reason and speculation. This blindness and stupidity of heart

are so sensible and appear so great to me, especially at times, that I much doubt whether it be consistent with the true knowledge of God, or my having any real Christian light and discerning, which Christ calls 'the light of life,' which he gives to all his true followers. Yet I know that when I hear professing Christians complain of their stupidity and blindness, &c., I do not consider this as an evidence that they are not Christians, but rather in their favor, as a sign that they have a sensibility and discerning respecting their own hearts, which is peculiar to Christians. But it is not easy for me to apply this to myself, and draw such a consequence in my own favor. I am apt to consider my blindness and stupidity not to be like that of others, but greater and peculiar to myself.

"2. My life and conversation, all taken together, both external and internal, appear very much against me, and so destitute of any good fruit, and so full of deformity and sin both of omission and commission, that I know not how to reconcile it with the life of a Christian, especially at some times, when I have a view of it as a most deformed and odious life, considering the many and peculiar advantages and opportunities I have had, and my great obligations to live a holy life, wholly devoted to Christ; all which I have abused in a greater or less degree continually. Though I dare not say I have not been, and am not in any degree sincere in my regard to Christ and the truths of the gospel, and have a hope that I have had and now have some sincerity, yet I cannot look back upon a *well-spent life*, for it appears unspeakably far from such an one. I have often said, 'I will be wise,' but it has been far from me. I cannot view myself as a *good and faithful* servant of Jesus Christ, but much to the contrary; and, therefore, cannot realize it, or even conceive how he can view and call me such an one, as he represents that he will do all who shall be owned by him at the last day. This is often cause of great doubts and fears that I am not a real servant of Jesus Christ. I know he will own and accept of the least thing done for him from a true regard to him, but I feel that I have nothing that I have done to plead in my favor.

"3. It has been matter of doubt and discouragement to me, that I have little or no success by my preaching, in being made the instrument of awakening and converting sinners. But very few instances of this have come to my knowledge, and these not very remarkable and clear. I came upon the stage and began to preach, when there was a great and general revival of religion in New England; many were awakened, and thought to be converted, and many ministers were successful in this, and had great revivals in their congregations; but no such thing has appeared under my preaching, though some individuals have sometimes appeared to be in some degree awakened. I should expect that a good minister of Christ would be succeeded in this respect — especially when others round about him were successful — more than I have appeared to be. This has led me to fear, especially at times, that there is some essential defect in me, and that I had not the true spirit of Christ, and his real presence and approbation. I do not think I have reason to conclude that my ministrations in preaching, writing, and conversation have been altogether useless and unprofitable. They have been acceptable to many, if not to all, who have appeared to be Christians, especially to the most attentive, engaged, and judicious; and many have thought themselves greatly instructed, strengthened, and comforted by them; and my usefulness, if there has been any, has not consisted in being the mean of convincing and converting sinners, but chiefly in ministering to the saints, and building them up in faith and holiness; and I believe my publications have been the means of spreading light with respect to some important doctrines of Christianity. This I consider as matter of thankfulness; but it does not wholly remove my gloom and doubts, which arise from the inefficacy of my preaching with respect to sinners; and when I attend to the great and shameful defects and poorness of my preaching, and the little sense I have of what I do say, &c., together with want of success, I don't wonder my

preaching is without effect, and my doubts of my having any true grace are increased."*

Sect. L. PREACHING AFTER HIS PARALYSIS.

"I speak with difficulty," writes the faithful paralytic, October 4, 1799, "yet so that my congregation can understand me. I have preached all day on the Sabbath for some time, and [I] do not find that it hurts me. But I am hastening to the grave, and do not find that I am doing any *great* good, if any." Doubtless his friends could easily understand his discourses. But a gentleman now living, who occasionally attended service at Dr. Hopkins's meeting-house, writes: "I can truly say, that I never heard him preach; his voice was so tremulous, broken, inarticulate, that I never heard him, [even when I saw him preaching.]" The venerable paralytic lived only a few rods from his church edifice, and yet was often obliged to ride thither in a chaise; but he persevered in preaching till the age of eighty-two. It was dangerous for him to ascend the pulpit stairs, or even to go up the broad aisle, without help; therefore his old friend and sexton, Newport Gardner,† often walked close behind him, to catch him if he fell, and to stay up his trembling frame, if he seemed to falter in his movements;—still he persevered in preaching. There are persons living who recollect, or at least have the impression, that Newport Gardner sometimes helped him rise in the pulpit to read the hymn, or offer prayer, and afterward aided him in resuming his seat;—still he preached. One would think that his constant theme should have been, "the perseverance of the saints."

Sect. LI. PERSEVERANCE IN HIS OLD FRIENDSHIPS, ESPECIALLY TO THE EDWARDS FAMILY.

One of the most interesting traits in the character of Hopkins was, his continued faithfulness to the friends of his youth. He has been thought to be one of those men who, in the words of Milton, have "such a scholastical bur in their throats, as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering, [and] cracked their voices forever with metaphysical gargarisms." But more than once in his letters, at the age of eighty-two, he apologizes for his earnest expressions of friendship, with such clauses as, "You will perhaps think by what I have written, that I am not a little enthusiastic in my old age." The following honest-hearted words to Rev. Jonathan Judd, of Southampton,‡ breathe the forgiving spirit of the man who had suffered so much for his faith:

* Sketches, etc., pp. 114–124.

† See section xxxvii. of this Memoir.

‡ See p. 34 of this Memoir.

"Newport, November 5, 1798. Dear Sir: It is near thirty years since I have had any thing direct from you, and I do not remember that I have written you since, which I am *now* disposed to consider as my fault. The import of your line to me then was, that you considered me as a great and wicked heretic, highly deserving rebuke.* I believe I have published nothing since, that would lead you to have a better opinion of me, had you read my writings, which to me is improbable.

"However, considering our consanguinity,† that we originated in the same town, were classmates at college, and the intimacy which took place between us when we were young and entering on the stage of life, there is, perhaps, no reason for our living strangers to each other. I therefore now sit down to write you by post, as I know of no other way of conveyance, presuming you are yet in this world, though I have heard nothing of you for a considerable time.

"You are about a year older or younger than I am, I think, but I do not remember which. I was seventy-seven years old on the seventeenth day of last September. But very few of our contemporaries are now living, and we shall soon be called off the stage of life. I think I have heard of the death of the wife of your youth; and that you have since married another wife, but who, or from whence, or whether she be yet alive, I know not. You have children, I conclude, some or all of them grown up and settled in the world; but how many you have had, whether they be all alive, and what proportion of males and females, I have not been informed." —

Hopkins next gives an unvarnished account of his own family, and adds:

"My church and congregation were large and flourished, before the war with Britain, but in that war were greatly diminished and impoverished; from which state they have not risen. However, I have my daily food, and live comfortably and in peace, having neither poverty nor riches, as a temptation to lead me astray." —

"I enjoy a comfortable measure of health, through the distinguishing mercy of God, and have fewer complaints than men of my years commonly have; — am able to attend the public services of the Sabbath constantly, and we have a weekly conference at my house every Thursday evening. But religion is very low with us, and in these parts." —

The writer then enumerates his various publications, and adds:

"We are going into a world of light, where it will be known what truth and what errors we have imbibed and contended for in this dark world; and then all matters will be set right; to which I feel no reluctance, hoping I sincerely love the truth, and that I am building on the sure foundation laid in Zion, whatever hay and stubble may be found with me. And as to others, who are the professed friends of Christ, I desire not to judge any of them before the time.

"If this should find you alive and in health, and you should find it in your heart to write me by the same conveyance in which this goes, you would much oblige your kinsman and old friend, S. Hopkins.

"Reverend Jonathan Judd.

"P. S. Mrs. Hopkins wishes you to think of her as your respectful friend." ‡

* Mr. Judd was strongly opposed to some of the opinions of Dr. Hopkins.

† The mother of Dr. Hopkins was a sister of Mr. Judd's father.

‡ See the whole of this letter in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. v. pp. 43–45.

The faithfulness of Dr. Hopkins to his old friends, is most conspicuous in his life-long devotedness to the family of President Edwards. When the President and his consort were removed by death, Hopkins wrote:

"Mrs. Sarah Edwards, the amiable consort of President Edwards, did not long survive him. In September, she set out in good health on a journey to Philadelphia, to take care of her two orphan grandchildren, which were now in that city, and had been since the death of Mrs. Burr. As they had no relations in those parts, Mrs. Edwards proposed to take them into her own family. She arrived there by the way of Princeton, September 21, in good health, having had a comfortable journey. But in a few days she was suddenly seized with a violent dysentery, which put an end to her life on the fifth day, October 2, 1758, in the forty-ninth year of her age. She said not much in her sickness, being exercised most of the time with violent pain. On the morning of the day she died, she apprehended her death was near, when she expressed her entire resignation to God, and desire that God might be glorified in all things; and that she might be enabled to glorify him to the last; and continued in such a temper, calm and resigned, till she died.

"Her remains were carried to Princeton, which is about forty miles from Philadelphia, and deposited with Mr. Edwards's. Thus they who were in their lives remarkably lovely and pleasant, in their death were not much divided. Here lie the father and mother, the son and daughter, who were laid together in the grave within the space of a little more than a year; though, a few months before, their dwelling was more than one hundred and fifty miles apart. Two presidents of the same college and their consorts, than whom it will doubtless be hard to find four persons more valuable and useful, in a few months are cut off from the earth forever; and by a remarkable providence are put, as it were, into one grave! And we, the survivors, are left under the gloomy apprehension that these righteous are taken away from the evil to come.

"Surely, America is greatly emptied by these deaths! How much knowledge, wisdom, and holiness is gone from the earth forever! And where are they who shall make good their ground! *

Hopkins describes Mrs. Edwards as uncommonly beautiful in her person, courteous and engaging in her manners, and gives the following simple-hearted account of her domestic life:

"She paid proper deference to Mr. Edwards, and treated him with decency and respect at all times. As he was of a weakly, infirm constitution, and was peculiar and exact in his diet, she was a tender nurse to him; cheerfully attending upon him at all times, and ministering to his comfort; and spared no pains to conform to his inclinations, and make things agreeable and comfortable to him.

"She accounted it her greatest glory, and that wherein she could best serve God and her generation, in being a means of promoting Mr. Edwards's comfort and usefulness in this way. And no person of discerning could be conversant in the family, without observing and admiring the great harmony and mutual love and esteem that subsisted between them.

"When she herself labored under bodily disorders and pains, which was often the case, she was not wont to be full of her complaints, and put on a dejected or sour countenance, being out of humor with every body and every thing, as if she was disregarded and neglected, but she would bear up under them with patience, and a kind of cheerfulness and good humor.

* Appendix to the Memoir of President Edwards, pp. 109, 110, Edinburgh edition.

"She was a good economist, managing her household affairs with discretion; in which she was laborious and diligent. She was very careful that nothing should be wasted and lost; and often, when she did any thing to save a small matter, or directed her children to do it in any instance, or saw them waste any thing, she would mention the words of our Saviour, which, she said, she often thought of, as containing a maxim worth remembering; when, as the reason why his disciples should gather up the fragments, he says, '*that nothing be lost.*' She took almost the whole care of the temporal affairs of the family, without doors and within; and in this she was peculiarly suited to Mr. Edwards's disposition, who chose to have no care of any worldly business.

"She had an excellent way of governing her children. She knew how to make them regard and obey her cheerfully, without loud, angry words, or heavy blows. She seldom struck her children a blow; and, in speaking to them, used mild, gentle, and pleasant words. If any correction was needful, it was not her manner to give it in a passion. And when she had occasion to reprove and rebuke, she would do it in few words, without heat and noise, with all calmness and gentleness of mind. And in her directions or reproofs, in any matters of importance, she would address herself to the reason of her children, that they might not only know her inclination and will, but at the same time be convinced of the reasonableness of it. She need speak but once; she was cheerfully obeyed; murmuring and answering again were not known among them; and the kind and gentle treatment they had from their mother, while she strictly and punctually maintained her parental authority, seemed naturally to beget and promote a filial regard and respect, and lead them to a mild, tender treatment of each other; for quarrelling and contention, as it frequently takes place among children, was not known among them. She carefully observed the first appearances of resentment and ill will towards any, in her young children, and did not connive at it and promote it, as many who have the care of children do, but was careful to show her displeasure at it, and suppress it to her utmost; not by angry, wrathful words and blows, which often provoke children to wrath, and stir up and confirm their irascible passions, rather than abate and suppress them.

"As she was sensible that, in many respects, the chief care of forming children by government and instruction naturally lies on mothers, as they are most with their children in their most pliable age, when they commonly receive impressions by which they are very much formed for life, so she was very careful to do her part in this important business. And when she met with any special difficulty in this matter, or foresaw any, she was wont to apply to Mr. Edwards for advice and assistance; and on such occasions they would both attend to it as a matter of great importance.

"But this was not all in which she expressed her care for her children. She thought that parents had great and important duty to do towards their children, before they were capable of government and instruction. For them she constantly and earnestly prayed, and bore them on her heart before God, in all her secret and most solemn addresses to him; and that even before they were born. . . . . .

"She was remarkable for her kindness to her friends and visitants, who resorted to Mr. Edwards. She would spare no pains to make them welcome, and provide for their convenience and comfort; and she was peculiarly kind to strangers who came to her house. She would take such kind and special notice of such, and so soon get acquainted with them, as it were, and show such regard and concern for their comfort, and so kindly offer what she thought they needed, as to discover she knew the heart of a stranger, and well understood how to do it good, and so as to oblige them to feel, in some measure, as if they were at home.

"She made it her rule to speak well of all, so far as she could with truth and justice to herself and others. She was not wont to dwell with delight on the imperfections and failings of any; and when she heard persons speaking

ill of others, she would say what she thought she could, with truth and justice, in their excuse, or divert the obloquy by mentioning those things that were commendable in them. Thus she was tender of every one's character, even of theirs who injured and spoke evil of her; and carefully guarded against the too common vice of evil speaking and backbiting. She could bear injuries and reproach with great calmness and patience, without any disposition to render evil for evil; but, on the contrary, was ready to pity and forgive those who appeared to be her enemies.

"She had long told her intimate friends, that she had, after long struggles and exercises, obtained, by God's grace, an habitual willingness to die herself, or part with any of her most near relatives, — that she was willing to bring forth children for death, and resign up him whom she esteemed so great a blessing to her and her family — her nearest partner — to the stroke of death, whenever God should see fit to take him. And when she had the greatest trial, in the death of Mr. Edwards, she found the help and comfort of such a disposition. Her conversation and conduct on this occasion was even to the admiration of her friends. It was such as discovered that she was sensible of the great loss she and her children had sustained in his death; and at the same time showed that she was quiet and resigned, and had those invisible supports and comforts by which she could trust in God with quietness, hope, and humble joy." *

In the same volume which contains the "Short Sketch of Mrs. Edwards's Life and Character," is also a "Brief Account of Mrs. Esther Burr, and some Extracts of Letters wrote by her." Mrs. Burr was the third daughter of President Edwards. Her biographer says of her:

She "exceeded most of her sex in the beauty of her person, and in a decent and easy gesture, behavior, and conversation, (not stiff and starch on the one hand, nor mean and indecent on the other;) in her unaffected, natural freedom with persons of all ranks with whom she conversed. Her genius was much more than common. She had a lively, sprightly imagination, a quick and penetrating thought, and a good judgment. She had a peculiar smartness in her make and temper, which yet was consistent with pleasantness and good nature; and she knew how to be pleasant and facetious without trespassing on the bounds of gravity, or strict and serious religion. In short, she seemed to be formed to please, and especially to please one of Mr. Burr's taste and talents, in whom he was exceeding happy. But what crowned al. her excellences, and was her chief glory, was her religion. She was hopefully converted when she was seven or eight years old; and she made a public profession of religion when she was about fifteen years of age; and her conversation and conduct, to her death, were exemplary, and as becometh godliness." †

Our author thus describes her death:

"Mrs. Burr and her children were inoculated at the same time her father was, and were recovered when he died. But after she was perfectly recovered to all appearance, she was suddenly seized with a violent disorder, which carried her out of the world in a few days; and which the physician said he could call by no name, but that of *a messenger sent suddenly to call her out of the world.* She died April 7, 1758, sixteen days after her father, in the twenty-seventh year of her age. She was married to Mr. Burr June 29, 1752. By him she had two children, a son and a daughter." ‡

* Appendix to the Memoir of President Edwards, pp. 112–116, Edinburgh edition.
† Ibid. pp. 104, 105. ‡ Ibid. p. 104.

In one of her letters to her father, after the death of President Burr, the bereaved widow thus expresses herself:

"Since I wrote my mother's letter, God has carried me through new trials, and given me new supports. My little son has been sick with a slow fever, ever since my brother left us, and has been brought to the brink of the grave, but I hope in mercy God is bringing him up again. I was enabled to resign the child, (after a severe struggle with nature,) with the greatest freedom. God showed me that the child was not my own, but his; and that he had a right to recall what he had lent, whenever he thought fit; and I had no reason to complain, or say, God was hard with me. This silenced me.

"But O, how good is God! He not only kept me from complaining, but comforted me by enabling me to offer up the child by faith, I think, if ever I acted faith. I saw the fulness there was in Christ for little infants, and his willingness to accept of such as were offered to him. '*Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not,*' were comforting words."*

This "little son" became, in the lapse of time, Vice President of the United States. Knowing him to be then surrounded with a brilliant circle of admirers, and to be flattered with a hope of new promotion, Hopkins sits down in the narrow study, and writes to him the following epistle. It is one of the last letters which he ever wrote. He seems to have felt that he could not go to rejoin the family of President Edwards, until he had performed a sad duty to one of that good man's erring descendants:

"Newport, ——, 1802. Honored Sir: You will probably be surprised, (though it is hoped not offended,) by being addressed by a person above fourscore years old, who has no personal acquaintance with you, and whom you never saw and perhaps never heard of. The only apology I have to make for this, is the intimate acquaintance and friendship which subsisted between me and your grandfather and grandmother Edwards, and their daughter, your mother, and President Burr, your father; and my consequent benevolent, respectful regard for you.

"After the death of President Burr, President Edwards, and your mother, Mrs. Edwards was informed that you and your sister were taken to Philadelphia, by a friend of your deceased parents. She thought it her duty to make a journey to Philadelphia, and take the best care she could of her two little orphan grandchildren. The day she set out on her journey, she called at my house, as I then lived at Great Barrington, and proposed to me to write the life of the late President Edwards; to which I objected my being very unequal to such a work. But being urged by her solicitations, I consented to attempt it. Accordingly it was written, and by the approbation of his surviving friends it was published; to which was added a Sketch of the Character of Mrs. Edwards and Mrs. Burr. This has been reprinted in London, which you have doubtless seen, and read the account your mother has given of her pious exercises respecting you, when you was a fatherless infant, and sick unto death, as was feared, but mercifully recovered in answer to fervent prayer. But to return from this perhaps needless digression.

"Mrs. Edwards arrived at Philadelphia in apparent good health, but was soon seized with sickness, which put an end to her life in a few days, which was, in a sense and degree, sacrificed in behalf of her two orphan grandchildren.

"In whose hands you was left after this, and who had the care of your

* Appendix to the Memoir of President Edwards, p. 108, Edinburgh edition.

education in your childhood and early youth, I do not recollect that I was ever informed. But that you have had a liberal education, and when you entered on the stage of life you studied and practised the law with success and reputation, and that in our late revolutionary war with Britain you were an active and useful officer under Washington, is sufficiently ascertained; and you are now raised to the dignity of Vice President of the United States, and consequently are a candidate for the highest office which the people of these States can confer.

"It is reported, and it is believed by a number, that you do not believe in divine revelation, and discard Christianity as not worthy of credit. I know this is an age of infidelity, but I do not think I have such evidence of the truth of this report, as to exclude all hope that it is not true. It would be very grievous to me, and I know it would be inexpressibly so to your pious and worthy ancestors, were they now in this world, to know that one of their posterity, for whom they had made so many prayers, who was educated in a Christian land, and is possessed of such great and distinguished natural powers of mind, was an infidel; especially as it is certain that such a character cannot be so useful as mischievous, nor can he be happy, but miserable, in this life; and, dying so, will be inconceivably miserable forever.

"I am as certain that the God revealed in the Bible is the only true God, and that Christianity is from heaven, and the only way to true happiness, as I am that there is a God, or that there is any existence, either visible or invisible; therefore that all infidelity, whether it be called deism, atheism, or scepticism, renounces the true God, has its foundation in a very depraved and corrupt heart, and will land in endless misery. There is the most certain and clear evidence, which cannot but be seen by every discerning, attentive mind, both from reason, experience, and divine revelation, that all the worldly riches, honors, and enjoyments, that any man can possess, cannot make him happy, but is attended with more pain than pleasure; and commonly, if not always, with peculiar trouble and vexation, if he seek happiness in this life only; and the best that he can hope for is the awfully dark and precarious cessation of existence, when he shall leave this world. But if this forlorn hope fail, as it certainly will, nothing remains but certain, inconceivable, endless misery.

"And there is equal evidence and certainty from the above-mentioned sources, that the true Christian, whether rich or poor, in a high or low station, honored and applauded, or neglected and despised by men, is in the possession of a high, solid, and refined enjoyment, which the men of the world know not, and which the world cannot give or take away; consisting in the knowledge, belief, and love of the truths and realities contained in the gospel, and the exercises of heart and practice conformable thereto, and the hope of future happiness and glory with which Christianity inspires when cordially embraced; to which he will soon be brought, under the care of an infinitely powerful, wise, and benevolent Saviour, where he will enjoy complete and growing felicity, without any end.

"Sir, however needless, futile, or assuming, this address may appear, I hope it will be received without offence, from one who, with his best wishes for your prosperity in all things, is your sincere friend and ready servant, in all your lawful desires and commands. SAMUEL HOPKINS,

Pastor of the First Church in Newport, R. I.

"Hon. Aaron Burr,
Vice President of the United States of America."

Honest old man! Having loved the friends of his youth, he loves them even to the last, and longs to repay their kindness to him by laboring for their children and their children's children. His right arm had been palsied three years before he wrote this epistle; but he obviously took great pains in fashioning its letters, and it is

penned with a much firmer hand than he exhibited in any of his theological communications written at this date. All his attachments were constant.

Sect. LII. REVIVAL OF RELIGION.

It seemed good to the Rewarder of those who call upon him, not to take home this laborious but often discouraged pastor, without first gladdening his heart by a religious interest among his people. The friend of Edwards, Buell, and Brainerd, he had preached his first sermon in a revival of religion: it was meet that he should preach his last in a like scene. The sun which rose brightly in the morning, and had long been hidden behind the clouds, shone out again at its setting, and smiled upon the patient man who had waited so long for its beams.

In his extreme old age, this faithful minister wrote down the name of every member of his congregation, and offered day by day, in that little study chamber, a separate prayer for one after another of his beloved hearers. He had just completed this series of special supplications, when Mr., afterwards Dr. Caleb J. Tenney, came to aid him in his labors. A religious interest began at once. Strong men were bowed down. The men who had become "mighty in the Scriptures" under his tuition, began to love the truths which they had learned. He had been particularly earnest in his prayers for the choir, and nearly every one of his singers became joyful in the Christian hope. In about a year from that time, thirty-one of his hearers had enrolled their names among the disciples of Christ, and his church now contained about a hundred members.* His last sermon was preached during the progress of this revival. He had been afflicted with a severe fever in the middle of May, so that he was unable to speak in public until the middle of July. He then resumed his work. On the sixteenth of October, he preached from 1 Peter v. 8. "Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Several who heard the sermon represent it as solemn and subduing. He rode home, and as he was helped out of his carriage, he said, with a wearied look, to his granddaughter: "Now I have done: I can preach no more." *He gave up.* He toiled as long as he could. Let us follow him to his rest.

* A larger number than at his installation; (see p. 85, above.) It is to be remembered, that the revolutionary war reduced his society to sixty or seventy families, from a hundred and thirty-five. His church was afterward reduced yet more, and at one time it contained only three male members. The Second Congregational Church was also diminished, and at one time depended upon Dr. Hopkins's church for a deacon, to distribute the communion emblems.

SECT. LIII. DEATH.

On Monday morning, October seventh, he remained in his exhausted state, and during the forenoon was seized with a severe fit of apoplexy, "which gave him all the appearance of a corpse. Recovering his reason before night, he would sometimes whisper as loud as he was able, 'O! the glory, the glory that shall follow.' And when reduced to his lowest state, and suffering the acutest of pain, his soul seemed to be refreshed by this his favorite exclamation, '*O! the glory that shall follow.*'" *

Soon afterward he was attacked with a disorder of the intestines, which greatly reduced him. He lost all appetite for food, and for nine weeks took scarcely an ounce of solid nutriment. He sat up in his easy chair two or three hours in the day. "I was with him," says Dr. Channing, "the day after he was seized with his last sickness. A minister present prayed with him, and for the continuance of his life. When the prayer was finished, Dr. Hopkins said something to this effect: 'You should not have asked for my life. I can do nothing more. It is time for me to go.' He could not at that moment have been distressed by doubts. Perhaps these were the last words I heard from him." †

Says one who attended him through his last sickness: "He possessed an uninterrupted peace; and though he could say but little, through his great inward weakness, yet he seemed to dwell in the clearest views of divine truth. The glory which would arise to God, in the salvation of sinners, filled his soul with ineffable joy. He had not one anxious thought about death, — rejoiced that he was in the hand of Christ, and wholly at his disposal." ‡

Another says, that often in his sickness he repeated the Psalm: "I will love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer; my God, my strength, in whom I will trust; my buckler, and the horn of my salvation, and my high tower," etc., etc.

A clergyman bending over him uttered the words, "Most gone." "Yes," he replied, "most gone." "And how do you feel, brother Hopkins?" "My anchor is well cast, and my ship, though weather-beaten, will outride the storm." §

He was particularly interested in the members of his own parish, who made him their farewell visits; and although he could not say much to the young converts, he gave them "his approbation and his blessing."

Three days before his death, he received a visit from a youth over whom he had watched with earnest but seemingly useless care.

* Ferguson's Memoir, p. 125.
† Letter of February 14, 1840.
‡ Sketches, Introduction, p. xx.
§ Ferguson's Memoir, p. 126.

Taking the young man by the hand, he remarked: "I am feeble, and cannot say much. I *have* said all that I *can* say. With my last words I tell you, '*Religion is the one thing needful.*'" He pressed the hand of his visitor still more closely, while he added: "And now I am going to die, and I am glad of it."

During the eighteenth and nineteenth of December, writes one who was familiar with his last scenes, "his bodily distress was beyond description." His reason was perfect to the last, and his patience in his agonies, astonishing. After a very distressing turn, we laid him down in his bed. He seemed easier; and while a number of us were sitting round him, he breathed his last, without a sigh or a groan; nor could we tell the moment in which he went!"*

So died this calm man, on the twentieth of December, 1803, in the sixty-third year of his Christian profession, in the sixty-second year of his ministry, in the eighty-third year of his age; an old disciple.

Sect. LIV. FUNERAL; GRAVE.

There had been, as we have already seen, an intimate friendship of more than forty years, between this deceased father and Dr. Levi Hart, of Preston, Connecticut. These two divines had made an agreement, that when either of them died his funeral sermon should, if possible, be preached by the survivor. In conformity with this plan, Dr. Hart pronounced the discourse, before a large auditory,† at the funeral of his venerated friend. The sermon was published soon afterward.‡ The Newport Mercury of December 24, 1803, contains the following notice of the funeral scene:

* Sketches, Introduction, pp. xx. xxi.

† It was affecting to see the number of the colored population, who testified their gratitude to the deceased by attending his funeral.

‡ See West's Sketches, pp. 217–240. After a brief notice of the principal events in Dr. Hopkins's life, Dr. Hart says:

"Those who best knew him, and are most able to judge of ministerial eminence, will agree that he was, even beyond most evangelical ministers, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof, in all those respects which have been already noticed. For this important work he was eminently qualified by natural endowments, acquired knowledge, and divine grace.

"His instructions, as a Christian teacher, were plain, clear, impressive and entertaining to the attentive hearer, conveying the most essential and practical knowledge. His example confirmed to his hearers the truths and duties which he taught. He was eminently useful to young ministers, and to those preparing for the Christian ministry, by verbal instructions, and by various publications on theological subjects. All his printed works may be read with profit, and especially the System of Divinity, in two volumes, which he published in the latter part of his life.

"We add, that he was the defence and safety to the church by his prayers; in which we have abundant reason to believe he was devout, ardent, and persevering to the last. In these respects, and others not mentioned, he was a pillar in the church below, a man to make up the hedge and stand in the gap.

"While we drop the filial tear in committing his venerable dust to the house of silence, as a common loss to the church on earth, still more oppressive sorrow must pierce the hearts of his family connections and the people of his charge." —

"*Help, Lord, for the godly cease; for the faithful fail from among the children of men.*

"Died, on Tuesday evening, the twentieth instant, the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, S. T. D., in the eighty-third year of his age, and for more than thirty three years pastor of the First Congregational Church in this town. He was as blameless in his private character as distinguished by his writings; and was eminently useful in all his relations to the church and to society. His funeral was attended yesterday afternoon, at the meeting-house in which he had ministered, and an instructive and pathetic discourse was delivered on the occasion, by the Rev. Dr. Hart, of Preston, from the words: 'My Father! my Father! the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof.'" (2 Kings ii. 12.)*

The remains of this godly man were interred in the burial-place adjoining his meeting-house. They lay near his old pulpit. A horizontal tablet was placed over them, and on it was inscribed the following epitaph:†

IN MEMORY OF

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,

IN NEWPORT:

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE

DEC. 20th, A. D. 1803;

IN THE 83d YEAR OF HIS AGE;

WHOSE FAITHFUL ATTENTIONS TO THE DUTIES

OF HIS PASTORAL OFFICE, AND

WHOSE VALUABLE WRITINGS,

WILL RECOMMEND HIS CHARACTER,

WHEN THIS MONUMENT,

ERECTED BY HIS BEREAVED FLOCK,

SHALL, WITH THE PRECIOUS DUST IT COVERS,

CEASE TO BE DISTINGUISHED.

SECT. LV. RE-INTERMENT; MONUMENT AT GREAT BARRINGTON.

Years rolled by, and the two churches over which Dr. Patten and Dr. Hopkins had been stationed as pastors, nobly forgot their

* The newspapers of that day gave only brief notices of the deceased. The Independent Chronicle, of Boston, for January 2, 1804, merely announced: "In Newport, after a long and tedious illness, which he sustained with great philosophy and Christian fortitude," Rev. S. H., etc., etc.

† The authorship of this epitaph has been ascribed by some to Dr. Patten; by others, to Dr. Channing; by others still, with more probability, to Dr. Caleb J. Tenney.

differences, and were reünited after a separation of more than a century. They erected a new house of worship, and in front of that house now lies gathered the dust of those two pastors who, having been united pleasantly in life, are not divided in death. The remains of Dr. Hopkins were removed to their new resting-place, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1849. They are covered by the same freestone slab which was placed over them nearly a half century before. They repose on one of the most beautiful islands in the country, and the waves and breezes of the neighboring ocean remind us of the free and pure thoughts, with which the peaceful sleeper was once animated. Whoever enters the sanctuary where the descendants of his parishioners worship, now looks upon his grave. How many and what differing classes of men, will pause with interest at that venerable stone. He was a preacher to three distinct races of men; and the friends of the Indian and the African will stop to read his epitaph, and pay a tribute to his comprehensive charity. The admirers of Brainerd, and Whitefield, and Buell, and Bellamy, and the Edwardses, — of Andrew Fuller, John Erskine, John Ryland, — will bend over the ashes of one whom these great men esteemed as a brother or a guide. The historian will linger at the grave of the scholar who, indigent, desponding, solitary, produced a deep impression on clergymen and laymen in our own and the fatherland, and has visibly modified the faith of his opposers even, and has now for a hundred years been raising the popular standard of orthodoxy, and has made a knowledge of his life essential to a correct estimate of the New England faith. The metaphysician will stop to speculate on the powers of him who is seen at one time in the wilderness with an Indian scout, at another time in his study translating a page of Calvin or Van Mastricht, — here conversing with Emmons on baptism, and there with Channing on slavery; — now writing on the final cause of all things to President Davies, then teaching the most recondite doctrines of the gospel to his negro missionaries, and again corresponding with the government of Sierra Leone. The philanthropist will pause to wonder at the man, who went as far in advance of his age in the cause of moral improvement as in the cause of theological science; who anticipated several of the benevolent operations of our own day, and united in an uncommon degree the speculative with the practical tendencies. The humble Christian will forget the prejudices of school and party, and will commend the spirit of the man who made it the great aim of his speculations, and of his life-long discipline, to dethrone self and to exalt Jehovah, and who has associated his very name with the epithet "disinterested."

In the year 1850, a monument was erected to the memory of Dr. Hopkins, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, by the generosity of

Hon. Charles W. Hopkins; the same gentleman who has rendered such liberal aid in publishing the edition of his ancestor's collected works. It is a solid and beautiful structure of Italian marble. It bears the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF

SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.,

FOR MANY YEARS PASTOR

OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN THIS PLACE,

AN EMINENT TEACHER OF THEOLOGY;

WIDELY KNOWN BY HIS ABLE WRITINGS.

HE DIED AT NEWPORT, IN RHODE ISLAND,

DECEMBER 20, 1803, AGED 83 YEARS:

AND OF JOANNA, HIS WIFE,

WHO DIED AUGUST 31, 1793, AGED 68 YEARS:

AND OF MOSES HOPKINS, HIS SON,

WHO WAS BORN MARCH 21, 1751;

AND, HAVING FILLED WITH CREDIT

MANY PUBLIC STATIONS,

CLOSED A LIFE OF USEFULNESS AND INTEGRITY,

ON THE 9th OF MARCH, 1838:

AND OF ANNA, WIFE OF MOSES HOPKINS,

WHO DIED JULY 22, 1834. AGED 80 YEARS.

APPENDIX.

SINCE the preceding Memoir was printed, the Librarian of the New England Historic Genealogical Society has politely copied for the present biographer, four letters of Dr. Hopkins to Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, of Boston. The following are extracts from the first letter, dated December 5, 1759:

"Mr. Edwards's children thankfully accept your kind offer to advise and assist them in the proposed publication of some of their father's manuscripts, and accordingly have sent some to you. The 'Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue,' which has been promised to the world, you will see is not completely fitted for the press. Mr. Edwards read it to me and some others, before he had wrote on Original Sin; and then told us he intended to write it over again before it went to the press, by which he should doubtless make some alterations for the better, by altering some words, shortening some paragraphs, making some sentences more perspicuous, &c. He has often told me that he found such advantages by transcribing, that he designed always to be at the pains in all his future publications. If this piece therefore sees the light, it must appear under the disadvantage of the want of his *finishing hand.* What is said in showing what is true virtue, I think, will be plain and easy to common capacities; but what is said in confutation of the false notions of virtue which some moral philosophers have advanced, I conceive, will be objected against by many, as metaphysical and abstruse; and will not be so readily understood by common people. For this reason, it has been inquired whether it is proper to have a number of practical sermons in the same volume with this, and whether it would not be best to have a volume of 'Sermons' published first; lest, if this should not find acceptance among common people, (without whose assistance nothing of this kind can be done,) it might discourage future publications of some things more practical. When Mr. Edwards wrote it, he designed it should precede what he has wrote on Original Sin; and when he failed of effecting that, determined to publish it with and as introductory to a 'Treatise on Efficacious Grace,' which he had in view, and had made considerable preparation for it.

"The 'Dissertation on the End of God in creating the World,' you will see, was wrote before the other, and is as much prepared for the press as the latter. This was designed to accompany a 'Treatise on Predestination, or the Decrees of God,' which was *the next thing Mr. Edwards designed to publish.* Whether 'tis best to publish *this*, with that on Virtue, or whether 'tis best to postpone the publication of it, is left to your judgment and advice. Some have thought that if a way would be found out to get these two Dissertations printed in England, (perhaps *without any name*,) they would hereby be rendered more serviceable to mankind. Mrs. Edwards told me, the last time I saw her, that she had projected a scheme to get this effected; but as our last interview was short, she did not inform me what it was. Perhaps if this project should be approved, 'tis impracticable.

"The same was proposed to Mr. Edwards, with respect to his 'Treatise on the Freedom of the Will;' and he highly approved of it, if it had been thought of sooner; but it was then too late, proposals for subscription being published.

"I have selected forty-six volumes of manuscript sermons, which are, in

my judgment, as good and suitable to be published as any which I have yet read, (for I have not read them all yet.) The thirty sermons on Isaiah li. 8, on many accounts, are, with me, preferable for a present and first publication. They may be considered as the groundwork and epitome of a large work which Mr. Edwards designed to publish, if he had lived — what he called 'A History of the Work of Redemption.'" . . . . .

In a letter to Mr. Foxcroft, dated Jan. 9, 1761, Dr. Hopkins adds:

"I believe Mr. Edwards supposed that his treatise on the 'Nature of True Virtue' fully answered what he promises in his book [on] Original Sin, (p. 382.) He supposed that by showing what [true] virtue *is*, and, as a consequence of this, what *is not* virtue, he effectually answers all the objections there mentioned, and put a sufficient and full answer into the mouth of every one who should have such objections thrown in his way, though he does not mention the objections in that treatise, or answer them as being made against the doctrine of Original Sin. If Mr. Edwards has proved that what he calls virtue *is* indeed virtue, and that what Arminians have called virtue is in fact *no* virtue at all, then he has proved that the *objections* mentioned in the passage above referred to, have no weight in them, and so fully answers them. And while he particularly considers, and proves, which he does in that treatise, (for much the bigger part of it is taken up about this, if I don't mistake,) that *Arminians'* virtue, such as their *moral sense*, &c., is no virtue at all, these objections of theirs are '*particularly considered*.'"

In other letters, Hopkins speaks of Dr. John Erskine's "zeal about the publication of the two dissertations on Virtue and the End of God" in creating the world, and adds: "I doubt not but that *hundreds* of subscriptions may be easily got for them in America," and proposes that the sale of President Edwards's Works "shall be for the benefit of his [President E.'s] two youngest sons." The disappointment of Hopkins's expectations with regard to the assistance to be rendered by Mr. Foxcroft, and to the sale of President Edwards's Works, has been intimated on pp. 217–219, above.

In a letter dated April 6, 1761, Dr. Hopkins thus alludes to his own manuscript Memoir of President Edwards, which he transcribed for publication "upon Sir [i. e., Dr. Jonathan] Edwards's desire:"

"Imperfect as it is, it has cost me much time and labor; much more than I thought of, when I undertook it. — The Rev. Messrs. Bellamy and Brinsmade have seen it, and it has obtained their *imprimatur*. Mr. Edwards's children, who have come to the years of discretion, have read it, and approve.* — If it shall be thought best to publish it, I must desire you, Reverend sir, to be so good as to correct the grammar, spelling, and printing, where you find a deficiency, which doubtless you will do in many places. . . . . Some of Mr. Edwards's children object against giving the title of *President* Edwards, especially at the beginning, as he was president so short a time as that he did not obtain the epithet among many; and [it] will be distasteful, and perhaps provoking to some readers, who were not so friendly to Mr. Edwards. This I cheerfully submit to your better judgment, as a matter in which I am at some loss."

* The dissatisfaction of one or two of President Edwards's children with Hopkins's Memoir, (see p. 213, above,) was not felt until many years after the Memoir was published, and after their father had obtained a European reputation.

SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

PREFACE.

SYSTEMATIC Divinity is considered and treated, by many, with slight and contempt. And if a book be written in this form, and published under the title of a System or Body of Divinity, this is a sufficient reason, with them, to neglect it, as not worthy their attention. But can this be supported by any good reason? Is not a System of Divinity as proper and important as a System of Jurisprudence, Physic, or Natural Philosophy?

If the Bible be a revelation from heaven, it contains a system of consistent important doctrines; which are so connected, and implied in each other, that one cannot be so well understood, if detached from all the rest, and considered by itself; and some must be first known, before others can be seen in a proper and true light. When all these are stated, and explained, according to Scripture, and in their true order, connection, and dependence, a System of Doctrines is formed. This every person must do, in some measure and degree, who understands the Bible. And he who would assist others in doing this, and set the Doctrines of Christianity in a clear light, and to the best advantage to be understood, will, of course, form a System of Truths; and so far as he falls short of this, or deviates from it, he must be defective and confused.

If the following system do, indeed, contain the chief and most important doctrines of Christianity, and they be, in any good measure, explained and vindicated, showing their consistence and connection with each other, the reader, it is hoped, will get some advantage by it. If it should be thought by any that it contains great errors and inconsistencies, it is to be wished, for their sake, and for the sake of truth, that they would not confidently rest in their conclusion, or drop the subject, till they are able to fix on a system of truths more consistent, and which can be better supported by the Scripture, and are more agreeable to sound reason.

It is presumed the author will not be suspected of going through the labor of composing the following work with a view of rendering himself popular, and obtaining the general applause; or that he has sought to "please men." The most that can be reasonably expected is, that it may serve to confirm the friends of truth in the doctrines contained in the Scripture; and enlighten some of those who have been in the dark respecting some truths, and have been inconsistent with themselves in the doctrines they have espoused; and that it may assist the honest inquirers to see what are the leading and most important doctrines of divine revelation; particularly those who are candidates for the evangelical ministry.

It is not pretended that every doctrine of Christianity is expressly mentioned in this System; but that the most important and essential truths are brought into view; and of these some are treated more concisely, and others are more particularly examined and vindicated, as was judged most convenient and useful. Nor was it thought necessary, or expedient, to mention all the objections which have been made to the doctrines here advanced, as they are sufficiently obviated, by establishing the truth, from Scripture and reason; and as this would have enlarged the work to an undesirable

length, those only are mentioned, by an answer to which, the truth is more explained and established.

The same sentiments are brought into view, and repeated, in a number of instances, which could not well be avoided, in such a work; and it is hoped that such repetitions will not be inconvenient or tedious to the reader.

To the most correct and elegant style the author makes no pretension; as this is not his talent. If the words and expressions be not ambiguous, but are suited to convey the ideas designed to be communicated to the mind of the reader with ease and clearness, the chief and most important end of language is answered; and it is hoped, that they who are, with proper attention and concern, inquiring after the truth, will exercise so much candor, as not to be offended, or slight it, though it be not expressed in words and a style more agreeable to their nice and critical taste; and they may observe a number of inaccuracies.

This work has been undertaken and prosecuted, under a conviction, that a performance of this kind is much wanted; and, if well executed, would be very useful, and greatly serve the cause of truth and religion. It is to be wished there were a more able hand disposed to execute it; but as none appeared to do it, the author has done his best. Yet he doubts not that there are many defects; and is not confident that he has made no mistakes in less important points; while he has not the least doubt that the chief and leading doctrines here advanced are contained in the Bible, and are important and everlasting truths; and that all those sentiments, and schemes of doctrine and religion, which are wholly inconsistent with these, and contrary to them, are not consistent with the Bible, or with one another; and, if followed in their just consequences, will lead to universal scepticism, and, which is the same indeed, to the horrible darkness of atheism itself.

The truth is great, and has omnipotence to support it, and therefore will prevail; and all erroneous doctrines, and false religion, will be utterly abolished. And there is no reason to doubt, that light will so increase in the church, and men will be raised up, who will make such advances in opening the Scripture, and in the knowledge of divine truth, that what is now done and written will be so far superseded, as to appear imperfect and inconsiderable, compared with that superior light with which the church will then be blessed. Nevertheless, if publishing that to which we have *now* attained may be a mean of making such advances, and a proper and necessary step to it, the labor and expense of doing it will be abundantly compensated.

NEWPORT, *August* 20, 1792.

SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

CHAPTER I.

DIVINE REVELATION.

It is evident from reason, fact, and experience, that mankind stand in need of a revelation from God, in order to know what God is — what is their own true state and moral character — whether he be reconcilable to them who have rebelled against him — and if he be, what is the method he has appointed, in which he will be reconciled; and what man must be and do in order to find acceptance in his sight; — wherein true happiness consists — whether there be another state — what are the favors he will grant, in a future state, to those who serve and please him in this life — what are his grand designs in creating and governing the world, etc. The ignorance and uncertainty, with respect to these most important points, in which all men have been and still are, who have enjoyed no such revelation, is a constant, striking evidence of this.

There are, indeed, those who refuse to admit this evidence; and insist that human reason alone, unassisted by any revelation, except what is made in the works of creation and providence, is sufficient to investigate every necessary and important truth; and therefore think themselves authorized to reject and despise every other revelation that pretends to come from God, as the contrivance and production of designing, or weak, deluded men. But while they entertain so high an opinion of human reason, and especially their own, in the face of the glaring evidence from fact and experiment just now mentioned, they have produced an incontestable evidence of their own sad mistake; for, upon examination, the writings of the deists are found to contain numerous contradictions to each other, on points of the highest moment; and most of them have

embraced for truth many tenets most unreasonable and absurd. Thus, when they have renounced revelation, and boasted of their own reason, and relied upon that as a sufficient and infallible guide, they have all, or most of them, run into darkness and delusion. And at the same time, there is abundant evidence, that all the real light and knowledge they appear to have in divine things, which they attribute to the unassisted exercise of their own reason, and which is more than the benighted heathen have, originated from that very revelation which they discard and despise. With great propriety, therefore, they have been compared to a man who is in a room, illuminated by the bright shining of a candle, and thereby is assisted to behold the objects around him distinctly; — but being ignorant of the assistance which he has from the candle, imagines he discerns those objects by the strength of his own sight; and therefore despises and endeavors to extinguish that light, which, if withdrawn, would leave him wholly in the dark.* Besides, there is this further evidence against them, and in favor of the revelation which they renounce, namely, it does not appear that, by all their writings and attempts, they have made any reformation in the morals of men, or that so much as one man has been reclaimed from a vicious course of life, and become sober, humble, benevolent, pious, and devout, by being made a convert to them; — but, on the contrary, most, if not all their disciples, are of a character directly the reverse of this; and they are most admired by men of vicious character, or who at least are evidently without those virtues which are essential to constitute a truly religious man.

Moreover, if the revelation they discard represents men to be in such a state of depravity and vicious blindness as to be disposed to shut their eyes against the clearest light, and to treat it as these men in fact do treat the Bible, and foretells this same treatment and conduct of theirs, as it certainly does; while they are thus slighting and rejecting it, they are really giving a strong evidence of its divine original.

But, to return: the usefulness and necessity of such a revelation is abundantly evident from fact, and has been implicitly or expressly acknowledged by many of the most wise and inquisitive among the heathen.† Hence we may conclude that God has given one to men; and when we find ourselves in possession of a book which has all the marks and evidence

* See Leland's View of the Deistical Writers. And Clarke on Revealed Religion. Proposition vii.

† See Dr. Clarke on the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation. Proposition vii.

that we can reasonably expect or desire, that it is indeed from God, and suited to answer all the ends of a divine revelation, we shall be very criminal, if we do not receive it with gratitude, and improve it to promote all the important purposes for which it is given.

Such a revelation we find to be contained in the book called the Bible, or the Holy Scriptures. For while all other pretended revelations from God, which have been, or now are, found among men, are without all proper evidence of their being such, and carry evident marks of imposture, which has been abundantly demonstrated, by those who have examined them; this has stood the test of the severest scrutiny both of its friends and enemies, and the more it has been examined, the more clearly does it appear, that all the objections which have been made against it are futile and groundless; and that there is sufficient and abundant evidence, that it is from God, suited to give satisfaction and a well-grounded assurance of its divine original, to every impartial, honest mind.

The first part of this book was written by Moses, after he had given abundant evidence, by a series of astonishing miracles, done in the sight of the Egyptians, and all Israel, that he spake and acted under the influence and direction of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and had sufficiently established his character, as a prophet divinely inspired. Moses said he was sent by Jehovah, the only true God, the God of Israel, to demand of Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, to let his people go out from under his oppressive hand; and foretold that if he refused to do it, God would slay his first-born son. Pharaoh said he knew not who Jehovah was, and bid defiance to him, declaring he would pay no regard to his demand. This gave opportunity for an open trial and decision, whether Jehovah, the God of Israel, was the true God, or the gods of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. The priests and the magicians of Egypt were collected, and entered the dispute with Moses. They wrought several miracles, in imitation of those which Moses did in the name of the God of Israel; but there was an evident, decided superiority in those wrought by Jehovah. And the contest went on, till at length they were not able to stand before Moses, and confessed publicly that Jehovah was God, and superior to theirs. Moses went on doing wonders, in the sight of all Egypt, and inflicting various successive judgments on Pharaoh, and on the Egyptians; at the same time particularly foretelling the miraculous chastisement which Jehovah had revealed to him he would inflict. At length, Moses informed Pharaoh, that if he should still persist in refusing to let Israel go out of Egypt, Jehovah had said to him,

that he would slay all the first-born in Egypt; and this was foretold to all Israel; which accordingly came to pass; and the Egyptians were made to fear and tremble before the God of Israel, and entreated his people to pray to him for them, acknowledging he was the supreme God. Thus Israel went out of Egypt, as Jehovah had promised they should, and were led through the Red Sea, the waters dividing to make them a way, at the direction and command of their God; while Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who were so hardy as to follow them, were all drowned in the waters. Thus Jehovah publicly triumphed over all the gods of Egypt, and executed judgment upon them; and, by the fullest and most incontestable evidence, established his character as the only true God. The people of Israel felt, and solemnly acknowledged this, at the Red Sea; and they were led on by the hand of Moses, attended with a constant course of miracles, unto Mount Sinai. On that mount, God appeared in a manner suited to manifest his presence and awful glorious majesty, and excite their utmost attention, fear, and reverence; and then, from the top of the mountain, out of the fire, with a voice that could be distinctly heard by all that vast multitude, consisting of at least three millions of people, he spake the ten commandments, and added no more. They were afterwards written on two tables of stone, by the finger of God; which was most probably the first writing by letters in this world.* And Moses, being taught of God to read it, and so how to write, was directed and inspired by God to write the history of the creation of the world, and the events which had taken place since; and of mankind, so far as was necessary these things should be recorded and known; and, more particularly, the history of the origin of the Hebrews, and the events of divine Providence respecting them. As this is the first and oldest, so it is the only authentic history of the creation of the world, and of mankind, from the beginning to that time, which is an era of about two thousand five hundred years. Moses also wrote a code of laws for that people, which he said were dictated to him by God, containing many promises and threatenings, together with a number of typical institutions, which were shadows of things to come. And there are many predictions in his writings, which have already come to pass; especially that God would raise up unto them that great prophet, the Messiah, of whom he himself was a type; and if they would not hear him, they should be destroyed.

God having thus established his character, as the only true

* See Dr. Winder's History of the Rise, Progress, Declension, and Revival of Knowledge, chiefly religious.

God, by abundant and most clear evidence, and magnified Moses in the sight of the Egyptians and all Israel, as his servant and prophet, directed and inspired by him both to do, and to say, all that he did and said, in the name of Jehovah; he forbid them to hearken to a prophet, or any other person, who should arise and do wonders and miracles, not in the name of Jehovah, but of some other god, with a view to draw them away from obedience to the God of Israel, to worship and serve other gods. And every one who will attentively consider the subject, must at once see both the reasonableness of this injunction, and the wisdom and goodness of God in laying a proper foundation for it, and then giving it by Moses to Israel. For Jehovah having given all the evidence that could be reasonably expected or desired, by a series of public incontestable miracles, appearances, words, and works, that he was the only true God; which all Israel had, under the fullest and most rational conviction, acknowledged, over and over again, and under this conviction, solemnly given themselves up to him, as their God, and promised to renounce all other gods, and cleave to, and obey Jehovah alone, as their God; it became them never from that time to call in question what had been made so abundantly evident, but with the greatest assurance, and the most sincere abhorrence, reject every thing which was evidently contrary to the light and revelation they had received; and not pay the least regard to any wonders and miracles pretended to be done, or really wrought, to prove that Jehovah was not the only true God, and in favor of other gods.

These things have been observed, to show with what abundant evidence and assurance the church of Israel received the writings of Moses, as divine oracles, the infallible dictates of Heaven, which he was inspired to reveal and communicate; while it is at the same time acknowledged there are many other things which have not been here brought into view, which serve to strengthen this evidence, and show that to make any other supposition, and not to admit these writings as the oracles of Heaven, is most absurd, shutting the eyes against the most glaring light, and doing violence to every principle of reason.

After Moses, other prophets and inspired men were raised up to write the history of that nation; to declare the will of God, in reproving, directing, and exhorting; and adding threatenings and promises, to deter them from rebellion against Jehovah, and excite them to obey him. Whose writings also contain innumerable predictions of things to come, many of which are already come to pass; those in particular which

foretold the coming of the Messiah, his incarnation, death, resurrection, exaltation, and reign; and the events that should attend his coming with regard both to Jews and Gentiles, etc. And in these writings there is a constant reference to the things contained in the writings of Moses, the wonders wrought by his hand, when they were delivered from a state of bondage in Egypt, etc., and to the institutions and laws, which by him were given to Israel; and at the same time there is a perfect consistence and harmony between these writings and those of Moses.

The last prophet, whose writings we have, lived about four hundred years before Christ; so that the sacred writings which were given to the church of Israel, and which they received as divine oracles, and have carefully kept and preserved, not only to the time of the incarnation of Christ, but even down to this day, were written at different times, by different men, through the space of above a thousand years, from Moses, the first, to Malachi, the last writer. And yet they all agree; and the latter constantly refer to the writings of Moses, and what is contained in them; and therefore they mutually strengthen the evidence, that they all wrote by inspiration, as most of them declared they did. And Malachi concludes with foretelling the coming of Christ, and directing the church of Israel to attend to the laws and institutions of Moses, and obey them, until Christ should come; and to expect no more divine revelation, till that time; plainly intimating, that then some further revelations from God should be given to the church. (Mal. iv. 4, 5.) Thus the standing, written revelation, given to the Jewish church, was finished; and they were commanded not to attempt to make, or expect any addition to it, till the days of the Messiah.

Should it be said, that perhaps all these writings were forged by some wicked, designing man, or set of men, and that the facts and miracles therein related never did take place, nor was Moses, or any other man, inspired of God to write these things, but they were imposed upon that nation, and they were made to believe that which never had any reality; such a supposition will appear most unreasonable, and even impossible, on the least reflection. When, and how, could this be done? How could that nation, even all of them, old and young, learned and unlearned, at any time be made to believe that all these things related in the writings of Moses concerned them, and which he said took place publicly, and that they were seen and acknowledged by the whole nation; and that all those rites and laws had been received in a miraculous way from Jehovah, by their ancestors, and handed down, and prac-

tised from generation to generation, if there was no truth in all this; but they were all *now* invented, and they never had any existence, or were heard of before, by any of them? This is perfectly incredible, and absolutely impossible. And it is equally incredible, that a whole nation should at any time receive such writings, and pretend they were all genuine and true, and handed down from their fathers, when at the same time they knew there was no truth in it, but was real imposture and delusion. Who can believe that any nation or people under heaven could ever be brought to do this, and receive and practise all those burdensome rites and ceremonies, and hand them down to their children as the institutions of Heaven, when they knew it was all a cheat? And this will appear yet more incredible, if possible, when we observe, that these writings give no agreeable, flattering idea of that nation, as a wise, excellent, and honorable people; but, contrary to this, they are represented as a very stupid, ungrateful, rebellious people, always disposed to abuse and revolt from their God, and violate the most sacred obligations and solemn vows, by which they were constantly incurring the displeasure of Jehovah; and were severely punished, from time to time, for their horrid impiety, and most stupid idolatry, and their obstinate perseverance in shameful unrighteousness and cruelty towards each other. If a people could forge and receive a history of themselves as a nation, in which there was no truth; or if it were contrived and formed by any set of men, or by any one man among them, with a design to impose it on the nation, to be received by them as genuine, we may be sure it would be written in favor of that nation, and so as to flatter their selfishness, pride, and vanity, instead of representing them, as these writings do that nation, in a disagreeable, shameful, odious light.

Besides, these writings have no marks, not the least appearance of imposture and forgery, when most critically examined; but all appearance that can be desired, that they are genuine, and were written at the different times, and in the different circumstances, in which they are said to have been written, and by those different men: whereas, if they were a forgery, and not written by inspiration, it cannot be supposed possible they should carry all those marks of genuineness, and none of the contrary.

Moreover, they contain a system of truths, and point out and enjoin commands and duties to God and our neighbor, which bespeak their divine original, and are worthy to be revealed by God; and which no ungodly, selfish, designing impostor, (and such these writers must be, if they wrote not

by inspiration,) would ever think of, and much less be disposed to publish and enjoin.

The promised Messiah at length made his appearance in the world, even at the very time in which it was foretold he should come! the way for his coming having been prepared by his harbinger, as was particularly predicted by Isaiah; and by Malachi, in the last words of the Old Testament.

It having been abundantly proved, as has been observed and shown, that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was the only true God, and that the writings in their hands were given by divine inspiration, in which the coming of the Messiah and his future kingdom were foretold, and particularly described; all that was now necessary, in order to his being on good ground received as king of the church, was to give proper evidence that he was the very person, the promised Savior of the world. This was done not only by his appearing at the time, and in the character and circumstances, which were foretold by the prophets, but by working a series of miracles, done in a public manner; and by his predicting many things, which soon came to pass, especially his own death, and the particular circumstances of it, and that he would rise again on the third day. He was accordingly put to death, which his enemies as well as friends confess; and if he did rise again, as he said he would, the evidence that he was the Messiah, the same Jehovah who was the God of Israel, would be complete, and none could reasonably desire more.

That he did rise on the third day; and when he had continued on earth above forty days, conversing with his disciples and friends, and giving them instructions and commands, left the world and ascended to heaven, there were a competent number of chosen witnesses, who declared they were eye and ear witnesses of this; and that they had the most satisfactory, full, and abundant evidence of it. And further, to prove the truth of it, they had power to work innumerable miracles in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, as a testimony that he was alive, and consequently the Son of God, and Savior of the world. And they gave up all their worldly interest in this cause; and subjected themselves to poverty, hatred and reproach of men; and to various hardships and cruel sufferings, and even to death, in bearing witness to this truth, and those that are implied in it, and preaching the gospel; which was attended by an invisible mighty power, purifying and renewing the hearts of multitudes, and leading them to renounce their former delusions and wicked ways, and to believe in Christ, and obey him; who became so many witnesses of the truth and power of Christianity.

A history of these things was written by those who had the most certain knowledge of them, and intimate acquaintance with them, giving an account of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ, of the doctrines which he taught, the instructions and commands he gave, and the miracles which were wrought by him, etc. Also, a history was written of what took place for a number of years after the ascension of Christ to heaven; the promised gift of his Spirit to the apostles and others, whereby they were enabled to speak different languages, and to work miracles; their bearing testimony for Christ, and preaching with great success, not only to the Jews, but to the Gentile nations, and erecting churches in many parts of the world, etc. This history of Christ and his apostles is written in a manner remarkably different from that of any other history written by men not inspired. It is simple, plain, and concise, consisting only in the most intelligible narration of facts, of what was said and done, without justifying or condemning any person; not giving the least encomium, or bestowing any praise on Christ himself, or any of his friends, nor saying a word in their favor; not reproaching or condemning their enemies, or any person, or speaking against them; but confining themselves to a plain history of simple facts, without any comments of their own, against any one, or in favor of him. This, by the way, is a striking evidence, among others innumerable, that these writings "came not by the will of man," but were composed under the direction and superintendency of the Holy Ghost, the authors being inspired and moved by him.*

We have also the writings of several of the apostles of Christ, containing a number of letters, which they wrote to churches, and to some particular persons, in which the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and the institutions and laws of Christ, are more particularly explained and inculcated. And last of all, there is a book, called "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which he sent and signified by his angel unto his servant John." This the apostle John wrote in his advanced

* "It is remarkable, that through the whole of their histories, the evangelists have not passed one encomium upon Jesus, or upon any of his friends: nor thrown out one reflection against his enemies; though much of both kinds might have been, and no doubt would have been done by them, had they been governed either by a spirit of imposture or enthusiasm. Christ's life is not praised in the Gospels; his death is not lamented; his friends are not commended; his enemies are not reproached, nor even blamed; but every thing is told, naked and unadorned, just as it took place; and all who read are left to judge, and make reflections for themselves. A manner of writing which the historians never would have fallen into, had not their minds been under the guidance of the most sober reason, and deeply impressed with the dignity, importance, and truth of their subject." — *Macknight's Harmony of the Gospels.*

age, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, when he was suffering for the cause of Christ, being banished to a desolate island, after his character had been long established as an apostle of Christ, by miracles, and a holy life. He says, he received this revelation from Christ, and was by him directed to write it, just as he here has done. It contains, among other things, a representation of the state of the church, and the great events that should take place respecting it, from that time to the end of the world, and of its perfect and glorious state from that period forever and ever; and of the endless punishment of all her implacable enemies. And many of the predictions in this book have been already accomplished; others are daily fulfilling before our eyes, which is a constant miracle, of the most indisputable kind, evidencing the divine original of this prophecy; and that the things therein foretold, which are not yet come to pass, will all be accomplished in their season.

And as the divine inspired writings, given to the Jewish church, conclude with an intimation that they should have nothing more of this kind, till the promised Messiah did come, and a command carefully to keep and observe what they had received; so this book concludes with a declaration, that there should be no addition to divinely inspired writings given to the Christian church; and, therefore, mankind must look for no more; but are commanded carefully to observe and obey what was then revealed, without adding any thing to it, or taking from it, until Christ shall come to judgment.

God having thus completed a revelation containing every thing he saw necessary and proper to make it a sufficient, perfect, and unerring rule for his church to the end of the world, and every way adapted to answer all the desired ends of a divine revelation, attended with all the evidence that can be reasonably desired, that it is from God, and the whole that he ever will give, the use and end of miracles has, of course, ceased; and therefore the church is to expect no more, or any more prophets inspired to foretell things to come, not already foretold in the Holy Scriptures. And whatever pretences any may make of working miracles, and whatever miracles may be really wrought, in support of any pretended truths or institutions, or system of religion, the church of Christ has no liberty to pay the least regard to them; but ought to renounce all such pretences with abhorrence; and to hearken to them, and regard them in the least, is to renounce the Bible, and the God who has given it to his church. Nor have we any warrant to pay the least regard to any who pretend to a spirit of prophecy, even though the things they foretell come to pass;

but, on the contrary, ought wholly to disregard and renounce such pretences, being certain from divine revelation that they are not from God, and cannot in the least strengthen the evidence of the divine authority of the Bible, or of any truth contained in it; but have a contrary tendency. And to pay any regard to them, is really to slight the Bible, and may give Satan an advantage, and opportunity to introduce the most gross and fatal delusions.*

This general view of the Holy Scriptures, and the observations that have been made, are designed to exhibit no inconsiderable part of the evidence we have, that they do indeed contain a revelation from God, and may with the greatest safety be relied upon as such. But there are many other evidences of this, some of which ought to be brought into view, when this subject is considered. And it may be proper now to mention a number of arguments to prove that the writings contained in the Bible are a revelation from God, in which several things that have been already hinted will be included.

I. The series of miracles which have been wrought, as a testimony that this revelation is from God, is a standing, undeniable proof of it. These have been in some measure brought into view, in the observations above; from which the propriety and importance of these miracles, and the end for which they were wrought, appear. That these miracles were really wrought, we have as great evidence as the nature of the case will admit; and not the least ground of suspicion and doubt; especially when we consider the times and circumstances of them, and their apparent design, and the nature and contents of the revelation, the credit of which they are designed to establish. These things have been particularly and largely considered by many, and therefore are only mentioned here, except the last, which will be attended to in the sequel.

II. The numerous prophecies which are contained in the

* The church of Rome claims it as the mark of a true church, to be able to work miracles, and assert that this is essential to the true church of Christ, and pretend to have this evidence that they are the only true catholic church, viz., that a multitude of miracles have been, and still are, wrought by them. But this is so far from being an evidence of a true church, that their pretending to such a power is an infallible mark and evidence that it is a false church; and this is warrant sufficient to condemn and renounce it as such, without being at the pains of examining all their pretended miracles, to see if they be real miracles or not. If that church could be supported and proved to be right, by the Holy Scriptures, we ought to own it as a true church; but if not, a thousand miracles will not prove any thing in its favor; but even their pretending to work miracles, and appealing to these, is a demonstration that it is not a true church, as this is a slight and rejection of the word of God.

Bible, with their exact accomplishment, are a standing, clear evidence that it is a revelation from God. The certain independent foreknowledge of future events, or of any thing to come, all will grant, belongs to the true God alone. Therefore we find Jehovah challenging this as his own prerogative; and his declaring what will be, and bringing it to pass accordingly, is asserted to be a demonstration that it is the true God who speaks. And he says, that he who can do this, does prove himself to be God. "Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and show what shall happen. — Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods." "I, even I am the Lord, and beside me there is no Savior. I have declared, and have saved, and I have showed, when there was no strange god among you; therefore, ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord, that I am God." When Jehovah brought Israel out of Egypt, he demonstrated that he was the only true God, and they renounced all other gods; then he foretold what would befall them, both in promises and threatenings, and a great number of predictions, which had actually come to pass in their sight; therefore they were his witnesses, as they were witnesses of this fact, which was sufficient to support his character, as the only true God, in opposition to all other pretended gods. Jehovah tells them that one end of his thus foretelling events, and then bringing them to pass, was to give them undeniable proof that he was the true God, who spoke to them by Moses, etc., and leave them inexcusable, if they should acknowledge any other God. "I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I showed them; I did them suddenly, and they came to pass. Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass; I have even from the beginning declared it to thee: before it came to pass, I showed it thee, lest thou shouldest say mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my molten image, hath commanded them." (Is. xlviii. 3, 4, 5.)

Though they had in many other ways good evidence that he was the true God, in whose name Moses spake and acted; yet God, knowing their evil disposition, and how prone they were to unbelief, and to turn away from him to other gods, in his great condescension and goodness, took care to give and heap up more abundant standing evidence that they had indeed the oracles of the true God, who was the God of Israel, by foretelling innumerable events, and then bringing them to pass before their eyes. When Moses wrought the numerous

signs and wonders in Egypt, he foretold these events before they took place; and so most of the miracles wrought by the hand of Moses at the Red Sea, and in the wilderness, were foretold immediately before they took place; and also many things of which we have an account in the books of Joshua, Judges, and the two books of Samuel, etc. To such predictions as these, which were brought to pass immediately the above cited words seem to have particular reference, God says, "They went forth out of my mouth, and I showed them; I did them suddenly, and they came to pass." In this way they had not only the evidence which the miracles themselves gave of the truth, in favor of which they were wrought; but the prediction and the immediate accomplishment was a yet further evidence that he who wrought the miracle spoke and acted under the influence, and according to the dictates, of the omniscient God. In this way were most of the miracles wrought by Christ and his apostles.

But there are almost innumerable prophecies in the Bible which foretell things to come, that were not to take place immediately; but a long time, and numbers of them many ages, after the predictions were published. Many predictions of this kind are contained in the writings of Moses, which foretell a multitude of events respecting that nation, which have been exactly fulfilled. And indeed great part of the religious institutions and worship enjoined in the Mosaic ritual are so many prophecies of what should take place in the person, character, and kingdom of Christ, as they are appointed types and shadows of these things, and have been exactly fulfilled in them. This is particularly attended to and illustrated in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This is a strong argument that these institutions and laws were made by the only true God, who knows what is to come, even all his own designs and works that are future.

A great part of the writings of Moses and the prophets are prophecies that respect Christ, his incarnation, his sufferings, and the glory that should follow in the salvation of men, and his kingdom. In these writings it is foretold that he should be the seed of Abraham by Isaac, that he should be of the tribe of Judah, and the family of David; should be born of a virgin in the town of Bethlehem; that he should be poor and despised, rejected, hated and put to death by the Jews and Gentiles, joining together to perpetrate this horrid deed. The particular time of his appearance and death is pointed out; and a great number of particulars relating to his life, death, and resurrection are foretold; all which have been exactly fulfilled. They also foretell the rejection of the Jews, and calling

of the Gentiles to be the people of God, and share in the blessings of Christ's kingdom; and speak much of the extent and glory of his kingdom, and particularly foretell that it should rise, prevail, and fill the world after the ruin of the Roman monarchy, and shall continue forever. Christ and his apostles did constantly appeal to these prophecies, as most plainly, and with the greatest exactness, predicting what took place in Jesus of Nazareth. Christ himself, after his death and resurrection, addresses those who were wholly at a loss what to think of these things, in the following words: "O, fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them, in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himself." The apostle Peter publicly appeals to them, and says, "God hath spoken of these things by the mouth of all the prophets, since the world began. For Moses truly said unto the fathers, a prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me. And it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people. Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." And St. Paul declares, that in bearing testimony to the truth of Christianity, and preaching the gospel, he asserted "no other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come." And with this argument, taken from the fulfilment of prophecies in Jesus of Nazareth, the first preachers of the gospel often put to silence and confounded the opposing Jews, and convinced many that Jesus was the Christ.

The writings of the New Testament contain many predictions. Christ particularly foretold his death, and his resurrection on the third day after, — who should betray him, and who should deny him, — the gift of the Spirit to the apostles in his miraculous powers, — what treatment they should receive from the Jews, — what support they should have, and what should be their success. He, in a very particular manner, foretold the calamities that should come on the nation of the Jews, and the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple; and said this should come to pass before all that generation did go off the stage of life. And though to human appearance these events were not merely improbable, but even impossible, yet they all came to pass exactly agreeable to the prediction.

But passing over many other instances of prophecy, — both of Christ and his apostles, and others in the primitive church,

and the particular fulfilment of their predictions, — that remarkable one of St. Paul, (2 Thes. chap. ii.,) of the grand apostasy in the Christian church, by the rise and reign of one whom he calls the "man of sin" and "wicked one," — by which the pope and the false church of Rome are exactly described, together with his final overthrow and destruction, is worthy of particular attention. This was then the most incredible and unlikely to come to pass of almost any event whatsoever; — that the emperor of Rome should be taken out of the way, to give opportunity for this apostasy, and the exaltation of this man of sin in the church of Christ, etc. But this is all come to pass; and this apostasy in the church, with all its circumstances and attendants, together with the general state of the church, and of the world down to the day of judgment, are yet more particularly and fully foretold in the revelation which Jesus Christ gave to the apostle John after his ascension. In this prophecy, many things are foretold which were then future, and which have already come to pass, and others are daily fulfilling in the sight of all who have wisdom to observe and discern; from which there is a standing and increasing public evidence of the truth of the Christian religion, sufficient to silence and convince all the opposers of Christianity, would they honestly attend to the voice of reason.

From the view we have now taken of the prophecies contained in the Bible, and their fulfilment, the following particulars may be observed.

1. Those predictions which have been exactly fulfilled are numerous, and made at different times, and by different persons; and most of them were made publicly; and the events foretold are many of them of a public nature, and lie open to the examination of all. Therefore, if they were not given by the omniscient God, it cannot be supposed the events would, in so many instances, answer to the predictions so exactly, and not fail in one among so many; for this may well be considered as impossible.

2. There is all the evidence that can be desired, that many of these predictions were given long before the events took place, and while there was not the least ground, from any thing that then appeared, to expect they would ever come to pass. Thus all the prophecies in the Old Testament, which have been fulfilled in the days of Christ's appearance on earth, and of the apostles, and since, were certainly written and published, and in the hands of the Jewish church, long before the events took place. And prophecies of those things relating to the pope, and the church of Rome, and the kings of the earth who commit fornication with her, and join to support her,

which have come to pass, and are now taking place in the world, were published long before any of these things took place, or there was any appearance or probability that they ever would come to pass. And in many instances, all appearances, to human view, were against it.

3. Those prophecies are such, and the times and manner in which they are given such, as become an almighty, omniscient, infinitely wise and good Being. They are given in an orderly manner, with an apparent good design, and suited to answer important ends; — to establish the character of those who spake and wrote in his name, as men inspired by God, and prove that he was the omniscient God who spoke, and so to be a clear, standing evidence that it is a divine revelation, most evidently distinguished from all possible deception and imposture; — to confirm the faith of the friends of God, and direct, support, and comfort them, under all dark appearances and afflictions, etc.

Surely, they who would honestly attend to these things, and carefully consider and examine the prophecies contained in the Bible, with the exact fulfilment of so many of them, must be sensible that they afford clear and abundant evidence that the writings in this book are from God, as the prophecies found in it could not come by the will and contrivance of man; but these holy men of God evidently spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

III. The writings in the Old Testament, and those in the New, reflect light and evidence on each other, that they are from God.

This appears from what has been observed on the preceding argument from prophecy: for the exact fulfilment of so many of the types and express predictions in the Old Testament, by the events and things of which we have a history in the New, does abundantly establish the credit of those writings as given by divine inspiration; and, at the same time, they prove the divine original of Christianity, and, therefore, that the writings in the New Testament are from God. And the perfect consistence and harmony between the writings of the Old Testament and those of the New, does also afford a striking argument of the divine original of each of them. Moreover, Christ and his apostles constantly appeal to the writings of Moses and the prophets, the Scriptures, as of divine authority, and the oracles of God. This establishes the credit of all those writings as given by inspiration of God, so far as the authority and testimony of Christ and the apostles are of any weight, and worthy of regard; so that, if the writings in the New Testament be from God, the Old Testament is from

him also, and is handed down to us uncorrupted, unless it has been corrupted since that time, which is many ways impossible, as might be easily shown, were there need of it. At the same time, the prophecies contained in the Old Testament, of those very events which are recorded in the New, prove the latter to be from God, as has been shown. In a word, the writings in the Old Testament are all established as the oracles of God by those in the New; and that the writings in the New Testament are by divine inspiration, there is much and clear evidence from the writings of the Old. So that there could not be so much, so great evidence of the divine authority of either of them, if we had only one, without the other.

The Jews did not, indeed, acknowledge that their Scriptures were fulfilled in Jesus Christ, and continue as a body to reject the gospel as not from God. But this is so far from being any evidence against the divinity of the writings of the New Testament, that it is a great confirmation of it. For it was foretold by the prophets, whose writings they acknowledge to be from God, that they should thus reject Christ and the gospel, and for this be cast off by God, and the church be called by another name; so that their unbelief and opposition to the gospel is a clear and standing evidence of the truth of it.

IV. The great care taken by Jews and Christians to receive no writings as divinely inspired but those of which they had proper evidence that they were such, and to preserve those which they did receive as such from being corrupted or altered, is a further evidence that these writings are from God. If God has given a standing revelation to men, which is committed to writing, he will doubtless take care in his providence that it shall be received on good evidence and preserved uncorrupt; and that it shall be handed down to posterity in such manner and circumstances, as that all future generations shall have good evidence that it was with proper care and caution received at first, and not without good evidence that it was of divine authority, and that it has been handed down to them uncorrupt. And when we find the writings of the Bible were received and handed down to us in this manner, it carries an evidence that it is from God, which otherwise we could not have. That the writings of the Old and New Testaments have been thus received, and carefully preserved uncorrupt, has been abundantly proved by those who have written on the subject. It would swell this chapter beyond its designed brevity to produce this evidence at large. It may suffice only to observe here, that Jews and Christians have been a guard with respect to each other, so as to render it impossible there should be any alteration made in the writings of the Old

Testament, in favor of, or against either, without being detected by the other. And among Christians, the different sects and opposite parties, which early sprung up in the church, made it impossible that they should agree to alter and corrupt those writings, which were received as divine oracles by them all; and if one sect or party had attempted it, they must have been detected by others.

V. The consistence and harmony found in the Scriptures is another argument of their divine original. The agreement between the writings of the Old Testament and those of the New has been already mentioned; but the agreement of every particular part with the whole, and of every sentiment and sentence with each other, is the fact now intended. A divine revelation must be perfectly consistent and harmonious throughout, though it consists of many parts, and be made by many different men, and at different times and ages distant from each other. Therefore, if any real, material contradictions or inconsistencies can be found in this book, it will be a sufficient reason for rejecting it, as not from God. There may be seeming contradictions, at first view, to a superficial reader, and to one who does not attend to it with honesty and candor, but with prejudice and disaffection. This we know to be the case with respect to human writings, in many instances, when the fault lies wholly in the ignorance or prejudice of the objector, and the upright and judicious know them to be perfectly consistent. How much more may we expect it will be so with respect to those writings which come from God, and treat of the sublime things respecting his being, character, kingdom, designs, laws, works, etc., and which must be really contrary to every wrong propensity and lust of man!

This, indeed, we find to be verified. Many have thought they have found numerous contradictions in the Bible; and its enemies have eagerly searched to find them, and have used all their art and plausible coloring to make them appear to be real contradictions, and urged them with all their powers against revelation. But this has turned to the advantage of the Holy Scriptures, and been the occasion of making their consistence and harmony more evident and certain than if no such accusation had been brought against them. For the objections of this kind have been critically examined, and found to be entirely groundless. And since all the wit and art of men of the best abilities, and under the greatest advantages to try, cannot find any real contradictions in them, and those which have been most plausibly urged, or have had the greatest appearance of inconsistencies, at first view, ap-

pear, upon careful and thorough examination, to be perfectly consistent, this has cast new light on the subject, and made it more abundantly evident and certain that there is, indeed, no inconsistency to be found in them.

This is a very powerful argument that they are given by divine inspiration. For if those writings were only the contrivance of men, it appears impossible that so many men, who lived in different ages, of different natural tempers, and in such different and various circumstances and connections, writing on such a variety of subjects, with such difference of manner, style, and expression, should so perfectly agree; and that even in those passages which at first view, and to a cursory, inattentive observer, may seem to contradict each other. There can be no parallel instance produced under heaven, of any number of writers thus agreeing, though they lived in the same age; and it is difficult to find any one author, not inspired, consistent with himself throughout. Therefore, this consistence and harmony running through the writings of such a number of men, who lived in different ages, and which took up the space of fifteen hundred years to complete them, after they were begun, proves they must have been inspired by the all-seeing, unchangeable God.

VI. The contents of the Bible, or the truths therein revealed and the duties enjoined, are the greatest and crowning evidence that these writings are given by divine inspiration, and serve to strengthen and confirm all the other arguments which have been mentioned.

This argument will, of course, be particularly illustrated in the proposed following work, in which the Scriptures are to be examined, in order to find what are the truths and duties therein revealed and inculcated, what system of religion is there taught. It may be proper, however, to observe here, in general, that we find in the Bible an orderly, intelligible, concise, and well-connected history of all those events which are most important and necessary to be known by the church, from the beginning of the world down to the time in which this book was completed. The being, character, designs, and works of God are represented to be such as reason must approve, and pronounce harmonious, and becoming the true God. The state and character of man, and God's designs and works respecting him, are set in a clear light. What God requires of man, as his duty, and the way in which he may find acceptance with God, and be happy, are particularly stated with great plainness. A judgment to come, and a future state of rewards and punishments, are revealed. Promises to those who believe and obey the truth, and threatenings

to the disobedient and impenitent, run through all those writings; and the best and strongest conceivable motives are set before men, to deter them from sin, and excite them to fear and obey God.

Here two things may be observed,—

1. What is revealed in the Scriptures concerning the perfections and works of God, his laws as the rule of duty, the nature and evil tendency of sin, and the description given of true virtue and religion, and their happy tendency and end, appears so reasonable and evident to every attentive person, when revealed, that this, with the other evidences that have been mentioned, is sufficient to convince the reason and judgment of every one that this is a revelation from God, though their hearts be ever so corrupt and vicious; and has generally proved sufficient, unless where peculiar prejudices by education or otherwise have taken place.

2. The honest, virtuous mind only, which does discern and relish the beauty and excellence of truth and virtue, will see and feel the full force of this argument for the divinity of the Holy Scriptures. Such have true discerning to see the wonderful, excellent, glorious things revealed in the Holy Scriptures, which in themselves carry a most satisfying and infallible evidence of their truth and divinity. They see the divine stamp which this system of truth carries on it, and believe and are sure that this is the true God, and that here is eternal life. They therefore no longer need any other evidence but this which they find in the contents of the Holy Scriptures; in this they rest satisfied, and are assured that the writings contained in the Bible are the word of God.

Thus the Holy Scriptures are attended with the highest possible evidence that they came from God; they carry that external and internal evidence of their divinity to the reason and conscience of men, which is sufficient to convince them, however corrupt their hearts may be: but the highest internal evidence is fully discerned only by the humble, honest mind, which is disposed to relish, love, and receive the truth. To such the true light shines from the Holy Scriptures with irresistible evidence, and their hearts are established in the truth. They believe from evidence they have within themselves, from what they see and find in the Bible. And as all might have this evidence and certainty that the contents of the Bible are from God, did they not exercise and indulge those unreasonable lusts which blind their eyes to the beauty and excellence of divine truth, unbelief is, in every instance and degree of it, wholly inexcusable, and very criminal.

Having considered the abundant evidence there is that the

writings contained in the Bible are given by divine inspiration, the following observations may be made concerning this sacred book.

1. This is a complete, unerring, and perfect rule of faith and practice, and the only rule. This being understood and believed, is sufficient to make men wise unto salvation; and we have no warrant to believe any religious truth, unless it be revealed or can be supported by the Holy Scriptures; and this is the only rule of our duty. We may be certain, if God has given us a revelation, it is in all respects complete, and in the best manner suited to answer the end; and must be the only standard of truth and duty.

2. Whatever may be justly and clearly inferred as a certain consequence from what is expressly revealed in the Scriptures, must be considered as contained in divine revelation, as really as that which is expressed. For instance, if from any two or more truths, expressly revealed, another certainty follows, that other truth, by the supposition, is really contained in those expressly revealed, and, therefore, is in fact revealed or made known in the revelation of them.

3. The Holy Scriptures are not to be understood without a constant, laborious attention to them, and a careful examination and search of them, in order to know the mind and will of God therein revealed. This is no evidence that the Scriptures are not plain and easy to be understood; as plain and intelligible as in the nature of things they can be, and adapted, in the best manner, to give instruction in those things about which they treat: for *they* cannot be instructed by the best possible means of instruction, who will not attend and take pains. They only who "incline their ear unto wisdom, and apply their heart to understanding; who cry after knowledge, and lift up their voice for understanding; who seek her as silver, and search for her as for hid treasures," will understand the sacred writings.

4. The Holy Scriptures were never designed to be understood, especially in those things that are most important and excellent, by persons of corrupt minds, whose hearts have no relish for these things; but do wholly oppose and hate them, and are determined in a course of disobedience to them. It is impossible, indeed, that such should understand the sublime holy truths that relate to the infinitely holy God, his holy law, gospel and kingdom. Therefore, their not being understood by such is no argument that they are not sufficiently plain. It is no evidence that the sun does not shine clear and bright, because they who have no eyes, or, if they have, refuse to open them, do not see the light, and discern the objects it plainly

discovers. It is abundantly declared in Scripture, that wicked, evil men, will not understand the things there revealed. "The wicked know not, neither will they understand: they walk on in darkness." (Ps. lxxxii. 5.) "Evil men understand not judgment." (Prov. xxviii. 5.) "The natural man (that is, the man of a corrupt, carnal mind) receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolish unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." (1 Cor. ii. 14.) Christ says to the Jews, "How can ye believe, which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only!" (John v. 44.) And again, "If any man will do his will, (that is, has an obedient heart, ready to comply with the will of God, when it is made known to him,) he shall know the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (John vii. 17.) This implies that they who are of a contrary disposition do not understand and know, which is expressly asserted in the following words: "Every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doth truth cometh to the light." (John iii. 20, 21.) Therefore, if the Scriptures be dark and unintelligible to any, especially in the most important matters there revealed, it is not owing to any defect or darkness in them; but the fault is wholly in the persons themselves, and they are altogether inexcusable and criminal, in not seeing what is revealed with sufficient clearness.

5. It can, therefore, be easily accounted for, that these sacred writings should be so little understood by multitudes, and so greatly misunderstood by many; and that there should be so many different and opposite opinions respecting the doctrines and duties inculcated in the Bible, among those who enjoy this revelation and profess to make it their rule. This is not the least evidence of any defect in the Scriptures, or that they are not sufficiently plain, and in the best manner suited to give instruction; but is wholly owing to the criminal blindness, corrupt propensities, and unreasonable prejudices of men, who do not attend to the Bible with an honest heart. It is impossible that a revelation should be given that cannot be misunderstood, and perverted to the worst purposes and to support the greatest errors and delusions, by the prejudices, wicked blindness, and perverse inclinations of artful men. Nothing has taken place, with respect to this, but what might justly be expected, if mankind are naturally as depraved and rebellious as the Scriptures represent them to be; and is perfectly consistent with the perfection of divine revelation. And when men shall in general become honest and virtuous to a proper degree, and their hearts shall be turned to the Lord, and to his

word, willing and ready to receive the dictates of heaven, the veil of darkness and error will vanish, and the true light which has so long shined in darkness, and so has not been seen and comprehended, shall shine in their hearts, and they, receiving the truth in the love of it, will be "perfectly joined together, in the same mind and in the same judgment."

This brings another observation into view.

6. The chief and greatest end of divine revelation is not yet answered. The Bible has been greatly neglected and abused, and not understood; and perverted to evil purposes by most of those who have enjoyed it. This light has hitherto shined, in a great measure, in vain, in the criminal darkness of this world, which has not comprehended, but abused and rejected it; and those few who have in some measure understood and received and practised the truth, have done it in a very imperfect degree; and the Bible has not been yet fully understood by any. But this same revelation informs us, that it shall not always be so; but the time is coming, and is now just at hand, when God will destroy the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations, by causing the gospel to be preached to them all, and giving them a heart to discern and understand the truth. Then "the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be seven fold, as the light of seven days. And the eyes of them that see shall not be dim, and the ears of them that hear shall hearken. The heart also of the rash or inconsiderate foolish shall understand knowledge, and the tongue of the stammerers shall be ready to speak plainly, and the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." In that time the Bible shall be understood, and all the institutions and ordinances of the gospel shall have their proper, greatest, and most happy effect, in the illumination and salvation of multitudes. All that precedes this time is but preparatory, in order to introduce this day of salvation, in the reign of Christ on earth. The word of God shall then have free course and be glorified, as it never was before, and shall fully answer the end for which it was given.*

REFLECTIONS.

I. What gratitude do we owe to God for giving such a complete revelation to men, every way suited to give instruction in every necessary and most important truth, and without

* See Treatise on the Millennium.

which mankind must have remained in the grossest darkness! What gratitude do *we* owe to God, who has distinguished us from so great a part of mankind, in giving us to enjoy this inestimable privilege, while they are left to grope in the dark!

The enemies of divine revelation have made this an objection against it, and said, if it were from God it would have been given equally to all mankind, and not confined to so small a part as this revelation has been. Such a partial revelation, say they, which was not completed or even began till after many ages and generations were passed and gone, and which, when it is given, is confined to so small a part of mankind, cannot be from God, who has no respect of persons, and would not conceal what is necessary to be known from the greatest part of men, while a few only are indulged with this favor, if it be one. Among other things which might be and have been said in answer to this objection, it may be sufficient only to observe the following.

1. God was under no obligation to enter on those designs of good and salvation, and do those things in favor of man, which are now made known; and, therefore, could not be obliged to make this revelation. And if he is obliged to none, he may, for good reasons known to him, though we should not see them, order things so that but few shall enjoy it, as a distinguishing sovereign favor, while others are left in that state of darkness in which *all* might have justly been left.

2. It is wholly owing to the fault of man that this revelation has been so long, and still is, confined to such narrow bounds, and is known to so small a part of mankind. The most essential things in this revelation were made known to the first parents of mankind. Had they been faithful, and all their posterity wise, and disposed to make a good improvement of the light, it would have continued and increased, and every one of them would have enjoyed it. And after this light was abused and rejected, and almost wholly put out by the wickedness of man before the flood, it was again restored to the new world in the family of Noah, and was soon corrupted and extinguished by men, when they multiplied into nations, because they loved darkness, and hated this light. And when this revelation was renewed and enlarged, committed to writing, and completed, had mankind been as desirous of knowing the truth, and as inquisitive after it as they ought to have been, and had they who enjoyed it been as ready and as much engaged to understand and practise it, and spread and communicate it to others, as was most reasonable and their duty, all nations would have enjoyed it fully soon after it was published. It is not, therefore, owing to divine revelation that it

is so confined, and not universal, but the fault is wholly in man; and it is to be wholly ascribed to God's merciful, irresistible interposition and care, that it has not been wholly lost and destroyed by men long before this time. Therefore, the Scriptures being preserved as they have been, and handed down to this day, and put into our hands by God's merciful, wise, sovereign interposition and direction, is both an argument that they are from God, and of our great obligations to gratitude to him for this unspeakably distinguishing favor.

3. It may be observed, that they who do not enjoy this revelation, do not live up to the light they have, but misimprove and abuse it, and, therefore, have no reason to complain that they have not greater light and advantages, but are most righteously given up to their chosen blindness and darkness. There cannot be a person that lives, or ever has lived in the heathen world, produced, who has fully improved and lived up to the light he has had, or might have had, were it not his own fault. Divine revelation warrants this assertion: "The invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and divinity; *so that they are without excuse;* because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened."

O, let us not be unthankful who enjoy so much greater light, which will render our ingratitude proportionably more criminal, and dreadful in its consequences! This leads to another reflection.

II. How very criminal and wretched are they who neglect or abuse this inestimable privilege of a revelation from God! Many not only disregard it in practice, but reject and despise it, and speak evil of it. How much will the deists, who have been, and now are, in the Christian world, have to answer for! What they call foolishness is the wisdom of God; and the wisdom of which they boast is the height of folly and madness. Would to God there were none who abused and despised the Holy Scriptures but professed deists! Multitudes, who profess to believe the Bible is a revelation from heaven, hold this truth in unrighteousness. They pay no proper regard to it, and constantly abuse it innumerable ways; and all the advantages they have by it, and concerns with it, will only serve to render their damnation greater, and unspeakably more dreadful. How much lower will they sink in eternal misery who, by their folly and impenitence, perish from the countries enjoying divine revelation, than they who perish from heathen lands! This truth, though so obvious, solemn,

and awakening, is too little thought of by those who enjoy, and yet disregard and abuse, the Holy Scriptures.

III. What obligations are we under to attend to this revelation and make the best improvement of it? Surely, we ought to study it with great diligence and care, and meditate therein day and night, looking to God, the Father of lights, with sincerity, earnestness, and constancy, that he would prevent our misunderstanding and perverting it, and direct and lead us to discern all the truths he has revealed, and give us a heart to conform to them in practice. We ought to pay a conscientious and sacred regard to all the directions and commands in the Bible, — to turn our feet unto these testimonies, and to improve the words of God, — as to make it a constant light to our feet and lamp to our path. Blessed are they who thus watch daily at Wisdom's gates, and wait at the posts of her doors; for they shall be wise unto salvation, obtain favor of the Lord, and find eternal life.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEING AND PERFECTIONS OF GOD.

THOUGH the evidence of the existence of God be as clear and certain as that of our own, or of any thing else whatever, — and it is one of the first dictates of reason, when offered to consideration and attended to, and has, by general consent, been acknowledged by mankind in all ages as most demonstrable and certain, — yet it is most probable that even the knowledge and general acknowledgment of this truth depends greatly, if not wholly, on divine revelation. Mankind are so "alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their hearts," and so disposed by their depravity and wickedness to sink down into brutish ignorance and stupidity with regard to every thing invisible, that, if they were not first told that there is a God, they would most probably grow up without believing, or ever thinking of this truth. The general acknowledgment of the being of God is no evidence that it does not originate from divine revelation; for there are many things generally believed and practised in the heathen world, in their religion, which evidently depend on tradition, and, though in many respects corrupted, had their original in divine revelation, handed down from

Noah and his sons, or taken from the Jews and the revelation given to them. But one instance shall be mentioned, namely, the practice of sacrificing beasts, or some animals, to appease the gods, or ingratiate themselves with them, which has so generally obtained in the heathen world, and which most certainly never would have been thought of by men, had not God first instituted it by revelation; and from that it was handed down, and the practice kept up among all nations, even long after they had lost or corrupted the original intent and design of such sacrifices. So the belief of the being of a God may derive from the same origin, and be handed down from generation to generation the same way. The following facts seem to favor this supposition, if they do not clearly prove it.

1. The absurd and ridiculous notions respecting God, or a plurality of gods, which have generally taken place in the heathen world, such as the following, namely: — that there are many gods, both male and female, — that they are embodied, like men and women, — have carnal affections and lusts, and commit adulteries, rapes, etc., — have cruel hatred and contentions with one another, — are taking advantage of each other by deceit and cunning, or by power, to accomplish their own selfish, unreasonable inclinations and designs, etc. All this can be well accounted for, on supposition their belief of the being of God depends chiefly on tradition; for this truth, being thus handed down by tradition, would naturally and easily be corrupted, and blended with endless absurd notions, according to the foolish and wicked humors and inclinations of man, which has been the case of all religious truths among the heathen which originated from revelation. But, if we suppose all nations in the heathen world believe the existence of God by reasoning themselves into it, and attending to the clear and abundant evidence there is of this, how can it be accounted for that they should make no use of their reason in forming their notions of Deity, and determining what kind of a being a God must be, but, contrary to all the dictates of reason and the clearest evidence, embrace the greatest absurdities? If their belief, in the first instance, be founded on the dictates of reason and evidence, why is reason wholly laid aside in the latter, and, as soon as they have reasoned themselves into the being of a God, make no further use of their reason, but most *unreasonably* believe there are many gods, and embrace the greatest absurdities respecting Deity?

2. Those people and nations who are most out of the reach of the instruction and influence of divine revelation, and of the traditions which originated from it, have the most faint belief, and make the least acknowledgment of the being

of a God. And historians and travellers tell us that there are people, and even whole nations, among whom there is not any acknowledgment of a Deity, or the least appearance of the belief of any.* These are nations which, by their situation and circumstances, are most out of the way of receiving any advantage by revelation, and by being long unconnected, and without any intercourse with other nations, have by degrees lost all tradition relating to every thing invisible. This seems to be a proof that if mankind were without all the light and advantages of a revelation, and traditions which originate from it, they would not pay any regard to an invisible Supreme Being, or entertain any belief or notion of such a being; but would, in every sense, "live without God in the world." And, by the way, this may serve to show what need mankind stand in of a divine revelation, and that all religious light and knowledge originates wholly from this source.

3. There have been instances of persons who have been deaf from their birth, and consequently dumb; and after they have arrived to adult or middle age, have been able to hear and speak; and though, before this, they attended public worship with others, and appeared very devout, and often made those signs which those with whom they conversed in this way thought were expressions of their belief of the being of God, and of their piety; yet, when they came to hear and speak, they declared that they never had a thought that there was a God, until they could hear, and were by that means informed. And there never has been an instance known of any such person's declaring that he had any belief or thought of the existence of a God, before he could hear and speak.†

* See Locke on the Human Understanding, Book I, Chap. IV, and the authors there quoted by him. Also, Dr. Robertson's History of South America.

† See President Clap's Essay, on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue, page 42, etc. The following is transcribed from him, page 45. "I was well acquainted with a negro, who was a man of superior natural powers, and made a profession of religion, who told me that he was born in the Island of Madagascar, and lived there till he was above thirty years old. And in all that time he never had a thought of the being of a God, a Creator or Governor of the world, or of a future state after death."

"Dr. Williots, in his sermon on the Light of Nature, relates a story of a man in France, who was born deaf and dumb, yet was very knowing, active, and faithful in the common affairs of life; and upon a solemn trial before the bishop, by the help of those who could converse with him, was judged to be a knowing and devout Christian, and admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which he attended for many years, with all the signs of high devotion, such as elevation of hands, eyes, etc. At length a large quantity of hard wax was taken out of his ears; upon which he could hear; and, after a while, could speak and read. He then declared that, while he was deaf, he had no idea of a God, or Maker of the world, or of a future state; and that all he then did, in matters of religion, was purely in imitation of others."

Are not these facts an evidence that though the being of God is so clearly manifested in the works of creation and providence, yet mankind, in their present fallen, corrupt state, would not discern and acknowledge this truth, had it not been otherwise revealed?

And since the nature of all sin, so far as it has dominion in the heart, is real atheism, and a denial of the God who is above, and therefore the fool, the wicked man, always says in his heart, "There is no God;" and the tendency of it is to darken and stupefy the mind, or rather, is itself blindness and stupidity, with regard to the being of God, and every thing invisible, and naturally shuts all these things out of the mind; it can be easily accounted for, that, without a revelation, the reason of man, who is totally corrupt and sinful, will never suggest to him the being of a God, however evident and demonstrable this is to reason, when once suggested and revealed, and men can be excited and persuaded to attend to the evidence, and exercise their reason on the subject.

We will now take a short and summary view of the evidence there is of this great and fundamental truth of all morality and religion; and mention some of the arguments which offer themselves to our reason, when we attend to the subject. These are not long and intricate; but when the truth is once suggested to us, it becomes an object of intuition, in a sense, so that, though there be reasoning in the case, it is so short and easy, that it strikes the mind at once, and it is hardly conscious of any reasoning upon it, and of the medium by which the evidence comes to the mind. Hence it is probable, that some have thought, doubtless without any good reason for it, that the existence of God is what they call an innate idea, which is essential to the mind of man, and impressed on it, independent of all reasoning on the subject.

I. It is certain there is a God, from our own existence and the things we behold around us. There must be some cause of the existence of these things. They could not cause their own existence, or make themselves; because this is a contradiction. There must, therefore, be some invisible cause which existed before them, and was able to give them existence, and to uphold them when they were made. And this first cause, maker and preserver of all things, is God.

It is natural for the inquisitive mind, when it is necessarily led thus far, to inquire, how came God to exist? Or, what is the cause of his existence? If he be the first cause, he must be the cause of his own existence, which implies a contradiction, or he must exist without any cause, and without beginning, which is perfectly inconceivable; and we may as well

suppose the world exists without a cause, and go no further back for a cause; and then we find no evidence of the existence of God.

Answer. The first cause of all things we behold must certainly exist without beginning, and so without any cause, that is antecedent to his existence, or that is without himself. Yet there may be a reason, or cause of his existence within himself, namely, the necessity of his existence, so that he exists necessarily, there being no other possible way, or supposition, or it being infinitely impossible it should be otherwise, universal non-existence being the greatest contradiction in nature.

If it should be said, this runs all into darkness, — for we can no more conceive of God's existing necessarily, and without beginning to exist, than we can of the world's existing without a cause, — and, therefore, gives no relief to the mind, an easy, and it is hoped a satisfactory answer, is at hand. It is a plain contradiction to say that the world and all things in it exist without a cause, or a reason why they exist, rather than not; but necessary existence, and existence without beginning, implies no contradiction or impossibility. It is granted, that each of them is to us incomprehensible; but this is so far from being any argument against the truth and reality of them, that it is rather an evidence in favor of them; for if there be a God, he must be incomprehensible, as he is an infinite being, and exists in a manner infinitely above us; therefore, must be infinitely above and beyond the comprehension of finite minds. It is very unreasonable to object that against the being of a God which certainly must be true, if God exists.

II. The being of God is evident from the manner of our own existence, and of all things visible, namely, the design, contrivance, and wisdom that appear in them. It would fill volumes fully to illustrate this argument from the works of creation and providence, as this design and wisdom appear in them all; and the more particularly they are considered, the more clear the wisdom appears and shines. Volumes have been written on the subject, and many more might be written, and yet the subject not be exhausted. But it is not consistent with the design of this work, to enter particularly into this subject. Every one must have observed so much of this, as to see the propriety and force of this argument, at first view, unless he be very criminally inattentive. The innumerable creatures and things which come under our observation appear to be contrived and formed to answer some end; and the numerous ranks of different animals are all furnished with

provision for their own support and defence, and have members and organs suited to their situation, and to obtain, receive, and use what is necessary for the support of their lives, etc. If we attend only to our own bodies, we shall find them so admirably contrived, and so curiously formed, and though of so many parts, each one is suited to the rest, and all so contrived as to form one harmonious system of animal life, without any defect or any thing superfluous; is it possible, if we make any proper use of our reason, that we should find ourselves inhabiting such bodies, without discerning the contrivance and wisdom of our make, and seeing and acknowledging the hand and skill of the wise Author of this frame, so curious in all its parts and movements? As well may we behold a most beautiful, well-contrived palace, furnished with every thing convenient and comfortable to dwell in, having nothing useless, nothing wanting, and not have one thought of a wise, skilful architect, who contrived and built it; or imagine this building might exist without the exertion of any design or wisdom, and have no author and maker.

Surely we cannot survey ourselves and the world in which we are, and see the design and contrivance apparently running through the whole, and not be convinced that there must be a wise contriver and author who has made them. Not to think of and acknowledge this, is to be more like beasts than rational creatures. The language of the Psalmist is most rational and natural, when contemplating the works of creation and providence: "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all."

III. The being of God is made evident by the Holy Scriptures; not merely by being there abundantly asserted, but by the existence of such a book as the Bible. It is as much impossible there should be such a book, were there no God, as that there should be such a world as we see, without an invisible cause. For it is as much beyond the power and skill of man, or any number of men, to form such a book, as it is to make the world. It is impossible that such a number of men, who lived in ages at such a distance from each other, should write so much, and not contradict themselves, nor each other, but agree and harmonize in every thing, were there no invisible, unerring, omniscient Being to direct and guide them: as impossible as it was that every stone and piece of timber in Solomon's temple should come together, and be exactly fitted to its place, so as to make one complete, harmonious building, without any design, or contrivance, but by mere accident or chance. The character of God there given is far above and beside the thought of man, and could no more be

drawn by man, were there no such God, than the world can be made by him; and the law of God there given, and at last summed up and comprehended in one sentence, "Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself," could no more be thought of and contrived by man, than the heavens and the earth could be planned and produced by him. The series of miracles wrought by those who said there was a God, and that Jehovah was the only true God; that he spake to them, and they did these wonders in his name, and by his power, are a standing proof of the existence of God.

But above all, the predictions contained in the Bible, with their exact and certain accomplishment, is a striking proof and demonstration of the existence of an omniscient, omnipotent Being. For it is as much beyond the art and power of man to foretell so many thousand events, so precisely answering the prediction, as it is for him to make the sun, moon, and stars.

All these have been urged as proofs of the divinity of the Scriptures, and they are equal proofs of the being of God. Therefore, though invisible things of God are clearly seen in the works of creation and providence, even his eternal power and godhead, so that all the nations who have not the Bible are left without excuse, which, if they do not believe in, love and worship the true God; yet they who enjoy this book have more clear evidence of the being of God, as well as unspeakably greater advantages to know his true character; and consequently are far more inexcusable than the heathen, if they do not believe.

Upon the evidence of the existence of God, two things may be observed.

1. Though this be as evident a truth as any whatsoever, and men may have a full rational conviction of it, while their hearts are opposite to it, and receive no impressions answerable to this truth, and the whole system of their affections and exercises of heart are just as if this were not true, or directly contrary to it; yet do really say in their hearts, there is no God. Therefore, we find this asserted in the Scriptures, "The fool (that is, the wicked man whose heart is wholly corrupt, as it is there explained) says in his heart there is no God." Hence it is, that this conviction and profession, that there is a God, in multitudes of instances, has little or no effect on the heart and practice; but while they profess to know there is a God, in their hearts and in their works they deny him. In this case, *the heart* governs the man, and forms his true moral character, and not his speculative conviction and judgment, which is so

weak and ineffectual that it flies, or vanishes into nothing, before the strong fixed propensities of the ungodly heart, as a bubble is blown away by the strong blast of a furious wind.

2. Where the heart is upright and honest, and men have a proper taste and relish for moral truth, the evidence of the being of God is discerned in a true light. The being and true character of God appear to be a pleasing reality; they have a genuine and powerful impression on the heart, and its leading affections and exercises are answerable to the truth. Therefore, the Scriptures represent such only as knowing God and believing in him; and others are spoken of as not knowing God, and saying in their hearts there is no God, and in their works denying him. The latter are in darkness, and walk in darkness which blindeth their eyes. The god of this world hath blinded their minds, so that they believe not, and the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, doth not shine unto them. But the light shines into the hearts of the former, and gives them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ. For where the being of God is truly discerned, his whole revealed character, or his glory, is in some good measure seen; and they who have not discerning and relish of this glory, which is true of all wicked men, have not that belief of the being of God which good men have, as their faith consists in mere speculation; which is not the true light. This is so plain, that a heathen has said, "The mind destitute of virtue cannot see the beauty of truth."*

This leads us to consider the character and perfections of God, or what God is. This is the most important subject in the whole compass of divinity, as right conceptions of God lay the best and only foundation for religious knowledge and right sentiments in general; and it is no doubt true, that all who agree in their sentiments respecting the divine character will also agree in the same system of religious truth; and the origin of the difference and opposition of opinion that have taken place among professing Christians, respecting the doctrines of Christianity, is their different and opposite notions of the character and perfections of God. Therefore, the true knowledge of God is often mentioned in Scripture as the sum of all knowledge, and comprehending all religious knowledge. This affords a good reason for our attending to this awful subject with great care and caution; with solemnity of mind, reverence and devotion, searching the Holy Scriptures, and

* Hierocles.

praying that we may be saved from wrong and dishonorable conceptions of God, and obtain the true knowledge of him.

What are called the *natural* perfections of God, as distinguished from his *moral* perfections, are first to be considered. There is a general agreement respecting these, among those who enjoy divine revelation, as men are not so prone to prejudice and error on this head as they are concerning the other. It will, therefore, be needless to enlarge here.

We are warranted by the Scriptures, and it appears reasonable, to exclude every thing that implies any imperfection, when we consider what God is, and ascribe to him nothing that is not absolutely perfect in the highest degree. Therefore, we must conceive God to be a pure spirit, which the Scriptures assert; and hence we are certain that nothing corporeal, or that has any shape, figure, or limits, is to be ascribed to him. Hence it is unreasonable and very dishonorable to God, to attempt to make any image or likeness of him, by any thing that has figure or shape, or to form or entertain any such notion in our minds. Moses gave a particular caution on this head to the people of Israel. "The Lord spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude, only ye heard a voice. Take ye, therefore, good heed unto yourselves, lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire." And this is expressly prohibited in the second command, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." Therefore, when God is spoken of in the Scriptures as if he had bodily parts and members, hands, eyes, ears, mouth, etc., these expressions are to be taken in a figurative sense, and mean no more than that God does see and hear, etc., which we perform by those members and organs; and not that he has *eyes of flesh*, or sees as man does; such language being used as better suited to convey knowledge to our minds, in conformity to man's way of speaking and conceiving.

In the Scriptures God is represented as an infinite being; that he is, in every respect, without limits or bounds. His existence is infinite, or in him is an infinite degree of existence, so that all created existence is nothing when compared with him; and, indeed, is comprehended in him, and is really no addition to existence, it being only an emanation from him, the fountain and sum of all existence. And all his attributes and perfections are infinite, according to the Scriptures. "His

understanding is infinite," and, consequently, every thing that can be attributed to him.

And reason teaches that God must be infinite. He who exists without any cause, that is, without himself, or who exists of and from himself, from the necessity of his own nature, or, in other words, exists necessarily, must be infinite, or cannot have any bounds or limits, in any respect, and that for these two plain reasons.

1. He can be limited or bounded by nothing, because there can be nothing to limit him; no possible cause or reason of any kind of limitation; and, therefore, there can be none.

2. Necessary existence must be infinite; for as there can be nothing to bound this necessity, it must take place with respect to every possible degree of existence, and is as much a reason of infinite existence as of any existence at all. If any existence be necessary, infinite existence is necessary; so that it is a plain contradiction to suppose that God exists of himself, or necessarily; and yet has but a limited degree of existence, or is not infinite.

Hence, it appears that God exists without beginning or end; or is eternal, as he is represented in the Scriptures. For he who has no limits, but is infinite, can have neither beginning or end, or must be infinite in duration. And necessary existence must be eternal, because this same necessity cannot be limited as to time or duration, but is always the same. It is a contradiction to say that self-existence, or, which is the same, necessary existence, does not exist, or can cease to exist.

For the same reason God is unchangeable in all respects, which the Holy Scriptures abundantly assert. He who exists necessarily, and is infinite, must exist unchangeably in the most perfect manner and degree. Change, or alteration in any respect, necessarily supposes limitation and imperfection. And as God is eternal and immutable, he must be without any succession; for this supposes change, and an advance in years and increase of duration. God does not grow older; there is nothing first or last, no beginning or end, past or to come, with respect to him; he has no change or succession of ideas; but he inhabits or possesses eternity, without the least variation or shadow of turning.

God is perfect and infinite in understanding and knowledge. He is omnipresent, which is necessarily implied in his infinite, unlimited existence.

God is almighty. He can do what he pleases, and nothing is impossible with him. And he must be absolutely and infinitely independent and all sufficient. All this is asserted in the Scriptures, and it is easy to see they are essential to the

character of God, who made and governs the world, and is to be trusted in all cases, and worshipped.

God is invisible. Invisibility is ascribed to him in the Scriptures, as essential and peculiar to him; and the meaning is not, merely, that he is invisible, as all pure spirits are, not to be seen by our bodily eyes, but he is not to be seen by any created mind, by direct, immediate intuition; nor can he ever be seen thus to all eternity; but only as he reveals and manifests himself, *ab extra*, by his works, or some other medium or exhibition. This seems to be asserted in the following words: "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." It is to be observed, that the word man is not in the original; but it is none, or no one hath seen God; and the assertion may be considered as extending to angels as well as men. St. Paul says, no man hath seen, nor can see, God.

God is incomprehensible, by all finite minds. This is as evident and certain as it is that what is finite cannot reach unto and comprehend infinity. But a little portion can be known of God, compared with the whole of his existence; and none, among men or angels, can by searching find out God to perfection, though under the best possible advantages, and possessed of the greatest abilities to search; and though they exert all their powers and strength to the utmost, and wisely improve every advantage to get knowledge, without intermission, and without end. Though they should make the swiftest progress imaginable in the knowledge of God, they would still fall infinitely short of fully comprehending all that is in God, or even any one thing. For, however great and extensive this knowledge may be, in itself considered, yet it is but finite, and, therefore, is infinitely less than the perfect, adequate knowledge of an infinite being. Creatures may have the true knowledge of God; they may know something of him, and what they know may be agreeable to the truth; but this is infinitely short of comprehending his being, or any of his attributes and perfections. This plain truth may well be improved to teach us modesty in our inquiries about God, and show us the arrogancy and folly of those who refuse to believe any thing respecting the existence, character, or works of God, which cannot be comprehended. Such, while they are valuing themselves for their own reasoning abilities, are acting a most unreasonable part. How unreasonable are they who doubt of the being or any of the perfections of God, only because they cannot fully understand and comprehend how they can be! For, if there be a God clothed with infinite perfection, he must be incomprehensible. They who will not

believe in a God whose being and manner of existence are beyond their comprehension, must certainly have no true God; for what they reject, is essential to the true God; and were there nothing incomprehensible, it is certain there could be no God.

The moral perfections of God are next to be considered, or what the Scriptures say of his moral character. As this is of the greatest importance to be known, we may be sure it is very clearly discovered, and precisely stated in divine revelation, whatever mistakes men may make about it, and however they may differ in their sentiments concerning those divine attributes. We have, therefore, the greatest reason and encouragement to search the Scriptures with attention and care, and upright and honest hearts, that we may find the knowledge of God in this part of his character.

The following general observations may be made concerning the moral perfections of God, before they are considered more particularly.

1. The infinite excellence, beauty, and glory of God consist wholly in his moral perfections and character. Infinite greatness, understanding and power, without any rectitude, wisdom, and goodness of heart, if this were possible, would not be desirable and amiable; but worse than nothing, and infinitely dreadful. Therefore, they who do not understand the true moral character of God, and discern the excellence and glory of it, have not the knowledge of God; his real amiableness and glory are hid from them. And this being true of all whose moral character is wholly evil, and who have hearts altogether opposed to the moral perfections of God, they are represented in the Scriptures as not knowing God. "He that saith, I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him." (1 John ii. 4.) "He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." (1 John iv. 8.)

2. The moral character and perfection of God consists in his HOLINESS. Holiness comprehends all that belongs to his moral character, and does not consist in any particular attribute, distinct from any other moral perfection. The holiness of God is his goodness, wisdom, justice, truth, and faithfulness, etc. It consists in these, and cannot be distinguished from them. Therefore, they who have considered holiness as a distinct attribute of God, and have attempted to describe it as distinguished from goodness, wisdom, etc., do not appear to have any distinct, clear ideas, and to be able to give any satisfactory or intelligible definition of it. It does not appear that the Scriptures warrant any such distinction; but there

the holiness of God means the goodness of his moral character in general. And we find that when it is applied to men, it denotes a virtuous, moral character and conduct, and comprehends every thing morally good, even every branch of moral excellence. And should any one attempt to define the holiness of a man, as distinct from goodness, his love to God and his neighbor, his humility, righteousness and temperance, he not only would have no Scripture warrant for it, but must run himself into the dark, and be altogether unintelligible to himself and others.

3. The whole of true holiness, or the moral excellence and perfection of God, is comprehended in LOVE, or goodness, by whatever names it may be called. Where there is no love or goodness of heart, there is nothing morally good; and where this love or goodness is, there is every moral virtue and excellence, as necessarily involved and implied in it. Therefore infinite goodness is infinite moral perfection, and forms an absolutely perfect and infinitely excellent moral character. By this love and goodness is meant good will, with every affection necessarily implied in it; that universal benevolence which consists in a disposition to seek and promote the greatest possible general good and happiness, and all those affections and exercises, and that conduct, in which this is expressed and acted out. What absolutely perfect and infinite benevolence and goodness implies, and contains in the nature of it, and that nothing can be added to it to form an infinitely excellent moral character, will be more particularly considered and evinced hereafter. But it is proper first to consider what evidence we have from the Scriptures that the divine moral character, or the holiness of God, consists wholly in this.

1. The holy law of God, which is not only the standard of holiness, or of moral excellence and perfection in the creature, but an expression and transcript of divine holiness, requires nothing but love or goodness; so that he who LOVETH, as the law of God requires, is perfectly conformed to the law, which is the same with being perfectly holy; and this is perfect conformity or likeness to God in his moral character; for holiness in the creature is the moral image of God; therefore God says to men, "Be ye holy; for I am holy."

Jesus Christ has taught us that the holy law of God requires nothing but love, in the following remarkable words: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two com-

mandments hang all the law and the prophets." Agreeable to this, St. Paul says, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." Nothing can be more expressly asserted than this, namely, that love, exercised to a proper degree, and expressed and acted out in all proper ways, forms a perfect moral character; and, therefore, that the divine moral character consists wholly in this.

2. The apostle John says, repeatedly, that God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. Here, all the moral perfections of God are comprehended in love, and by this the whole of his moral character is expressed. If we know what love is, we know what God is; for God is love. And if we dwell in love, we are conformed to God, and he dwelleth in us, his moral image is formed in us by love.

3. When Moses besought God to show him his glory, in answer to this petition, God said, "I will make all my GOODNESS pass before thee." And when he granted this petition, it is said, "The Lord descended in the cloud, and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. And the Lord passed by before him, and proclaimed, The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth." The glory of God consists in his moral perfection and character; but when he proposes to show this his glory to Moses, he mentions his goodness, and nothing else: "I will make all my GOODNESS to pass before thee;" *q. d.* I have no glory to show but my goodness; this is the whole of my moral beauty and excellence. And when it is said, "he proclaimed the name of the Lord;" it means that he proclaimed his character, and declared that in which his moral perfection and glory did consist. And here is nothing but goodness or love mentioned. Love in the highest, most resplendent and glorious exercises and manifestations of it, in the pardon and salvation of sinners. TRUTH is, indeed, mentioned here; but not as any thing distinct from goodness or benevolence; but as that which is necessarily included in it. But this leads to a more particular consideration of the moral perfections of God, which are included in love or goodness.

1. Infinite wisdom is a moral perfection of God. Wisdom consists in discerning and proposing the highest and best end, and fixing on and pursuing the most proper and best way and means, in order to accomplish it. Infinite wisdom does this with infinite ease, and without any possibility of the least error and mistake. It is certain that this wisdom is a moral excellence, and belongs to the heart, and, therefore, does not consist

in mere speculation, or that knowledge or understanding which may be without any rectitude or goodness of disposition or heart. Satan, who has no moral goodness, has no wisdom. He does not discern and propose any good end, but the contrary; and is devising and pursuing methods to accomplish his evil designs. Therefore, however clear and right his speculations may be in some instances, and though he may be very subtile and cunning, he has no wisdom, and no true discerning in things of a moral nature; but all his proposals, designs, and pursuits are directly the reverse of wisdom. They are consummate folly and madness. Therefore, the Scriptures speak of wisdom as a moral excellence; yea, as including all moral rectitude, and perfectly opposed to all folly or moral evil; and a wise and understanding heart, in the Scriptures, means a moral excellence depending on the disposition of the heart, and not consisting in any knowledge and speculations which are consistent with a corrupt and evil heart. Of this, every one who has attended to the Bible must be sensible; it is, therefore, needless to produce passages here to prove it. This true wisdom is called *light*, in the Scriptures; in which sense, God is said to be light, and to dwell in light. "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all."

Wisdom and goodness, or benevolence, are not to be considered as distinct, and the former as independent of the latter. Where there is no benevolence, there is no wisdom; for where benevolence or goodness is not, there no good end is proposed and pursued, or discerned. It is benevolence alone that seeks the highest general good, and proposes and pursues the best end; and where this is not, the true good is not discerned, and therefore the best end is not proposed, sought, or perceived. This, therefore, gives or contains all the light and discerning there is in true wisdom. If we have a just idea of benevolence or goodness of heart, and know what that is, we have an idea of true wisdom, the latter being necessarily included in the former. This will be evident to every one who considers and understands what benevolence is, and what is true wisdom; so that no further proof of this point will be needed. This is agreeable to what is said in the Scriptures of benevolence and wisdom. There love, or benevolence, is represented as being or containing all that light and knowledge which is in true wisdom; and that where this love is not, there is not any degree of this light and discerning. "Every one that LOVETH, knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God. He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother, abideth in the light; but he that hateth his brother, is in darkness, and

walketh in darkness." Here love is said to be, or imply, all that light and discerning which is of a moral nature, in which true wisdom consists; therefore, love is wisdom. Love is true light and discerning, and this is true wisdom. Love is the true knowledge of God, or implies it, and is essential to it. And in the knowledge of God true wisdom consists. "If thou incline thine ear unto wisdom, and apply thine heart to understanding — thou shalt then understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God: for the Lord giveth wisdom." (Prov. ii. 2, 5, 6.)

Moreover, the Scriptures teach us that wisdom, considered as proposing and pursuing a good end by the best means, consists in love. There it is said, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge: but fools despise wisdom and instruction." And unto man he said, "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding." By the fear of the Lord is evidently meant true piety, or obedience to God, in keeping his commandments; which consists wholly in love, love to God and our neighbor. This, it is said, is true wisdom, and is the *beginning* of wisdom. There is no wisdom where there is no love to God; and wisdom begins in this, and this is wisdom itself. Therefore, according to the Scriptures, love is wisdom and understanding. Agreeable to this, all true virtue and moral rectitude, which consists in love, is called wisdom, in the Proverbs of Solomon, and through the Bible; and the contrary is called folly: and the former is called understanding and knowledge, the latter darkness and ignorance.

Hence it appears, not only that wisdom is moral rectitude and excellence, and a moral perfection of God; but also that it is nothing more than benevolence or goodness, and is included in it; so that when it is said God is love, his wisdom is asserted, as well as his goodness; because love or goodness is wisdom itself.

2. Justice or righteousness belongs to the moral character of God. This denotes, in general, the perfect and infinite rectitude of his will, in opposition to all injustice or unrighteousness. The Scriptures constantly ascribe this to God, as essential to the perfection and glory of his character, as every one must be sensible who is acquainted with the Bible. "He is the rock, his work is perfect: for all his ways are judgment: a God of truth, and without iniquity, *just and right is he.*" "The Lord is righteous in all his ways."

Righteousness often has a very extensive meaning in the Scriptures, and seems frequently to be used to express the whole

of the moral character and glory of God, or his moral rectitude in general; as it is also often used to express the moral character of a man who is conformed to God, or true holiness. "Put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." Here righteousness and true holiness seem to mean the same thing; and the latter, true holiness, is put as exegetical of the former, because righteousness expresses the whole of moral rectitude, both in God and the creature. "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness," that is, true holiness. But the instances of righteousness being used in the Scriptures in this extensive sense, as including all moral goodness, are too many to be particularly mentioned here. Every one who has read the Bible, knows that the words just and righteous are commonly used to denote that moral character, rectitude and holiness, by which good or holy men are distinguished from others. To be righteous, is to be right according to the rule, the holy law of God, the standard of all moral rectitude; and, therefore, must include universal holiness.

But righteousness and justice are sometimes used in the Scriptures in a more limited sense, both when applied to God and to men. And to be just, or righteous, is to be disposed to do no wrong to any, and actually to do none, but to give to every one every thing to which he has a right and may justly claim as his due; and is, therefore, opposed to doing wrong or injuring any being by withholding or taking from him that to which he hath a right, which is called injustice, or unrighteousness. Justice and righteousness of a judge, and when ascribed to God as such, also, denote judging according to truth between opposing and contending parties, justifying the innocent and injured, espousing, vindicating, and maintaining his cause, and condemning and punishing the guilty and injurious according to his desert, — especially when this is necessary to vindicate the character and cause of the injured in the best manner, and to make proper restitution for the injury done. Not to do this would be to pervert justice and judgment.

This justice, righteousness, or uprightness, is essential to a perfect moral character, and, therefore, must be included in infinite moral perfection. It is needless to him who reads the Bible with attention to say that justice, in this sense, is there constantly ascribed to God, and that he who overlooks this, or has wrong notions of it, must be ignorant of the moral character of God.

It is important to observe here, that God, in the exercise of justice, or righteousness, has a proper regard to himself, and is disposed to maintain the rights of Deity, and properly to

resent all injuries done to him; therefore, he requires his rational creatures to love him with all their hearts, because this is his due, and has annexed to his law a threatening of a punishment, which is the just desert of the transgression of it, or of any injury done to him. This regard to himself, and disposition to assert and maintain his rights and character, is expressed, when he styles himself a jealous God, who is jealous for his holy name, (Ez. xxxix. 25,) and will not give his glory to another, neither his praise to graven images, (Isa. xlii. 8.) "For my name's sake will I defer my anger, and for my praise will I refrain for thee, that I cut thee not off. For mine own sake, even for mine own sake, will I do it: for how should my name be polluted? And I will not give my glory to another." (Isa. xlviii. 9, 11.) "God is jealous, and the Lord revengeth; the Lord will take vengeance on his adversaries, and he reserveth wrath for his enemies." (Nahum i. 2.)

It belongs to God to vindicate his own rights, his name and character, and see that justice is done to himself; for there is no other being who can have the care of this, or can do it, or see that it is done. But he who is most upright, infinitely righteous, and can do no wrong, and sees what is right in all cases, without any possibility of mistake, is every way qualified to judge, decide, and act in this matter, and it becomes him to do it; and not to regard his own rights, and do justice to himself, would be infinitely unjust and wrong. As God is infinitely the greatest, and the sum and perfection of all being, and his character, interest, and rights are of infinitely the greatest worth and importance, to disregard his rights and injure him is infinitely the highest instance of injustice that can be; and the exercise of justice and righteousness, in the first place, and chiefly, respects him; and, were it possible for God to disregard his own character, and not vindicate and maintain his own rights, he would be infinitely far from being just and righteous; and this would be a greater instance of injustice than every possible injury to all creatures can be. Therefore, when God is said to be just, it necessarily includes his being just to himself, so that he will do himself no wrong, but will regard and maintain his own rights, and claim and secure the honor due to his name; and, if he be injured by any, he will see that complete restitution is made, whatever it may cost him who does the injury; and, at the same time, he is infinitely engaged to administer justice through all his dominions, and not to injure any one of his creatures in the least degree. "The Judge of all the earth will do right."

Before we leave this head, it must be particularly observed,

that justice, or righteousnes, whether taken in a more extensive or in a confined sense, is nothing really distinct from love or goodness, but is included in it, and essential to it, though it has been thus distinctly considered; for injustice is directly opposed to good will, and goodness will not injure any one. He, therefore, who is perfectly good, must be perfectly just; and goodness always is, and always will be, justice. And infinite benevolence or love disposes to maintain and vindicate the rights of all; to administer justice and judgment in all cases; to condemn and punish the injurious so far as is necessary to make compensation to the injured. For as universal goodness seeks the greatest general good, it can do no wrong; and is, therefore, opposed to all ill-will, and every thing that is contrary to the rights of any being, and to the highest general good. Love, therefore, still appears to comprehend all moral rectitude and excellence; and justice or righteousness in the divine Being is nothing but universal, infinite benevolence, considered with relation to particular objects, and as acted out in particular circumstances.

3. Perfect truth and faithfulness are essential to the moral character of God, and included in his holiness. His declarations are all perfectly agreeable to the truth, and none can be deceived by believing what he says. Whatever he promises may be relied upon with the greatest safety; and all his predictions, promises, and threatenings, he punctually and completely accomplishes.

And here again it must be observed, that truth and faithfulness are not to be distinguished from goodness, as though there were any thing in them different from it, and not contained in it, and essential to it; for there is no foundation for this, and it would be contrary to the truth. He who is infinitely benevolent must be perfect and unchangeable in truth and faithfulness; for love or goodness is itself truth and faithfulness, acted out in that particular manner, and towards those particular objects in which it obtains this denomination. There can be no truth and fidelity, where there is no goodness; and where the latter is, there, in the same degree, is the former.

We have now had some view of the moral character of God, or his holiness; and find it to consist in love or goodness, wisdom, righteousness, or justice, truth, and faithfulness. And that all is comprehended in love or benevolence, there being not only nothing contrary to this, but nothing really distinct from it, and that is not essential to it; the whole being nothing but infinite goodness, in different views of it, and as it respects different objects; and on this account, and that

we may better understand it, the Scriptures speak of it by parts, and call the parts of this whole by different names.

But this very important and interesting subject requires yet further consideration; and it is hoped the following observations will not be useless, but tend to cast more light upon it.

1. When it is said that the moral character of God, or his holiness, consists in LOVE, in which sense "God is love," universal, infinite benevolence or good will is meant by love, and all that which this necessarily implies. This has been supposed, and taken for granted, in all that has been already said on this subject; but needs to be more particularly explained, and made evident. When God is said to be love, it is evident that the love of benevolence, or the goodness of God, is here meant from the context, where the meaning of the apostle is explained. When it is said, "God is love," the words immediately following are these: "In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. HEREIN IS LOVE; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." Here the love of benevolence or good will only is mentioned as that in which the love of God was manifested and acted out; therefore, this is the love here intended, when it is said, "God is love." It is love of good will to enemies, to men in a state of rebellion against God; and, therefore, the most disinterested, generous love and goodness. This is the love and goodness spoken of by Christ, when he says, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." This is by the angels called good will to men. This is the highest instance of the most pure, disinterested benevolence, or goodness, in which God has made the clearest discovery of his infinite goodness, and so of all his moral perfections, that creatures have ever beheld. This benevolence has the highest good of being in general for its object; being capable of life and happiness. It discerns what is the supreme, greatest good, and this it seeks and pursues with unerring wisdom; and being attended with omnipotence, all the infinite good, the proper object of infinite benevolence, which is discerned, willed and sought, must take place in the highest possible degree, without the least defect. This is universal benevolence; disinterested, unlimited, infinite goodness, which has the highest possible good of being in general for its object, that is, infinite good, which must infallibly take place, and be enjoyed forever.

2. This love of benevolence does not exclude, but neces-

sarily includes that which is called love of complacence; for he who is good, benevolent and friendly, must delight in goodness. He will not only take pleasure in the exercise of goodness, but will be pleased with benevolence wherever it exists. Therefore a complacency and delight in holiness, or moral excellence, is always implied in holiness. God is therefore represented in the Scriptures as delighting and taking pleasure in the upright, in them that fear him and are truly holy, and delighting in the exercise of loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness. But it ought to be remembered, that love of complacency is not the primary or chief part of holy love; for holiness must exist as the object of complacency, in order to the existence of the latter. And what can this holiness be, which is the object of complacency and the spring of holy delight, but the love of benevolence or goodness? This is the primary and most essential part; yea, the sum of holy love, which implies the love of complacency in its nature; the latter being a branch and emanation from the former. Therefore, when we think and speak of holy love, benevolence should be the primary and chief idea in our minds, as being the sum of all, and implying the whole; for holy complacency is complacency in benevolence and a benevolent complacency. And if we leave benevolence out of our idea of the love of complacency, we have no idea of true holiness; nor understand the Scriptures, where they speak of holy love in God or creatures.

It is true, indeed, that moral excellence, or the love of benevolence and complacency, may be the object of benevolence as well as complacency, for the more excellent any being is, the greater is his importance and worth, and his interest so much more valuable; and, indeed, the more existence he has; for excellence is real existence. Therefore there will not only be more complacence and delight in such a being, but he is more the object of benevolence, in wishing him well, prosperous, and happy, and doing him good if he stands in need, and there is opportunity, and in being friendly to his existence, prosperity and happiness, and rejoicing in the same. But this is not the primary object of benevolence, but what may be called the secondary object, which appears from what has been said; for benevolence is good will to being, and seeks the greatest good of the whole; and, therefore, loves those who have no excellence, and wishes well even to enemies; but is exercised in a stronger degree, and a peculiar manner, towards those beings who are themselves benevolent, and friends to the general good; while at the same time they are the only objects of complacence and delight.

3. Divine love or goodness is perfectly disinterested, in opposition to all self-love or selfishness. This is expressed by uprightness or righteousness, and consists in it. Uprightness is ascribed to God in the Scriptures, as essential to his character; yea, he is called "the most upright." (Is. xxvi. 7.) That is, perfectly, infinitely, and unchangeably so. This is opposed to partiality, which consists in self-love, and is selfishness itself. True goodness, or love, is in its own nature uprightness, or disinterested, in opposition to this self-love, which is in its nature partiality and unrighteousness, and contains in it the essence and sum of all that which is opposed to true holiness, that is, all sin. Therefore, we must exclude from the love in which the divine holiness consists, all that can be properly called self-love, all selfish, partial, interested affection; and consider the holiness of God as infinitely opposed to all this.

4. God himself is the object of his own love and goodness. Or, in the exercise of his love he has respect and regard to Deity, as well as to creatures. This is necessarily implied in perfect, universal, infinite benevolence, which includes impartial uprightness and righteousness; for it would be infinitely otherwise, and the most partial, unrighteous affection, if there were no regard paid to the infinite fountain and sum of all being and perfection. That which is friendly to the greatest universal good of existence, and is most pleased and delighted with the highest moral perfection, must regard the interest of the Supreme Head of the universe, and delight in the most perfect beauty and excellence. And it hence follows that God is the chief and supreme object of his own love and regard; and he loves and regards himself infinitely more than the whole creation, and makes himself his highest and last end of all; and, therefore, has made all things for himself, as the Scriptures assert. This has nothing of the nature of what is called self-love in creatures; but is directly and perfectly opposed to it. There is not the least partiality and selfishness in it, but the contrary, and is uprightness and righteousness itself, as has been shown; for, if God did not love and regard himself, his rights and interest, according to his own existence, importance and excellence, he would not be just, impartial, and upright. Impartial, disinterested benevolence and affection must pay the greatest regard to the greatest and best being; and, therefore, to suppose this is partiality and selfishness, is most unreasonable, and a direct contradiction.

This evident truth, which may be so easily demonstrated, ought to be impressed on our minds, and never forgotten; for if it be out of view, and wholly disregarded, we cannot have

right conceptions of God, or understand the Holy Scriptures; and must be in darkness with respect to the most important doctrines of Christianity, and not know wherein true religion consists. Many, by making a mistake here, and considering the love of God as having no respect to himself, but wholly exercised towards his creatures, in seeking their good and happiness only, have conceived of him as an almighty tool or servant, existing only for the sake of his creatures, and seeking nothing but their happiness; and hence have gone into a scheme of doctrines and religion, which is wholly selfish, and as contrary to the Holy Scriptures as darkness is to light.

Let it then be fixed and remembered, that God is LOVE. He is infinite benevolence and goodness itself; and that he himself is the first, chief and last object of this love; so that he regards himself supremely and ultimately in all his works, and does every thing for himself, for his own sake. And that his wisdom and righteousness consist chiefly in this, as he would be neither just, faithful nor wise, should he forget himself, and have no regard to his own rights and character, in any one thing that he does through all his dominions; and, therefore, to suppose he does, is to entertain the most dishonorable thought of him, which in the highest degree tarnishes and ruins his moral character. In the light of this truth, rightly understood, and cordially embraced, we shall have great assistance in finding the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, and determining what are the important doctrines there revealed, and see their consistence and beauty.

5. Infinite benevolence, or goodness, which seeks and promotes the greatest good of the whole, is infinitely opposed to all malevolence or ill will, which opposes all the good of being, and tends to universal evil, and must be infinitely displeased with it. This is just as evident and certain as it is that he who loves and is friendly to any particular character, or desirable object, is displeased with the contrary, and hates it, to as great a degree as he loves and is pleased with the other. And this displeasure and hatred is implied in his love to the opposite object and pleasure in it, and is really the same affection acting towards opposite objects.

He who is a friend to the greatest good, and therefore is pleased with such friendship, must be equally an enemy to all who oppose this good, and proportionally displeased and angry with them. And this displeasure, hatred and anger, in a perfectly benevolent being, is nothing in nature different from benevolence. It is nothing but goodness opposing its contrary; which it must do, or else cease to be love and goodness.

Agreeable to this, the Scriptures represent God, who is infinite love and goodness, to be in a proportionable degree displeased with all sin, which is in its nature opposition to benevolence and to the general good. This is represented as the object of his implacable hatred, and as exciting his anger, indignation, wrath, and fury. This is so far from leading us to conceive of any thing in God contrary to infinite love and goodness, or really distinct from it, that it is nothing more than benevolence acting according to its own nature towards objects that oppose it. For love of good is itself opposition to evil, and hatred of it; and benevolence must be displeased with ill will and hate, and oppose the same. Nor are these opposite or different affections, but the same affection, love, acting towards different objects.

This displeasure, anger, and wrath of God against sin and the sinner, may, therefore, with propriety be called a just, benevolent, kind displeasure, — which is the same with holy displeasure, — all proceeding from love, and implied in it. Therefore, when we read in the Scriptures of the divine displeasure, anger, wrath, etc., we must not form the same idea of this as we do of those passions as they exist in man, for this would be to conceive of God as exercising affections and passions contrary to love, and as very imperfect, changeable, and miserable. We must exclude in our minds every thing that implies imperfection or change, and that is inconsistent with infinite benevolence and felicity, and understand those expressions in the Scriptures as meaning perfect, unchangeable opposition of God to every thing in moral agents that is contrary to infinite benevolence or goodness; for which they are wholly blamable and answerable, and deserve to be punished. And these words are doubtless the best chosen, and most fit to convey to us this idea of infinite love, considered as opposed, injured, and affronted by selfish creatures, and acting accordingly.

6. The infinite love and goodness of God which has been described above, which is opposed to every thing in creatures that is contrary to itself, and with which it is displeased, must be disposed to manifest this displeasure and opposition to sin in all proper ways, and to punish the sinner according to his desert whenever this is necessary in order to show his displeasure, to assert and vindicate his own character, and secure and promote the greatest good of the whole. It is proper, and desirable, that infinite benevolence and goodness should be manifested and acted out in all instances where there is opportunity for it, and, therefore, in its opposition to sin. For, if it does not appear how opposite the moral character of God

is to all sin, it cannot be set in the most clear and advantageous light; but this cannot be done, if opposition to this character be not punished in any instance or way according to its desert. Besides, when thus to punish is necessary, in order to support the character of God and secure the general good, not to do it would be injustice to himself and the creation. Therefore, to punish, in this case, is the proper and necessary exercise of justice and righteousness, which has been shown is included in goodness, and is an exercise of the same. It is, therefore, evident that God's manifesting his displeasure and anger with the creature who is an enemy to his goodness is not only consistent with infinite benevolence, but an expression and exercise of love and goodness itself; and it would be contrary to the nature and dictates of the most perfect goodness not to punish. And, it may be added, such punishment is not the least evidence of want of benevolence to the creature who is punished. When a judge orders a criminal who is guilty of treason against his king and country to be put to death, he does nothing contrary to perfect benevolence and goodness, but this very conduct is an expression of it, and dictated by goodness itself, for he herein acts as a friend to his king and country; and not to inflict this punishment would be unfriendly, and contrary to true goodness. Nor does he manifest any want of benevolence to the criminal, or of a proper regard for his life and welfare, by punishing him according to his deserts when the public and general good requires it.

The disposition of the Most High to inflict punishment, and his actually inflicting evil on his creatures, as a testimony of his displeasure at sin, and to vindicate his own character, is often called "vengeance" in the Scriptures, and is represented by his taking or executing vengeance, and being avenged on his enemies; and, in this view, he is frequently called "the mighty and terrible God, with whom is terrible majesty," etc. If God were not disposed to punish his creatures for their rebellion against him, and never did inflict evil on any for their sin, vengeance, or vindictive justice, could not be ascribed to him, nor would there be any thing terrible in his character; — which would be an imperfection, and inconsistent with infinite benevolence or goodness, as has been shown. Therefore, they who form notions of a love and goodness in which there is no wrath and vengeance to punish enemies, nor any terrible majesty, and ascribe such love to God, have conceptions of his moral character which are essentially wrong, and very dishonorable to him.

7. It appears, from what has been said, and from reason as well as Scripture, that the moral perfection of God, or the

divine holiness, consists in one most simple, pure, uncompounded, unchangeable act; though, to accommodate it to our imperfect way of conceiving, it is divided into parts, and a number of attributes, and called by different names, as it is exercised in different views and towards various and opposite objects.

Benevolence, or goodness, is mercy, grace, compassion, patience, long-suffering, etc. And the same benevolence is wisdom, justice, truth, faithfulness, complacence, displeasure, anger and wrath, in different views, and as it respects different objects.

8. Absolute, uncontrollable sovereignty may be considered as included in the moral character of God. This is the same with omnipotent love, or goodness, — benevolence doing whatever it pleases, infinitely above any control or obligation to any other being. Omnipotence is, indeed, a natural perfection; but benevolence, clothed with omnipotence, or doing what it pleases, is the essence of God's moral perfection; and if we leave out the idea of this sovereignty, we shall have not only an imperfect, but a wrong view of divine benevolence. Indeed, if we should conceive of divine sovereignty, as some seem to have done, as consisting in God's doing what he will, merely because he will, and without any possible reason why he wills thus, rather than the contrary, this would be so far from a moral perfection that it would be no perfection, but infinitely undesirable, and unbecoming the Most High, — representing him rather as an almighty despot and tyrant, than an infinitely wise and good being. Though God does what he pleases, and is infinitely above all obligation or control by creatures, yet he has a good reason for all his determinations, and always wills that which is most wise, and the dictate of infinite rectitude and goodness. It is most agreeable, desirable, and of infinite importance, that infinite goodness and wisdom should be sovereign goodness, — that is, above all possible control or obligation to creatures which is inconsistent with its doing what it pleases, or with God's "fulfilling all the good pleasure of his goodness." All the friends of God who can confide in his goodness, wisdom, and righteousness, must be pleased with this sovereignty, and rejoice that he is above all control, — doing whatever he pleases through all his dominions, and "working all things according to the counsel of his own will:" and the idea and acknowledgment of the sovereignty of God attends all their views and pleasing sense of his moral character. This is the same with rejoicing that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth, which all good beings are represented to do; for, to be under the least control, or invol-

untary obligation, is inconsistent with reigning, which consists in doing whatsoever he pleases. When it is said, however, that God reigns above all obligation to any, which is inconsistent with his doing what he pleases, it is not meant that he can in no instance be under obligation to his creatures. He may enter into voluntary obligation, by promise and covenant; for it may be truly said, that what God has promised he will do, he is obliged to fulfil. But all must be sensible that this is not in the least inconsistent with the most perfect sovereignty, as it has been now described.

9. God is independently, infinitely and unchangeably happy. And this may be considered as included in his moral perfection and character, and depending upon it; for his happiness is not properly a natural, but a moral good, and consists in moral exercises and enjoyment. If God were not benevolence or love, he would not be happy; but his infinite greatness, understanding, etc., would render him infinitely miserable; therefore his moral character is essential to his felicity, and he is blessed forever, because he is unchangeably holy, and his happiness is a holy happiness. This attribute of God is essential to complete his infinitely glorious character, and is most pleasing and delightful to all his true friends; and their benevolence or good-will to God is gratified and expressed in seeing and rejoicing in his infinite, unchangeable, independent felicity and blessedness; and adding their hearty amen to it, as St. Paul did, when he spoke of it. "Who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen."

Here it must, however, be observed, that when it is said God is independently happy, it is not meant that he takes no pleasure in his works of creation and providence, or delight in the holiness and happiness of his creatures; so that he would be as completely happy, were there no holy and happy creatures and no creation; for this is contrary to the Scriptures, which represent God as pleased with his own works, and creating all things for his own pleasure, and as delighting in his holy creatures, and in exercising loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth. So that it is not strictly true, that creatures add nothing to the enjoyment or happiness of God, even his essential happiness; and that he would have been as completely blessed forever, as he really is, had there been no creatures, which has been too often asserted, even in solemn addresses to God. Though the creation, with all its attendants and eternal consequences, be essential to the infinite happiness of God, and he could not have been so happy without it, this does not suppose him in the least dependent on creatures for his happiness, or for any thing else; for the

creation is absolutely, perfectly, and in all respects dependent on him, being only an emanation from his infinite fulness; and he is as independent of his creatures as if they never had existed and he took no pleasure in them. Nor is this inconsistent with the eternal, unchangeable happiness of God, for he from eternity perfectly enjoyed the creation, and every event that will take place to all eternity, without any change or succession of past, present, and future, with respect to himself.

The Scriptures, indeed, speak of God as repenting that he had made man, and being grieved at his heart, which, when spoken of man, denote uneasiness and pain; but these expressions concerning God cannot reasonably be understood as meaning any such thing; and only denote that the great wickedness and misery of man are so contrary and displeasing to the holiness and goodness of God, that were he a man, or his goodness as limited and imperfect as that of man, it would be very grievous to him, and make him repent that man ever existed. And these words are doubtless wisely chosen, as best suited to convey this idea to us, and gives us a proper sense of the exceeding wickedness and misery of man in the sight of God; even so as to render his existence infinitely worse than nothing, should things take their natural course, and not be checked and overruled by infinite power and wisdom. If God speak to men, he must speak after the manner of men.

REFLECTIONS.

From the view we have now taken of the evidence of the existence of God, and his character and perfection, we may infer the following things.

1. What is meant by seeing God, or a true sensibility of his being and character. God is infinite power, knowledge, goodness, wisdom, justice and righteousness, unchangeable, eternal, every where present. To see God, is to have some proper discerning and sense of all these, and so as to make suitable impressions on the mind. And as the human mind is infinitely unequal to an adequate, comprehensive view of God, and cannot, at once, see all that it is capable of seeing, we view this infinite whole by parts, and may sometimes attend to infinite power, more particularly, or to wisdom or goodness, and have a more affecting, pleasing sense of those, than of other perfections, though not excluding them. A discerning sensibility of any thing in God is seeing him.

2. We hence learn what a foundation and source there is

in the being and perfections of God, for the complete and eternal happiness of those who know and love him. In God, there is every thing that is agreeable and desirable to an infinite degree, and no possible blemish or defect; nothing that can be in the least disagreeable, to a mind of a right taste and disposition. His whole character is superlatively beautiful, bright, and excellent; and it is impossible it should be properly discerned and understood, without giving the most noble and highest kind of enjoyment. And perfect discerning and love of this infinitely excellent and glorious being, accompanied with an assurance of his love and favor, must be the most perfect and highest kind of happiness of which we are capable or can have any conception. In this view, the truth and propriety of our Savior's words appear in a striking light. "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." And as this infinitely excellent and glorious object is unchangeable, eternal, and infinite, he whose happiness consists in the knowledge and enjoyment of him must have not only a perfect and unfailing, but also an increasing happiness; for as the object of his knowledge and love is infinite, there is a foundation for an endless progression or increase of knowledge and love, which is the same with an endless increase of enjoyment and happiness.

3. We hence learn the amazing folly, wickedness, and misery of those who are displeased with the divine character and real enemies to it. This is true of all those who dislike the laws of God, and are unwilling to be under his government and obey him; for the government and laws of God are all like himself, and an expression of his own character.

There can be no greater crime than direct opposition to God, hatred of him, and disaffection to his existence and character; for this must be criminal in proportion to the greatness of God, his importance to being in general, and the excellence of his character, and his authority over us, and his goodness exercised towards us. But he is infinitely great, and therefore his existence is of infinite worth and importance, and he is as excellent as he is great, is infinite love and friendship to being in general; and his authority over us is great in proportion to his greatness and perfection, our inferiority to him, and dependence upon him. And what is the just and certain consequence from this? If it be not that disaffection and opposition to him is infinitely criminal, that is, a crime of unlimited infinite magnitude, then it cannot be proved to be any crime at all. This is certain, if no reason can be given, or argument offered to prove that opposition to God,

and rebellion against him, is wrong and criminal, which does not equally prove that the crime is infinitely great. Any one will doubtless be convinced of this, if he will attend to the point so much as to make a trial.

The misery of such must be great. If infinite perfection and excellence give them no pleasure, but uneasiness and pain, they are of course shut out of all true happiness, and they have no object that can afford them any enjoyment, suited to their natural capacity and strong desires; and therefore must, in all their pursuits of happiness, meet with continual vexatious disappointment, which must constantly render them very unhappy. And if they persist in this disaffection to God, and opposition to him, and so fall under the just and proper manifestations of his displeasure, and are punished in suffering evil, answerable to their crimes, they must necessarily be miserable beyond all conception, and without any end.

The folly of this is beyond all expression, and the greatest that can be. To turn away from the fountain of all good and perfection, and renounce the only object of true enjoyment and happiness, and seek it in a way in which it is not to be found, but issues in complete and endless misery; what instance of folly can be great like this! No wonder the Scriptures call such *fools*, in an emphatical sense, as if this was the sum of all folly, and there were no fools but these. These, in the highest sense, and in the most striking manner, "call evil good, and good evil; put darkness for light, and light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." The Scriptures speak of such in the following language: "Be astonished, O ye heavens, at this, and be ye horribly afraid; for my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water. For my people are foolish, they have not known me; they are sottish children, and have no understanding; they are wise to do evil; but to do good, they have no knowledge."

4. This subject leads us to reflect upon the very criminal blindness and great delusion of those who say in their hearts, "there is no God." The Scriptures teach us there are such; and surely we must see the justice and propriety of calling them fools. "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." That there should be any such of the human race, is very shocking and deplorable; but it is more so to have it asserted by God, that this is true of all mankind in their natural state. That all are here declared to be such fools naturally, is certain from the context, which is quoted by St. Paul,

and applied to all men. (Ps. xiv. 3; Rom. iii. 9, 12.) What awful darkness and delusion must that be, in which they are, who, in the midst of the clearest light shining around them, do shut their eyes so as not to see the most evident and important truth, and to be quite blind to the most excellent, charming, glorious character! And that the heart of man should be thus stupid and blind, even when there is a rational conviction and acknowledgment of the truth, is yet more shocking. This is the blindness of the heart spoken of by St. Paul. (Eph. iv. 18.) "Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart." When the light that is in men is, through the moral disorders of the mind, turned into such darkness, how great is that darkness!

And this blindness and delusion must be criminal in proportion to the clear and abundant evidence of the truth, and the infinite importance and excellence of the object which this darkness hides from the mind; for it is the blindness of the heart, and therefore a moral, voluntary blindness, and cannot be distinguished from disaffection and real opposition of the heart to the being and character of God; and, consequently, the whole of it is nothing but sin. In this light, therefore, the Scriptures every where represent this sort of blindness and delusion, which originates from the heart, and consists essentially in the moral disorders and depravity of the mind. All sin is, indeed, moral darkness and delusion; it is opposed to all moral truth, and is, in its own nature, a sort of atheism, as it does, in all the exercises of it, deny the God that is above. It is, therefore, so far from being unaccountable that the Scriptures should assert, that they whose hearts are wholly under the dominion of sin, say in their hearts there is no God, that the reason of it may be easily seen; and it is most evident and certain that it cannot be otherwise; and to assert the contrary, is a very gross and palpable contradiction. When all the feelings and exercises of the heart are as if there were no God, or are opposed to his being and moral character, then the heart says, there is no God. Therefore, they who have no true virtue, no love to God, are, in the Scriptures, said not to know God, but to be alienated from the life of God, and without God in the world. (Eph. ii. 12; iv. 18.)

CHAPTER III.

THE UNITY OF GOD, AND THE TRINITY.

THAT there is but *one* God, the Scriptures every where assert; and this is agreeable to reason and the works of creation and providence which we behold; and the contrary supposition is most absurd, and undesirable, and really involves in it infinite evil. God must be a self-existent being, which is the same with existing necessarily; but necessary existence must be infinite, as has been shown. Therefore, there can be but one first cause, who exists necessarily, and without beginning, for there can be but one infinite being. To suppose another, or a second, necessarily excludes the first; and to suppose the first, necessarily excludes the second, and any other infinite being. The same is evident from the consideration of the divine perfections. God is infinite power, infinite wisdom; but there cannot be two or more infinite wisdoms, etc., because this is a contradiction. Infinite power is all the power there is, or can be, and is clearly inconsistent with another power distinct from that, which is also infinite. Moreover, if we make the impossible supposition that there are two or more infinite beings, they must be perfectly alike in all respects, or not. If not perfectly alike, and without any difference in any respect, then one or the other must be imperfect; for absolutely infinite perfection admits of no variation or difference; so that if any two beings differ in any respect, they cannot both be absolutely perfect; therefore, cannot both be God. But if they are perfectly alike in every respect and every thing, then they are perfectly one and the same; and the supposition destroys itself, being a direct contradiction. And there can be no possible need of more than one God; and therefore, were this possible, it is not desirable. There can really be no more existence than one infinite being, or any addition to infinite perfection and excellence; therefore no more can be desired, and nothing can be effected or done, more than he can do. In a word, he is all-sufficient, and no addition can be made to this, or even conceived.

Yea, it is so far from being desirable that there should be more gods than one, were it possible, that it is most undesirable, and would be the greatest evil. Such a supposition would only tend to perplex the pious mind, not knowing which of the gods he did worship, or what god to love and adore, or in which to put his trust. There have been those in the Christian

world who have supposed two gods, a good and an evil one; the former the author of all good, the latter of all evil. Were it so, there must be infinite variance and opposition between these beings, and it is impossible that the votaries of either should be happy. Such a belief as the acknowledgment of more gods than one, is even worse than atheism itself, or rather, is the worst sort of atheism; for such are really without any God.

The Scriptures teach us that there are three in this one God. Not three Gods, for this would be a contradiction; but that this infinite being exists in such a manner, as to be three distinct subsistences or persons, and yet but one God. The most express declaration of this is by the apostle John. He says, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are One." (1 John v. 7.) This is also clearly asserted by Christ himself, when he directs his disciples to baptize all the proselytes to Christianity, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. xxviii. 19.) Baptism being a covenant transaction between God and the creature, and a solemn act of worship, it would be idolatry to administer it in any other name but that of the only true God. Therefore, these words warrant us to believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are God, and but one God, agreeable to what is said by the apostle John, in the above-cited passage, the Word and the Son meaning the same. This is also expressed by the apostle Paul, in his benediction or prayer, with which he concludes his second epistle to the Corinthians. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen." (2 Cor. xiii. 14.) Hereby God must be meant the Father mentioned in the above-cited passages: and this is, therefore, parallel to them. And divinity is ascribed to each of these, by his blessing in each of these names, and making them the object of prayer.

There are many passages in the Old Testament which are agreeable to those in the New Testament, which have been mentioned, and represent a plurality or Trinity, as comprehended in the One true God; the following are some of them. It is remarkable that the Hebrew word, which is generally used for God, and is so translated, is commonly put in the plural, and not in the singular number. There is an instance of it the first time it is used in the Bible. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." And agreeable to this it is said, "Remember thy Creators." (Ec. xii. 1, 2.) It is translated Creator, but the Hebrew word is plural. And

the reason and propriety of it is discovered and best explained, by observing that a plurality, or Trinity, is included in the Creator of all things; for it is expressly and repeatedly asserted, that Jesus Christ created the world and all things in it. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." (John i. 1, 3.) "For by him (the Son of God) were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth." (Col. i. 16.) And creation is also ascribed to the Holy Spirit. "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." (Gen. i. 2.) "By his Spirit he hath garnished the heavens. The Spirit of God hath made me." (Job xxvi. 13; xxxiii. 4.)

Agreeable to this, God uses words in the plural number, when he is about to create man, and speaks as if there were a plurality of persons to do it. "And God said, Let us make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness." (Gen. i. 26.) And this form of speech is repeatedly used. "And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become like *one of us*. And the Lord said, Let *us* go down, and there confound their language." (Gen. iii. 22; xi. 6, 7.)

There is a remarkable passage in the prophecy of Isaiah, which represents a plurality, or three, in Jehovah or the Lord of Hosts. The seraphims "cried one unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts. Also, I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" (Gen. vi. 3, 8.) The plurality is here expressed by the plural pronoun, *us*. "Who will go for *us?*" And the Trinity is expressed by using the word holy three times successively; of which there is no instance of the kind in the Bible, when a single person, which is in no sense plural, is addressed. There is an instance of the same, indeed, when the same Being is addressed by the living creatures which John saw and heard. "And they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come." (Rev. iv. 8.) But that a plurality and a Trinity, comprehended in Jehovah, is designed to be expressed here by these words, is confirmed and made certain, by the reference which is made to this passage in the New Testament. All will grant that he who is called the Father in the New Testament, when joined with the Son or Word, and the Holy Ghost, is intended or included in the word Jehovah, or the Lord of Hosts, in this passage in Isaiah. And the apostle John, referring to it, says, "These things said Isaiah, when he saw his glory, and spake of him." That is, of Jesus Christ. (John xii. 41.) The apostle Paul, when he quotes some of the words of this

same passage in Isaiah, says, "Well spake the Holy Ghost, by Isaiah the prophet, unto our fathers." (Acts xxviii. 25.) So that the glory of Jehovah was the glory of the Son, or Jesus Christ; and what was spoken of the Lord of Hosts, was spoken of Christ, the Son of God. And what the Lord of Hosts said by Isaiah, the Holy Ghost said. It is hence certain, that these three, the Father, the Son, or the Word, and the Holy Ghost, into whose name Christians are baptized, and in whose name the apostles blessed, and who bear record in heaven, were included in the vision which Isaiah had of the Lord of Hosts. And who that attends to this scriptural view of the case, can doubt when it is said, Who will go for us? the plurality of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is intended? and that when the seraphim adored the Lord of Hosts, and cried, saying, Holy, holy, holy, there is reference to those three?

From the passages of Scripture which have been now mentioned, to prove there is a plurality or Trinity in the one true God, it is also proved that the Word, the Son of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, is God, and as really and as much included in the Deity, in Jehovah, as is the Father; and that this is equally true of the Holy Ghost. But the evidence of the real divinity of Jesus Christ will appear yet more clear and strong by examining the Scriptures more particularly on this point. But as this will be done in a more proper place, in a following section, it is omitted here. And the divinity of the Holy Ghost will now be more particularly considered.

In addition to the evidence of this from the Scriptures, which have been produced above, a number of other passages of Scripture will now be mentioned, from which it appears that the Holy Ghost is God, and included in the Godhead.

Christ says, "Except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God. What is born of the Spirit, is spirit." (John iii. 5, 6.) And the apostle Paul says, "Christians are saved by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." (Titus iii. 5.) The apostle John speaks often of the same change and renovation common to all Christians, as being born of God. (John i. 13. 1 John iii. 9; iv. 7; v. 1, 4, 18.) The inference is, that the Holy Spirit is God; since to be born of the Spirit, and to be born of God, is precisely the same thing. This renovation, by which men are born of God, and born of the Spirit, is called in Scripture the new creature, or new creation. And it is, indeed, a greater work than the creation of the world; therefore, the Spirit who thus renews men must be God.

"Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." (Acts

v. 3, 4.) Here God and the Holy Ghost are synonymous, and mean the same thing; as much as if it had been said, Thou hast lied unto God the Holy Ghost. "The things of God knoweth no man. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them." (1 Cor. ii. 11,14.) From these two sentences compared, it appears that the things of God, and the things of the Spirit of God, express the same thing. But if the things of the Spirit of God are the things of God, does it not follow that the Spirit of God is God? "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God. Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." (2. Tim. iii. 16. 1 Pet. i. 21.) To be inspired by God, and moved by the Holy Ghost, is the same; therefore, the Holy Ghost is God.*

These three are spoken of or addressed in the Scriptures in such terms as are used to denote a distinct personality, such as I, thou, he, or him. Thus the Father speaks of himself and the Son; and thus the Son speaks to the Father, and of him, and of the Holy Spirit; of which there are many instances, which must have been observed by those who read the Bible.

It is thought that the use of the above-mentioned personal epithets is a sufficient warrant to distinguish the *three* in the divine Trinity by the word person. But it must be carefully observed, that when this word is applied to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as three distinct persons, it does not import the same distinction which is expressed by it when applied to men. It means nothing inconsistent with the highest perfection, or with these *three* being really and most perfectly *one* God. Nor is it pretended that this word, when used in this instance, can be so defined as to give any clear and adequate idea of a subject so mysterious and infinitely incomprehensible. They who object to the word person, and will not use it because not applicable to the *three* who are *one*, may, doubtless, with equal reason object to any word which can be used, even the word Trinity or three, which the apostle John uses, and to the personal words so often mentioned in Scripture. However, if they who object to the word person will allow that, according to the Scripture, the *one* only true God does subsist in such a manner, and so infinitely above our comprehension, that there are *three*, viz., Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in this *one Jehovah*, and that this distinction and manner of existence is peculiar and essential to the infinite eternal Being as the most perfect, happy, and glorious mode of existence,

* Many more passages of Scripture, of the same tenor, might be mentioned, were it needful. They may be seen in a small book, entitled, "The Catholic Doctrine of a Trinity." By WILLIAM JONES.

independent of any divine operations, *ab extra*, and the proper foundation of these; if they will grant this, it is presumed none will contend with them about the word person.

It is acknowledged that this is incomprehensible by us, we not being able to form any precise or adequate idea of three persons in one God; but as there is no inconsistence or contradiction in this, our not being able to comprehend it is no reason why we should not believe it when it is revealed; for, if we will not believe any thing respecting God which we cannot comprehend, and is therefore above our reason, we shall not believe there is a God. If there be a God, he does exist without beginning or succession; but this is as much above our comprehension as that he subsists in three persons, and we cannot have a more clear understanding of the former than of the latter. God, who is infinitely great, and infinitely above us, exists in a manner infinitely above our conception; and if we will not believe what God has revealed of himself, because it is above our reason and incomprehensible by us, we shall act a most unreasonable part; for reason teaches us that God is incomprehensible in more respects than one, and in how many we know not. God has been pleased, for wise reasons, to reveal one instance of this, which we otherwise could not have known, and there can be no reason against believing it; and, therefore, to reject it is most unreasonable and absurd.

There may be innumerable truths respecting this infinitely incomprehensible Being, which would be as much above the reach of our understanding and reason as this is, were they revealed; for but a very small portion is yet known of him. This truth, respecting a Trinity of persons in the one God, is revealed, because it was necessary to be known and believed in order to understand the gospel, revealing a way for the salvation of sinners, in which each of those Three are concerned in different respects and views, and distinct from each other; for, had there not been this distinction of persons in God, there would have been no foundation or sufficiency in him for the exercise of mercy in the recovery of apostate man. In this view the doctrine of the Trinity, one God subsisting in three persons, appears to be an important and essential doctrine of Christianity.

There have been many attempts to explain this doctrine, and show the particular manner of the distinct subsistence of the three persons in the divine Trinity; but these have often been so far from giving any light and satisfaction on the subject, that they have only darkened counsel by words without knowledge, and rather given advantage to the opposers of the doctrine and increased their prejudices. Therefore, nothing of

this kind will be attempted here. It may, however, be observed, that this manner of subsistence in three persons, though incomprehensible to us, may be essential to the infinitely perfect Being, and that otherwise he would not be absolutely perfect, all-sufficient, and infinitely blessed. Have we not reason to conclude that this distinction of three in one is that in which the most perfect and happy society consists, in which love and friendship is exercised to the highest perfection, and with infinite enjoyment and felicity? and that the most perfect and happy society of creatures, united together forever in the kingdom of God, in the strongest, sweetest love and friendship, is an emanation from this infinite *three one*, as the fountain and pattern of all happy society and friendship, and the highest possible resemblance and imitation of it? This idea seems to be suggested, if not necessarily implied, in what Christ says in his prayer to the Father: "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us. That they may be one, even as we are one. I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one. That the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them."

CHAPTER IV.

THE DECREES OF GOD.

HAVING considered what God is, the next inquiry will be concerning the divine operations and works. And in these are included the decrees, which are first to be considered; as they are the foundation and origin of all his exertions and works, *ab extra*, in creation and providence; for God worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. Indeed, every thing which is properly an effect has its foundation in the purpose or decree of God, as its original cause, without which it could not have taken place. And every such effect is fixed and made sure of existence by the divine decree, and infallibly connected with it.

The Assembly of Divines, in their Shorter Catechism, have given a concise definition of the decrees of God, which is both rational, and agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, namely,— "The decrees of God are his eternal purpose, according to the counsel of his own will, whereby for his own glory he hath

foreordained whatsoever comes to pass." And, in their Confession of Faith, in words a little different, — "God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass."

The decrees of God must be from eternity, and not in time. He who exists without beginning, absolutely independent, omnipotent, infinite in understanding and wisdom, must know what is wisest and best, or what is most agreeable to him with respect to all possible effects or events, and, therefore, must determine what should actually take place, and what should not. Such determination, or decree, is, in such a sense, essential to the divine existence, that the former must be coeval with the latter, and is necessarily implied in it. Besides, if any of the purposes or decrees of God be in time, or later than his existence, he must be changeable, by having new determinations, new views and designs, which he had not before; which is inconsistent with his necessary existence, his infinity and absolute perfection, — all which are essential to God, as has been proved.

Therefore, in Scripture the purpose or decrees of God are said to be eternal. "Known unto God are all his works, from the beginning of the world," or *from eternity*, as it should have been rendered. If God's knowing all his works from eternity does not mean his purpose concerning them, it necessarily implies this; for, how could he know what he would do, if he had no will or purpose to do? "According to the eternal purpose, which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Eph. iii. 11; i. 4. 1 Cor. ii. 7. 2 Tim. i. 9.)

Though God be sovereign in his decrees and all his operations, — that is, he has determined every thing and every event just as he pleased, being infinitely above all control by the will or power of any one, and under no obligation to any other being, — yet they are not arbitrary, — that is, determined and fixed, without any reason why he should purpose and decree as he has done rather than the contrary, or otherwise, — but they are all infinitely wise and good, or the dictates of the most perfect wisdom; for, if God decree, or act, he must decree and act like himself — an infinitely wise Being. Infinite wisdom is able, or sufficient, to form the wisest and best plan of creation and providence, — of a world, or system, be it ever so large and complicated, and however many creatures, things, and events it may comprehend, and though it include innumerable existences and events without any end. Such a plan is, therefore, formed and fixed upon by the divine decrees, which is, of all other possible plans, the wisest and the best.

For, if it were otherwise, it would be so far disagreeable, defective, unwise, and wrong. The Scripture, therefore, ascribes wisdom to God in all his works, by which his wise purpose and decrees are brought into effect. "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! In wisdom hast thou made them all." (Ps. civ. 24.) "O, the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" (Rom. xi. 31.)

The decrees of God are unchangeable; they are fixed from eternity, and cannot be altered in any degree, or with respect to any thing, event, or circumstance. "The counsel of the Lord standeth forever, the thoughts of his heart to all generations." (Ps. xxxiii. 11.) "He is in one mind, and who can turn him?" (Job. xxiii. 13.) That the divine purpose is unalterable, is as evident and certain as that God is unchangeable; for alteration of God's design or decree is a change in God, and this necessarily supposes imperfection. And it is unspeakably undesirable, and dreadful to suppose, that the infinitely wise and good purpose and decree of God — as all his decrees are — should be capable of any possible change, or alteration, so as to fail of the most exact and perfect execution. And the more stable and fixed the infinitely wise decrees of God are, and the farther from all possible change, the more agreeable, and the greater ground of joy, are they to every one who is a friend of wisdom.

It may be further observed, concerning the decrees of God, that they extend to every thing and every event, though ever so small compared with others, and every the most minute circumstance that takes place, or will exist to eternity. For every one of these are necessary parts of the most wise and perfect plan, otherwise they could have no existence in it; and if one of these had been left out of the divine plan, it would have been so far less perfect, and really defective. It is not to be supposed, that, of any two possible existences, events, or circumstances of existence, there should be no difference in any respect, so that one could not be preferred to the other by infinite wisdom, as better, and more suited to answer the end proposed than the other, though we, or finite discerning, may not be able to perceive any difference. Therefore, infinite wisdom discerns and fixes upon that which is preferable and best, in every instance. No two proposed or possible objects, events, or circumstances, being perfectly alike or equal in the view of Omniscience, there is ground of choice and preference; so that the divine determination respecting the actual existence of all these, and their taking place in all respects exactly as they do, or will, is, in every instance, most wise;

and no thing, event, or circumstance, would be in any other respect otherwise consistent with infinite wisdom.

Jesus Christ teaches us that God's providence and care extend to the smallest things and most minute circumstances, when he says to his disciples, "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings? and not one of them is forgotten before God, or shall fall on the ground, without your heavenly Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered."

It may be of some importance to observe here, that there is a distinction and difference between the decrees of God, and his foreknowledge, as the words are commonly used. Divine foreknowledge is God's foreseeing future existence and events, and knowing, from eternity, what would take place in all futurity, to eternity, or without end. This foreknowledge is not only to be distinguished from the decree, but must be considered as, in order of nature, consequent upon the determination and purpose of God, and dependent upon it. For the futurition or futurity of all things depends upon the decrees of God. By these, every created existence, and every event, with all their circumstances, are fixed and made certain; and, in consequence of their being thus decreed, they are the objects of foreknowledge; for they could not be known to be future unless they were so; and they were made so by the divine decree, and nothing else. If we may so speak, God foreknew all things that were to come to pass by knowing his own purpose and decrees, by which their existence was made certain. Had God decreed nothing respecting future existences by creation and providence, there could have been no foreknowledge of any thing whatsoever. Hence the decrees of God may be certainly inferred from his foreknowledge, for the former must be as extensive as the latter; and nothing can be foreknown, or seen to have a future existence, the future existence of which has not been made certain by a divine decree.

All future existences, events, and actions must have a cause of their futurition, or there must be a reason why they are future, or certainly to take place, rather than not. This cause must be the divine decree determining their future existence, or it must be in the future existences themselves; for there is no other possible supposition. But the future existences could not be the cause of their own futurition, for this supposes them to exist as a cause, and to have influence, before they have any existence, even from eternity. And, if they may be the cause of their own futurition, or become future of themselves, then they might actually exist of themselves; for, by becoming future, their existence is made certain and necessary; therefore, that which makes them certainly future is

really the cause of their existence. This, therefore, can be nothing but the divine decree determining their future existence, without which nothing could be future; consequently, nothing could be known to be future. They, therefore, who deny the doctrine of God's decrees, and yet acknowledge the omniscience of God, and that all future events were known to him from eternity, are really inconsistent; for, if the world, or any creature, or any event, could be certainly future without being made so by God, it can actually exist without him; for the existence of it is certain and necessary, and it cannot but exist when once it becomes certainly future.

Therefore, because the foreknowledge of God does necessarily imply and involve his decrees, the former is sometimes put for the latter, in the inspired writings. The following are instances of it: "Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain." (Acts ii. 23.) "For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son." (Rom. viii. 29.) "God hath not cast away his people whom he foreknew." (Rom. xi. 2.) "Elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father." (1 Pet. i. 2.)

As the decrees of God are most wise, this necessarily supposes some end in view, and that which is best, the most excellent, important, and desirable that can be; for wisdom consists in proposing and pursuing such an end, in ways and by means in the best manner adapted to accomplish that end. When no end is in view to be accomplished by any purpose or work, if this can be, there is no wisdom; and if there be an end proposed and pursued, if this be not the best that can be proposed and effected, the purpose and pursuit is not wisdom, but folly. And if the end proposed be the highest and best that can be, yet, if the means fixed upon to accomplish that end be not, in all respects, the best suited to accomplish the end proposed, this must be a defect of wisdom. Therefore, infinite wisdom discerns, without a possibility of mistake, what is the best end, most worthy to be set up and pursued, and fixes on this end, and discerns and determines the best means by which this end shall in the best manner be answered. And this determination is the same with the decrees of God, and involves or comprehends every thing that comes to pass, every event, great and small, with every circumstance, be it ever so minute, and fixes them all, unerring wisdom being exercised with respect to them all; so that to make the least alteration in any thing, event, or circumstance, would render the whole plan less perfect and wise. "The

work of God is perfect. Whatsoever God doth, it shall be forever. Nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it." That which is perfect is not capable of the least alteration, without being rendered imperfect and defective. This is true of the infinitely wise plan of the divine operations, and all future events, which was formed by the eternal purpose and decrees of God.

If it be inquired, what that best, most important, and desirable end can be which must be proposed by infinite wisdom, the answer must be, that God himself, or that which respects him, is the end of his decrees and works. When the divine plan of operations was laid, there was nothing but God existing, or to be set up, or regarded as an end; and how could future existence be made an ultimate end with him in proposing and causing it to exist? And when it does exist, it is infinitely less considerable and respectable than God, and as the dust in the balance; yea, as nothing in comparison with Him. It would, therefore, be contrary to reason, and therefore contrary to infinite wisdom, to make creatures or the creation, considered as something distinct from God, the object of supreme respect in God's designs and works, and not God himself, whose existence is infinitely greater, more important and excellent, and who is the sum of all being. Wisdom must have supreme respect to him in every design, and in every operation, as the first and the last, and all in all. Which is the same as to say, God makes himself his end in all his purposes and operations.

Divine revelation confirms this, in which God speaks of himself as the first and the last, the beginning and the ending, by which he represents himself as the first cause and supreme or last end of all things. And this is confirmed by the following passages: "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things." (Rom. xi. 36.) "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers. All things were created by him, and for him." (Col. i. 16.) Agreeable to this it is said, "The Lord hath made all things for himself." (Pr. xvi. 4.)

God makes himself his end in his decrees and works, in being pleased with the exercise and expression, exhibition and display of his own infinite perfection and excellence, and determining to do this in the best manner, and to the highest possible degree, in his works of creation and providence. This exhibition, display, or manifestation is in divine revelation called *the glory of God;* and is there abundantly represented as the supreme end of all God's designs and works,

which any one properly attentive to the Bible must have observed. It is, therefore, thought needless to illustrate this by a particular attention to those passages of Scripture by which it is evident. This exhibition and display of the divine perfections necessarily implies and involves, as essential to it, the communication of his own holiness and happiness to the greatest possible degree, which consists in effecting or producing the greatest possible moral excellence and felicity in his creation, or by his works. This consists in the highest, the greatest possible good or happiness of creatures, whose capacities, circumstances, and their number, and all other things, circumstances, and events, are contrived and adapted in the best manner to answer this end.

The moral excellence and perfection of God consists in *love*, or goodness, which has been proved in a former chapter. This infinite love of an infinite Being is infinite felicity. This consists in his infinite regard to himself as the fountain and sum of all being; and his pleasure and delight in himself, in his own infinite excellence and perfection, and in the highest possible exercise, exhibition, and display of his infinite fulness, perfection, and glory. And his pleasure in the latter, so as to make it the supreme and ultimate end of all his works, necessarily involves and supposes his pleasure and delight in the happiness of his creatures. If he be pleased with the greatest possible exercise, communication, and exhibition of his goodness, he must be pleased with the happiness of creatures, and the greatest possible happiness of the creation, because the former so involves the latter that they cannot be separated, and may be considered as one and the same thing; and, doubtless, are but one in the view of the all-comprehending mind; though we, whose conceptions are so imperfect and partial, are apt to conceive of the glory of God, and the good of the creature, as two distinct things, and different ends to be answered, in God's designs and works.*

Thus, whatsoever comes to pass, from the beginning of time to eternity, is foreordained and fixed, from eternity, by the infinitely wise counsel and unchangeable purpose of God. He, being infinite in understanding, power, wisdom, and goodness, must perfectly know what was the wisest and best plan

* The point has been more particularly, and with greater care and exactness, considered and examined in the light of both reason and revelation, by the late President EDWARDS, than by any other author, in his *Dissertation concerning the End for which God created the World.* The reader who desires to see this subject more fully explained and explored, must be referred to that ingenious, elaborate performance.

of creation and providence, of operations and events, which includes every thing desirable and good, and excludes whatever is not so; and he must fix upon this plan, without any possible error, and determine to prosecute it; for, if any thing be left undetermined and uncertain, even the most minute existence, event, or circumstance, and appendage of any existence or event, it must be owing to a defect in wisdom and goodness, or in power to execute. No truth ever was, or can be, more demonstrably certain than this; and none can be more agreeable to wisdom and goodness, or more important. If a man be to contrive and make any machine or building, the end which it is to answer must be in view, and fixed; and the plan of his operation must be laid, including every thing that is to come into the composition, so as in the best manner to answer the end designed. And the more skill and wisdom the workman has, the more clear and perfect will be his idea and view of the whole plan, and of every part, even the most minute which is included in it, and the more fixed and determined he will be to prosecute this plan, without the least variation from it. And, if he have skill and wisdom sufficient to lay a perfect plan of operation, without the least mistake or error, he will be esteemed and prized above all others of less skill; and the more certain and fixed his plan of operation is, and the farther he is from a disposition to make any alteration, or a possibility of being impeded in his work, or unable to execute his design according to his present purpose, the more agreeable it will be to all who are interested in his work which he is to execute, and to all who have the least spark of wisdom and goodness, and that in proportion to the excellence and importance of the design.

What a source of unspeakable satisfaction and joy must it then be to all the children of wisdom, that the Most High, omnipotent, infinitely wise, just, and good, has laid a plan to express and exhibit his own character, which, therefore, must be wise and good like himself, and which comprehends and fixes every thing, and all events, from the greatest to the least, from the first to the last; and which is absolutely perfect, infinitely wise, and comprehends all possible good; so that not the least thing, event, or the smallest appendage and circumstance can be altered, left out, or added, without rendering it less desirable, excellent, and perfect! And is it possible that any one who is not unfriendly to infinite wisdom and goodness, and to the most absolute perfection and excellence, should have the least objection to this? Yea, will he not highly approve of it, and make it the ground of his chief comfort and joy? And is not this infinitely preferable to a world and series

of events, if this were possible, fixed by blind fate, or existing and taking place by mere, undesigning chance? Most certainly this demonstrable truth, that God has, by the infinitely wise counsel of his own will, from eternity foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, is infinitely more desirable than any other supposition whatever, were it possible; and is a foundation on which a pious mind, a true friend to God, may rest with the greatest security and satisfaction. And if he should give this up, what support and comfort could he have? Where could he fly for refuge from evil? He must fall into the most awful darkness and horror.

OBJECTION. It is granted that this doctrine of the divine decrees, as it has now been stated, might readily be admitted as certain and desirable, were it possible, and was it consistent with known fact, which it most certainly is not; therefore, however great and clear the evidence of this doctrine may seem to be, and though it appear most desirable that all events should be determined by infinite wisdom and goodness; yet it cannot be true, because it is impossible and inconsistent with what has actually taken place. It is impossible, because inconsistent with moral government, and with the freedom and moral agency of creatures, and so excludes all possibility of virtue or vice, praise or blame, reward or punishment. And if this doctrine were consistent with all this, yet it is inconsistent with the evil which has taken place, both moral and natural evil, which could have no place in a plan formed and fixed by infinite wisdom and goodness, and comprehending the greatest possible good. Besides, to suppose all this evil was foreordained by God, and takes place in consequence of his purpose and decree, represents the Most High as the origin, cause, or author of it all, even all the moral evil in the universe; and what can be more shocking and horrible than this!

In this objection are three distinct things, which require a separate and particular consideration.

I. It is to be inquired, Whether the doctrine of God's decrees, whereby he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, is inconsistent with the liberty and moral agency of creatures, by fixing all events and all actions, so as to render them infallibly certain? And here it may be proper to observe several things, in order to prepare the way to a more clear determination of this question.

1. If the doctrine of God's decrees be inconsistent with the freedom and moral agency of man, then the foreknowledge of God is equally so; therefore, the objection under consideration is as much against the latter as it is against the former. For, if it be foreknown what events and what actions will take

place, then they must be fixed and certain; since it is a contradiction to say an event is certainly foreknown, and yet it is uncertain whether it will come to pass; just as great and palpable a contradiction as to say an event is certain and fixed, and yet precarious and uncertain whether it will take place or not. Nothing can be the object of the divine foreknowledge which is not fixed as certainly future. If it be not fixed by the decree of God, it must be fixed by blind fate, or by something else, if this were possible; and this, surely, is as inconsistent with the freedom of man as if fixed by the counsel and decree of God; yea, infinitely more so. This is observed to show that he who makes the objection under consideration, and yet believes the foreknowledge of God, is inconsistent with himself, and must, would he be consistent, withdraw his objection, or give up the doctrine of God's foreknowledge.

II. It being confessedly so very important and desirable that whatsoever comes to pass should be determined and fixed by infinite wisdom and goodness, if this can be done consistent with moral government; and since God is infinitely great, powerful, and wise, there is reason to conclude this is not impossible, but that both are perfectly consistent. Is it not presumption and arrogance for fallen man, ignorant and deceived in a thousand things, peremptorily and with assurance to determine that it is impossible with God to make creatures who shall be absolutely dependent upon him in all respects, and so as to act perfectly conformable to his most wise plan and fulfil his counsel, and yet exercise all the freedom necessary to moral agency? If this were certainly known to imply a contradiction, it might safely be pronounced impossible. But since many things have appeared to short-sighted, partial man, inconsistent and impossible, and have been confidently pronounced to be such, which afterwards have been found to be otherwise, it may be so in this case. And if both these be really and perfectly consistent, how happy! Let this point, then, be examined without prejudice, and with the utmost care and attention, reviewing it again and again. And if the consistence may be discovered, what matter of consolation and joy will it afford!

III. It does not appear from our feelings and experience, that a previous certainty respecting our actions in the least takes away or diminishes our freedom and moral agency. We feel ourselves free and accountable in our voluntary actions; and the supposition of a previous certainty that we should act just as we do, does not alter our feeling ourselves free and knowing we act so, so far as our experience is to be regarded. Is not this a just ground of suspicion, at least, that all objec-

tions and reasonings against this, by which it is concluded to be impossible, are fallacious and without foundation; especially when it is considered that a mistake respecting the divine decrees and superintendency, determining and fixing all events, which are so infinitely high and above our reach, or about the nature of human liberty, etc., will lead to groundless and very erroneous conclusions on this point?

IV. Since it is so consonant to reason, and even demonstrably certain, that a Being of infinite understanding, power, and wisdom, who is absolutely independent, and on whom all creatures and events wholly depend, must determine and foreordain whatsoever comes to pass, and, at the same time, it is equally certain that men are free and moral agents; and since divine revelation most expressly and abundantly asserts both these, he who admits and believes them both to be true, however unable he may be to reconcile them and show or conceive how they are consistent, acts a more reasonable and wise part than those who reject one as not true, and impossible, merely because they cannot see their consistence.

There are innumerable instances in the Scriptures of God's determining and foretelling the voluntary actions of men, and the events dependent on them; and yet in those actions they are represented as free and accountable, as sinful or virtuous, and blamable or commendable, as much so as if their actions had not been thus fixed and foreknown. There is not, perhaps, a prediction in the Bible which is not an instance of this; and most of those predictions do fix, and declare to be certain, innumerable voluntary actions of men, which are either expressly foretold, or necessarily implied, in the prophecy. Only a few instances out of the many will here be mentioned, as sufficient to illustrate this observation. The conduct of Pharaoh and the Egyptians towards the children of Israel was determined and foretold, long before it took place, to Abraham and to Moses; and yet they were considered and treated as moral agents, and culpable, and were punished for those very actions which were foreordained and foretold. God said to Abraham, "Know of a surety, that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years. And also, that nation, whom they shall serve, will I judge." And God told Abraham that he would bring his seed from Egypt into the land of Canaan after four hundred years, which event depended on millions of millions of voluntary free actions of that people and of others. And he promised the same thing to Moses, and that they should hearken to him, when he sent him into Egypt to deliver them, and that they should worship God in Mount Sinai; and he said

to Moses, "I am sure that the king of Egypt will not let you go. And I will stretch out my hand and smite Egypt, and after that he will let you go."

God told Moses that the people of Israel would apostatize after his death, and practise idolatry, etc., and that he would punish them for it. Upon which Moses said to them, "I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you; and evil will befall you in the latter days, because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger, through the work of your hands."

The rise, grandeur, and ruin of particular kingdoms and empires are foretold as fixed and certain, which depended on innumerable voluntary actions of innumerable men, and could not be accomplished without them; which, therefore, must be fixed and certain. The Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires are instances of this, as well as many other kingdoms.

The evil that Hazael did to the children of Israel was foretold, and therefore determined and fixed, long before he did it. And the particular actions of Cyrus, and of Josiah, were determined and foretold long before they were born; yet this did not render them the less free and accountable as moral agents in what they did.

But one instance more, among the many thousands that might be produced from the Bible, will now be mentioned. It is that of the Jews crucifying our Lord. It was before fixed and written that thus it must be; and by their voluntary conduct in this affair, God fulfilled those things which he before had showed by the mouth of all his prophets; and, in putting Christ to death, they did the very things which his hand and counsel determined before to be done. Surely he who will well attend to this, must be sensible that to say that God's foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass is inconsistent with the liberty and moral agency of man, does at the same time affirm, at least implicitly, that it is impossible the Bible should be from God.

Therefore, seeing the previous infallible certainty of all things which come to pass is necessarily implied in the foreknowledge of God, and the former cannot be rejected, without denying the latter; and since reason teaches that a Being of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, on whom all things absolutely depend for their existence, and every mode and circumstance of it, must determine by the counsel of his own will, and foreordain whatsoever comes to pass; and that it is infinitely important and desirable that he should do it, and that all events should be determined by infinite wisdom, rather than by any thing else; and since, according to our own feeling and experience,

this is consistent with our freedom and moral agency; and since divine revelation abundantly asserts both these, and declares men to be moral agents, and accountable in those actions which have been foreordained and fixed by divine counsel and decrees; and, therefore, to deny these to be consistent, is really to renounce the Bible. When all these things are well considered, will it not appear to be amazing boldness, and the height of stupidity and arrogance, in a fallen, short-sighted, ignorant man, liable to a thousand prejudices and mistakes, confidently, and without hesitation, to pronounce these two doctrines absolutely inconsistent with each other? How much more modest, reasonable, and becoming us, is it to believe them both to be true and perfectly consistent! And if any have not yet been able to see how they may be reconciled, let them not rashly conclude that no man ever did, or ever will see their consistence with each other, and reduce it to a plain demonstration. Nor ought they themselves so to despair of receiving light and full satisfaction on this point, as to neglect all means and attempts to obtain it; but ought rather, with a proper sense of the importance of the matter, and their accountableness to God, for their belief and feelings respecting it, and with humble, fervent, constant application to the Father of lights for a wise and understanding heart, carefully to attend to the subject, and diligently improve every opportunity and advantage they may have to obtain that understanding which is pleasant to the soul, and more precious than the finest gold.

Attention to the foregoing preliminaries, it is hoped, has, in some measure, prepared the mind to a careful and candid examination of this point, about which there has been so much dispute in our world. Therefore, the question will now be resumed, which is, How the divine decrees, foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass, can be consistent with the freedom and moral agency of man?

There can be no light respecting this question; nor can it be determined, without proper, precise and consistent ideas of both these subjects, about which the inquiry is made, the divine decrees, and the freedom essential to moral agency. Without this, it will be impossible to determine whether they be consistent with each other, or not; and if we affirm, or deny, we shall talk in the dark, "not knowing what we say, or whereof we affirm." My neighbor now comes into my study, and asks, whether a table he has made for me can be introduced and have room here? I ask him, what is the length and breadth of it? He answers, it is three yards square. I tell him, it can then be of no use to me, nor can it be intro-

duced. He is confident I am mistaken. And after some dispute, we at length conclude to take a common measure and apply it to the table, and to my door and study. Upon this the matter is soon decided, and it is found that the former agrees exactly with the latter; for his yard-stick was found to be but twelve inches long.

To prevent, as far as possible, all mistakes concerning the doctrine of God's decrees, it must be observed, that it may be justly considered as a medium between the two extremes, namely, of a supposed fatality in all things; every thing, and all events, being unalterably fixed by blind and undesigning fate on the one hand, and on the other, of a perfect contingence and uncertainty respecting all future events, there being no cause or reason of their taking place, but all things come to pass by mere chance. It would be infinitely undesirable, and dreadful, if either of these opposite extremes were true, or possible, as they certainly are not, each of them implying such absurdity, contradiction, and impossibility, that it may be presumed no one ever yet had a real idea or conception of either.

All things, and every event, are indeed fixed by the decree of God; but they are wisely, and therefore most happily, contrived and adjusted, as has been before observed, so as to make one most wise, consistent, and absolutely perfect plan, and in which the freedom and moral agency of rational creatures are effectually secured (if this can be done by infinite wisdom, clothed with omnipotence; and whether this be possible is now to be considered) and made a necessary and essential part of the divine plan.

This leads more particularly to observe, that this doctrine does not imply, but totally excludes, a notion which many have had of the divine decrees, which supposes that certain events, especially those which are the greatest and most important to man, are fixed and made certain, independent of the agency of man, and of any means whatsoever, and wholly unconnected with any thing of this kind; so that they will come to pass just as they are decreed, let man's conduct be what it may. For instance, they suppose that if the time of a man's death be appointed, he will live to that time, whatever means necessary to preserve his life shall be neglected, as eating and drinking, etc., and whatever may be done to take away his life. And if it be decreed that a particular person shall be saved, or he be elected to life, he shall certainly be saved, let him conduct as he will, and though he live and die in impenitence and unbelief; and if he be not elected, he must perish, let him do what he can, and though he sincerely

seek salvation, and however humble, penitent, and obedient he may be. The Scripture doctrine of God's decrees does not imply, but absolutely excludes, such an absurd notion and fatality as this; and makes the use of means, and agency of man, as important and necessary, in order to accomplish any proposed end, as if there were no decree respecting it. And, indeed, much more so; for if there were no appointed connection between means, and the attempts and exertions of men, and the end, then they would be of no importance, and have no tendency to the end; and there would not be the least reason or encouragement to do or attempt any thing, or use any means to accomplish any end whatsoever.

It cannot with truth be said, that, according to the doctrine of God's decrees, he who is elected to salvation shall be saved, let him do what he will, and live and die in impenitence and unbelief; for there is no election or decree inconsistent with the declaration of Christ, "He that believeth not, shall be damned." They who are appointed to salvation by the decree of God, are "elected according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience." And none are appointed to destruction, whether they believe or not; for, "he that believeth shall be saved." This is particularly observed here, because the true Scripture doctrine is so generally misunderstood in this point, and consequently misrepresented, especially by those who do not believe this doctrine, but oppose it.

The doctrine of God's decrees, including the means as well as the end, and connecting one with the other, so as to render the former important and necessary as the latter, as has been now stated and explained, in opposition to the absurd notion of fatality just mentioned, may be illustrated by a piece of history which we have in the Acts of the Apostles. (Acts xxvii.) The apostle Paul, being in a terrible storm at sea, and "all hope that they should be saved was taken away," had a revelation from heaven, that not one of them in the ship should lose his life; but they should all get safe to land. Upon which he stood forth, and declared it unto them, and his assurance that this revealed decree would come to pass. Thus, Paul and his company were elected to be saved from the danger of the sea; the preservation of their lives was unalterably fixed and certain. Yet, soon after this, while they were yet in danger, and the seamen, who only could manage the ship, were about to quit it, to provide for their own safety, "Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, *Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved.*" Here the doctrine of the fatalist, above mentioned, is contra-

dicted, and declared not to be true; and that the decree, making their salvation absolutely certain, did not exclude the necessity of the use of means, in order to its taking place, but included this, and made their agency in the use of means important and necessary, there being a connection between these and the end. It appears that, in this instance, the means, and the exertions and agency of those who were to be saved, were as much appointed and fixed as their salvation; and the latter could not come to pass without the former. And this is equally true of all other instances of the purposes and decrees of God; so that this instance is an illustration of all others that can be mentioned, or that do exist. And they who separate the means from the end, and say, or expect, that what God has appointed will come to pass, whether any means are used to bring it to pass or not, do separate what God has joined together by infallible connection. And they assert what is not true, and believe and trust in a falsehood.

And, by the way, if Paul and his companions were free moral agents in all they did in this affair, and which was necessary in order to their getting safe to land, and the declared decree respecting it, which fixed the whole train of actions and events that took place, was not in the least inconsistent with their acting freely, but implied it, and they felt, and really were, as perfectly free as if there had been no decree in the case; then the divine decrees by which all events are made certain, cannot, in any instance, be inconsistent with the free moral agency of men. But no one, it is presumed, who reads this story, or ever has read it, thought, or can think, that their freedom was taken from them by this decree, so as to render them no longer moral agents; or that it could have the least influence in rendering them, in any degree, less free and accountable in their exercises and conduct on this occasion. And it would not alter the case a whit with respect to their freedom and moral agency, had there been no decree determining what should take place; and had there been no previous certainty whether they should be saved or perish, or how they would conduct in those circumstances, and at that time. Does not every one who attends to this story, and consults his own sense and feeling, consider them as exercising all desirable or possible liberty of action, and blame or approve of their conduct as much as if there had been no decree respecting it and the event? If so, then we have the verdict of the common sense and feelings of mankind in favor of the consistence of the doctrine of the divine decrees with human liberty and moral agency. What need is there, then, of proceeding any further on this subject?

However, as more light may, perhaps, be thrown upon it by considering what is free moral agency, and wherein it consists, it may be of advantage to attend to this matter more particularly; by which it is hoped it may be more clearly seen, whether this moral freedom be consistent with the certainty of all events, which is implied in the doctrine of the divine decrees; and if consistent, how they are so, and may be perfectly reconciled.

It has been before observed, that nothing can be determined on this point, without forming an idea of the liberty essential to moral agency, and determining what it is, and wherein it consists. For he who knows not what liberty is, is not in a capacity to determine what is consistent with it, or what is inconsistent. Men will differ on the question before us, as they have different notions respecting human liberty; and, if they be agreed in this, they will agree in the decision of it. The question, then, is, What is liberty? What is that freedom which is essential to moral agency?

The only way, perhaps, for any one to obtain the most satisfactory answer to this question is, to consult his own feelings, and inquire what that is; what are the exercises and exertions in which he supposes, yea, is certain, he acts freely, and is a moral agent. He will, doubtless, find that the internal freedom of which he is conscious consisteth in his voluntary exercises, or in choosing and willing; that he is conscious that in all his voluntary exertions he is perfectly free, and must be accountable; and has no consciousness or idea of any other kind of moral liberty; or that the liberty he exerciseth hath any thing, more or less, belonging to it; or that it could be increased, or made more perfect freedom, by the addition of any thing that is not implied in willing and choosing.* He may, indeed, not be able to accomplish the thing or event which is the object of his choice, and, in this respect, be under restraint; but this is not inconsistent with his exercising perfect freedom in his choice, and in all his voluntary exertions, or in all he does with respect to such object or event. And in these exercises of will and choice his moral character does wholly consist; and, therefore, here he looks, even to his inclination and choice, to determine what is his moral character, whether he be sinful or virtuous, and approves or condemns, according as he judges of the nature and

* It is to be observed, and kept in mind, in attending to what is here said on human liberty, that every degree of active inclination and moral exercise of heart is included in willing and choosing, as well as what are called the imperate and overt acts of the will; for such inclination or exercise of heart, in every degree and instance of it, is not distinguishable from exercise of will and choice, but is really the same thing.

quality of his inclination and choice, and they appear to him to be right or wrong, according as they are conformable or not to the rule or law under which he considers himself placed.

And where can freedom, moral agency, virtue and vice be found, if they consist not in voluntary exercises? Shall we look to something which takes place in our minds antecedent to choice and voluntary action, by which acts of choice are determined, and out of which they spring, and place liberty, and virtue, and sin, in that? This will be to place these wholly in that in which we have no concern as agents, as we are no more active in that which precedes our exercise of will and choice than a rock or tree, or than we were in those events which took place ages before we were born.

Shall liberty and moral agency be considered as consisting in what follows the exercise of will, or voluntary exertions, and takes place after the will ceases to act? There is, indeed, as much propriety and reason in placing them here, as in any thing that is antecedent to the exercise of will. But surely no man in his senses can imagine, that there is the exercise of liberty and moral action, where there is no liberty, choice, or action, whether it be antecedent to these, or consequent upon them, and after they cease. When our will and choice are over, or we cease to will, our agency is at an end; and most certainly there can be no liberty exercised, when there is no exercise of any kind, no action.

If voluntary action, or the exercise of will and choice, be not freedom and moral agency; and if all virtue and sin do not consist in this, and are not to be found here, even in the will and choice itself; it will be impossible to find them any where, or that there should be any such thing; and they are, therefore, but empty names. Every exercise of the will in choosing or refusing, is the exercise of freedom, and it is impossible for man to will and choose without exercising moral liberty; and as impossible to exercise liberty without voluntary action, or exercising choice. Therefore, to say a man is not free in exercising will and choice, is to say he is not free in that in which freedom wholly consists, and is the only possible exercise of liberty; or that he is not voluntary, or does not choose in willing and choosing; and, it is no more improper and absurd to ask, whether a man is rational in reasoning, or to say he is not, than it is to ask, whether he is free in willing and choosing, or to affirm that he is not; and that because the exercise of freedom and the exercise of will are convertible terms, and are, indeed, one and the same thing, as really as reasoning is the exercise of reason, or existence is existing. And if there be any such thing as moral agency, it

consists in the exercise of will and choice, and in nothing else; and virtue and vice, praise and blame, are predicable of this only, and belong wholly to the exercises of will or voluntary action, and are as the inclination, will, or choice is.*

It may, therefore, be safely presumed, that no man, by consulting his own exercise and feelings, or in reasoning properly about them, ever had any other idea or conception of liberty, and that moral agency by which he is accountable for his exercises and conduct, but that which consists in voluntary action, or in will and choice; though many have confused and bewildered themselves on this point, by using words without any real meaning, and with mere chimeras and imaginations, which are perfectly inconsistent, and have no real existence.

For instance, it has been often said that there can be no liberty in man without a self-determining power; and that freedom consists in this, even in determining his own volitions, what they shall be, etc.

Upon this it may be observed, that if it be meant that man himself exerts his own volitions, and they are his own actions, and that he determines his own choice in actively willing and choosing, so that there can be no choice without his exertion and activity, and where he is wholly passive, and that, in this sense, he is the cause and author of his own volitions; then nothing is meant more than will be granted, and has been asserted above, namely, that he does act in willing and choosing, and is really the author or actor of his own acts. But if by self-determining power be meant a power or capacity to determine, previous to any act of choice what he will choose, (which must be their meaning, if they are not satisfied with that now expressed; and if that which is self-contradictory can be said to have any real meaning,) then what they mean to assert is, that in order to a man's being free in his choice, he must, by a foregoing act of power, exerted before he begins to will and choose, determine what his choice shall be. That is, he must act and determine, before he begins to act by choice, or he must make a choice before he begins to choose, and in order to it, which cannot be exceeded in self-contradiction and absurdity, it being as absurd as to say that a man can have no motion unless he do, previous to all his motion, move himself; that is, move himself before he

* It is, therefore, certain that man is perfectly free, or has all the freedom that in the nature of things is possible, in the exercise of will and choice, or in acting voluntarily; and God, in forming man a voluntary agent, made him a free, moral agent; and he cannot be deprived of this freedom and moral agency, unless he be made to cease from acting from motive, and exercising will and choice.

begins to move; or that his existence was produced by an exertion of his own, before he existed, putting himself into existence.

Agreeable to this notion of a self-determining power, and in support of it, it is said, that a man cannot be free in his voluntary actions, unless he has a freedom to either side; that is, has a freedom to choose or refuse, to prefer one thing, or the contrary, or has power and freedom to choose that which is directly contrary to that which is actually the object of his choice. If by this be meant that whenever any one freely chooses any particular object or act, or is inclined any particular way, he is at liberty to prefer a contrary object or act, and to incline the contrary way, if he please, or wills and chooses so to do; this is no more than to say, that, in the exercise of liberty, a man must choose agreeable to his choice, or has his choice; that is, must be voluntary, and therefore is not a contradiction to that which has been above asserted, namely, that liberty consists in the exercises of will and choice, or voluntary action.

But if by a freedom to choose either side be meant, that, in order to the exercise of a free act of choice, he must, at the same time, be as much disposed or inclined to choose the contrary, or be no more inclined one way than the other; there is no need of saying any thing to expose the absurdity and inconsistence of this, to those who allow themselves to think. For it is the same as to say, that in order to a moral agent's choosing freely, he must really have no choice, or when he inclines one way, in order to be free, he must be equally inclined the contrary way, so as to make no preference of the one to the other. This assertion, thus understood, (if such an inconsistence, which destroys itself, can be properly said to be understood,) is inconsistent with any possible liberty, and with all preference and choice, moral agency, virtue and vice; and utterly excludes all these out of the universe.

They who have contended for a self-determining power, as essential to the freedom of moral agents, and a freedom to either side, as now mentioned, do hold to what they call a liberty of indifference; — that in order to the exercise of free choice, in the time of choosing or making a preference, or immediately antecedent to it, there must be no inclination of the mind to one thing more than to another; and that every act of choice must arise out of a perfect indifference to either side, by a sovereign determining act, turning the will one certain way, and causing or producing an inclination where there was none before.

It is not needful to point out all the absurdities of such a notion, as supposing an exertion or act of the mind, previous to an act of will or choice, (by which alone the mind can act,) determining what the choice shall be, and that while the mind is perfectly indifferent as to any preference or choice; and so inclination and choice must originate from, and rise out of that which is no inclination or choice, as its true cause, in order to be a free choice! And yet liberty does not consist in this free choice; for there is no indifference in choice, but it lies in that indifference to all choice or inclination, which is as far from choice as nonenity is from existence; and which, by some inconceivable, impossible exertion of its own, produces inclination or volition, as contradictory to itself as nothing is to something.

These things have been observed, to confirm the truth under consideration, namely, that liberty, moral agency, virtue and vice, blame and praise-worthiness, consist wholly in the exercise of will and choice, made in the view of motives; and in nothing else beside, or which is antecedent to, or consequent upon, voluntary action. That this is the highest and most perfect liberty in nature; and no other freedom of moral agents can be conceived of, or is possible. That this is the freedom which we feel and experience, when we consider and pronounce ourselves free; and that of which we have an idea in others, when we view them as accountable for their conduct, as virtuous or vicious, and worthy of praise or blame, reward or punishment.*

And now, from the view we have had of the doctrine of God's decrees, and of the nature of human liberty and moral agency, and in what they consist, it may be easily determined whether they are consistent with each other, and that their perfect consistence is demonstrably clear and certain. For, if liberty and moral agency consist in the exercise of will and choice, or voluntary exertions, — which is all the liberty of which we are or can be conscious, can have any con-

* It was thought proper and necessary briefly to consider in what liberty and moral agency consist, in order to determine whether real liberty be consistent with the absolute previous certainty of all events and actions, implied in the doctrine of God's decrees. But the subject is by no means exhausted here; nor is there need of it, since it has been more particularly and fully considered by those able writers, President Edwards, in his careful and strict inquiry into the modern, prevailing notions of that freedom of will which is supposed to be essential to moral agency, virtue and vice, reward and punishment, praise and blame; and Mr. West, in his "Essay on Moral Agency." The reader who desires to see a more thorough and clear discussion of this point, is with pleasure referred to those performances, where he will, it is presumed, find abundant satisfaction.

ception, or is possible, as has been shown, — then the absolute fixedness and certainty of all events is perfectly consistent with liberty. For, though all events be decreed, and every motion and exercise of the will and all moral actions be determined from eternity, this is so far from destroying the liberty of man, that it establishes it and makes it certain, namely, that he shall thus will and choose. The exercise of this liberty and agency is as important and necessary as if there were no fixed certainty of events, and more, much more so. This liberty is consistent with the moral agent's absolute and universal dependence on God, while he acts freely, and is under moral government, and is accountable to the Supreme Being, in all those exercises by which the events comprehended and fixed in the divine, infinitely wise plan do come to pass. This, therefore, is the only desirable, as well as the only possible, liberty. If there were, or could be, any other liberty of moral agents, it would be infinitely dreadful; as it would be inconsistent with the real, absolute supremacy of the Deity, and with his perfect universal providence, and infinitely wise, uncontrolled government.

Secondly. It is to be considered whether the evil, both moral and natural, which has taken place, and may continue without end, be really inconsistent with the decrees of God, foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass.

It is probable that the existence of evil in God's world, and before our eyes, has been with many the chief, if not the only ground of dissatisfaction with this doctrine, and the opposition made to it. If no action or event had taken place but such as appeared to men perfectly right, wise, and good, and, therefore, most agreeable and desirable, none surely would object against God's ordaining every thing that was to take place in the best manner possible. But, since evil has actually taken place, both sin and suffering, and is like to continue forever to a dreadful and amazing degree, men have been ready to think and say, — "Surely, this world had been infinitely better, more desirable, and happy, if all evil had been effectually and forever excluded, both moral and natural, and nothing but perfect, eternal holiness and happiness had taken place. This is certainly an imperfect, disorderly, confused system, undesirably marred, and in a great measure ruined, by the rebellion of creatures against their Maker, and their consequent sufferings. How, then, is it possible, that an infinitely wise, powerful, and good God should decree and foreordain all this? To say he has done it is rather to represent him as unwise and evil than wise and good; though this might be done consistent with the freedom and moral agency of man."

It is of great importance that this difficulty and objection should be removed, if possible; for it is not only an objection against God, foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass, but is equally irreconcilable with his supreme, uncontrolled, wise, and good government of the world. This leads to observe,—

I. This objection does not really lie against those who hold that God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, more than against those who do not admit this doctrine, and, therefore, it is far from being just, or agreeable to truth, to consider and represent it as militating only, or in a peculiar manner, against such a doctrine; for, if the matter be well considered, it will appear that the objection may be, with equal reason and force, urged against the objector himself, or those doctrines which he professes to believe. This difficulty, if it be one, is not peculiar to predestinarians, but is common to all who believe in one supreme, infinitely powerful, wise, and good Creator and Governor of the world. It has, therefore, been represented as the "Gordian knot" in philosophy and theology, and a question above all others unanswerable,—*Whence cometh evil?* God is infinitely good, and, therefore, could not be willing or consent it should take place. But it could not take place contrary to his will, for he is infinitely wise, and, therefore, must know how it might be prevented; and he is almighty, and nothing is impossible with him. Therefore, he was able to prevent it, if he had pleased to do it. How, then, is it possible that evil should take place under the government of this God, while he sits at the head of the universe, has all things in his hand absolutely dependent upon him, and rules infinitely above all control?

This question cannot be answered, on any plan, to the satisfaction of a rational, inquisitive mind, or the difficulty in any measure solved, unless it be supposed and granted that all the evil which does take place is necessary for the greatest possible general good, and, therefore, on the whole, all things considered, wisest and best that it should exist just as it does.

All who believe the divine foreknowledge, or admit that an infinitely perfect Being made and governs the world, must adopt this solution, and grant that, on the whole, it is best that evil, moral and natural, should take place, or be left wholly without any satisfactory solution at all; and, indeed, they do, either expressly or implicitly, grant it, however they may differ as to the mode of explaining the matter, and the reasons why it is better that evil should exist than otherwise. They who oppose the doctrine of the divine decrees, and yet allow that God could have prevented evil taking place, had he pleased to do it, cannot account for his not preventing it,

unless they allow that he saw it was, on the whole, best that it should not be prevented, and, therefore, it was, on the whole, best it should exist.

And they who suppose that sin could not be prevented, if God made free moral agents and continued them in the exercise of their freedom, and account for the introduction of evil in this way, yet must grant, that, all things considered, it was better that there should be sin, rather than that there should be no moral agents, and that the system, or plan, which includes evil, is the best that was possible. For, if God foresaw that if he made moral agents, vast numbers of them would, in the exercise of their freedom, fall into sin and ruin, he would not have made them, and continued them in the exercise of their liberty, if it were not best, on the whole, that evil should take place, and if this was not preferable to any other possible plan, and he did not, all things considered, choose that evil should exist just as it does. For, to say that God made free moral agents, when he knew that they would sin if he made them, and yet knew that it was not best, all things considered, that moral evil should exist, is to say that he is neither wise nor good, as well as not omnipotent. This is so plain, that it is needless to say any more to make it intelligible and evident to the lowest capacity.

And the same thing, in effect, must be granted, even by them who deny the divine foreknowledge of the actions of creatures made free. For, if God knew that sin might possibly take place if he made moral agents, and, at the same time, knew that it was not, all things considered, best that it should take place, but infinitely to the contrary, it could not be best to make any such creatures, and run this dreadful venture, and open a door for the possible introduction of this infinite evil, which never could be remedied; and, therefore, it was not consistent with wisdom and goodness to make them free, and continue them so, on this supposition. They must, therefore, grant that it was, in God's view, on the whole, better that evil should take place, and to have the world fall into sin and ruin, than not to create moral agents, and have no moral kingdom, and that he preferred such a world, and to have sinful, miserable creatures, rather than not to create; or, they must allow that their God was deceived, and is dreadfully disappointed, and now heartily wishes he had not created, or is neither wise nor good, — which is to have no God, or something infinitely worse! It must, therefore, be observed, —

II. It is abundantly evident and demonstrably certain from reason, assisted by divine revelation, that all the sin and sufferings which have taken place, or ever will, are necessary for

the greatest good of the universe, and to answer the wisest and best ends, and therefore must be included in the best, most wise, and perfect plan.

1. This appears evident and certain from the being and perfections of God. God is omnipotent, his understanding is infinite, and he is equally wise and good. He is infinitely above all dependence and control, and hath done, and can and will do, whatsoever pleaseth him. It hence is certain that he will do nothing, nor suffer any thing to be done or take place, which is not, on the whole, good, wisest, and best that it should take place, and is not most agreeable to infinite wisdom and goodness. It is impossible it should be otherwise. Therefore, when we find that sin and misery have taken place in God's world, and under his government, we may be as certain that it is, on the whole, best it should be so, and that all this evil is necessary in order to answer the best ends, the greatest good of the universe, as we can be that there is a God omnipotent, and possessed of infinite wisdom, rectitude, and goodness; and he who denies or doubts of the former, equally questions and opposes the latter. If it be once admitted that any evil, or the least event, may or can take place, which is not, on the whole, best, and therefore not desirable that it should be, it must with equal reason be granted, that nothing but evil, and what is on the whole undesirable, may take place; and that the universe may become wholly evil, or infinitely worse than nothing. And all would be left without any ground or reason to trust in God, or any thing else, for the least good for himself, or any other being. The divine perfections and character are the only security against this, and are the ground of an equal certainty that nothing has taken place, or ever will, which is not on the whole best, or necessary for the greatest good of the whole. And this is a sure and ample foundation for the trust, confidence, comfort, and joy of him who is a true friend to God, and desires the greatest good of the whole, and consequently is irreconcilably opposed to every event which is not on the whole wisest and best. If this foundation were taken away and destroyed, what could the righteous, the truly pious and benevolent, do? They must be left without any possible support, and sink into darkness and woe!

There can nothing take place under the care and government of an infinitely powerful, wise, and good Being, that is not on the whole wisest and best; that is, for the general good; therefore, though there be things which are in themselves evil, even in their own nature and tendency, such are sin and misery; yet, considered in their connection with the whole, and as they are necessary in the best system, to accom-

plish the greatest good, the most important and best ends, they are, in this view, desirable, good, and not evil. And in this view, "there is no absolute evil in the universe." There are evils, in themselves considered, but considered as connected with the whole, they are not evil, but good. As shades are necessary in a picture, to render it most complete and beautiful, they are, in this view and connection, desirable, and the picture would be imperfect and marred were they not included in it; yet considered separately, and unconnected with the whole, they have no beauty, but deformity, and are very disagreeable. So moral evil is, in itself considered, in its own nature and tendency, most odious, hurtful, and undesirable; but in the hands of omnipotence, infinite wisdom and goodness, it may be introduced into the most perfect plan and system, and so disposed and counteracted in its nature and tendency, as to be a necessary part of it, in order to render it most complete and desirable.*

It has been said by some that it is not becoming us, but presumption and arrogance, to say that the system in which moral evil takes place is, on the whole, preferable to one in which it is wholly excluded; and is, all things considered, the best system, containing the greatest good. It is said we are infinitely unable to determine this, unless we could comprehend the whole of each opposite system and compare them together, and, without error, determine the advantage of either, and see the good of each in their final issue, and exactly balance the account.

The weakness, error, and impiety of such an objection, will be sufficiently discovered and exposed by observing, that though man is infinitely unequal to this, to take a comprehensive view of all possible systems, and determine which would be the best and comprehend the greatest possible good, and is far from seeing all the ends that moral evil will answer; and though he could not see how it could be the occasion of any good, and why a plan, in which all evil is forever excluded, is not infinitely preferable to that in which evil exists and continues forever; yet we know that One, infinitely able to judge

* "Sin, in its own nature, hath no tendency to good, it is not an apt medium, hath no proper efficacy to promote the glory of God; so far is it from a direct contributing to it, that, on the contrary, it is most real dishonor to him. But as a black ground in a picture, which in itself only defiles, when placed by art sets off the brighter colors and brightens their beauty, so the evil of sin, which, considered absolutely, obscures the glory of God, yet, by the overruling disposition of his providence, it serves to illustrate his name, and make it more glorious in the esteem of creatures. Without the sin of man, there had been no place for the most perfect exercise of his goodness."—*Bates on the Harmony of the Divine Attributes*, 3d ed. p. 81.

and determine in this matter, has actually chosen and fixed upon a system in which moral evil takes place, and preferred it to all other possible systems; from which known fact we may be as certain that it is, on the whole, the best possible system, containing the most real good, as we are that he is omnipotent, infinitely wise and good; and to question the former, is equally to deny or doubt of the latter. If God be infinitely perfect, wise, and good, his plan of operation and all his works must be so too; and we cannot entertain the least doubt whether it be not on the whole best, and for the greatest general good, that evil should take place, without impeaching the divine character and perfections. And to say that it would have been better on the whole if sin, and all the consequences of it, had never taken place, is the same as to say, that God is neither wise nor good, or had not power to execute what he saw was best and desired to do, had he been able. It is not necessary that it should be determined and known what is the greatest good, or what is the best plan to effect this were it known in what it consists, in order to decide this matter. It is enough that God knows, and has certainly fixed upon, the wisest and best method to accomplish it; and, therefore, it is certain, that in order to this, it is necessary that moral evil, in all its eternal consequences, should take place. But if the greatest possible manifestation and display of the divine perfections, and the highest possible degree of moral good and happiness in the creation, be the greatest good, which it certainly is, according to reason and divine revelation, yet a great degree of moral evil and of misery may be necessary, in order to produce the highest possible degree of this good; and, therefore, that system which includes this evil may contain the greatest good, and be infinitely preferable to any other possible one in which there would be no evil. And that this is really so, we may be absolutely certain, since we have the infallible evidence before our eyes, in the fact which has taken place under the direction of infinite wisdom.

It has been suggested by some, that this argument may not be conclusive; for, though it be granted that infinite wisdom and goodness could not fix on a worse plan, when there was a better possible, yet there may be two or more possible systems equally good; and if one of these be fixed upon rather than the other, we cannot hence infer that this is the wisest and best. Therefore, though the system in which evil takes place has been actually fixed upon, we do not know that a system might not be equally good in which there is no evil. And then it will not follow that it is wisest and best, on the whole, that evil should exist. Upon this the following things may be observed: —

1. If two or more possible systems be supposed to be exactly alike in all respects, the supposition is inconsistent, and destroys itself; for if there be no kind or degree of difference, there are not two or more, but only one. There cannot be two, where there is not, in any respect, the least diversity.

2. But if there be any considerable diversity in any two or more possible systems, it is not to be supposed that they are or can be equally good and eligible in the sight of infinite, unerring wisdom. The least difference must render one more eligible than the other. But if not, if two different proposed systems be equally good and eligible in the view of infinite wisdom, and this were possible, then, by the supposition, one could not be chosen and preferred to the other; for, in such a case, it is supposed there is no ground of choice or preference; therefore, no choice can be made. And if it were possible to choose the one and reject the other, there would be no wisdom in such a choice, it not being made from any reason or motive, or with any design. Indeed, such a supposed choice and preference is impossible, and, therefore, never did take place. It, therefore, could not be from choice, that one of two systems equally wise and good exists, rather than the other, but must be from mere chance or accident, which is also impossible.

3. If two or more possible systems, though different in some respects, might be equally good and eligible, and it were possible that one of these should be preferred and chosen before the other; yet it is not to be supposed, and it is really impossible, that two systems, so infinitely diverse and opposite as those must be, in one of which is infinite evil, and from the other all evil is excluded, should be equally good and eligible. The evil which has taken place in this world will continue forever, and in this respect is infinite; and all moral evil is infinite in its nature and criminality; and the effects of this extend to all the views, feelings, and exercises of moral agents, of all the subjects of God's moral government and kingdom, without end, and render them, in many respects, vastly different from what they would have been, or could be, had there been no evil. And the divine perfections and conduct appear in a very different light to all intelligences from what they would have done; and circumstances and events in God's eternal kingdom are, and will forever be, infinitely different from what would have been if no evil had ever taken place. If this, then, be a good system, and worthy of the preference and choice of an infinitely wise Being, is it supposable, is it possible, that a system infinitely different from this, and diametrically opposite to it, in the great events of it, in the divine conduct, in the displays of the perfections of God, and in the

views and exercises of all his subjects to all eternity, should be equally good, as well suited to display the divine character, and promote the holiness and happiness of the kingdom of God, and answer all the infinitely important and glorious ends which are accomplished by the divine plan which has actually taken place?

Surely, as there is an infinite difference in two such opposite systems, that which has been actually chosen by infinite wisdom and goodness is infinitely the best; and all the evil that takes place is the occasion of infinitely overbalancing *good*, so that the former is wholly swallowed up by the latter; and, in this view and connection, is not evil, but good, being the occasion of infinitely more beauty, holiness, happiness, and glory, in God's moral, eternal kingdom, than could have been in any possible system in which evil has no place. The evil involves so much good, and is so absorbed in it, that, all taken together, and in the view of infinite wisdom, there appears the greatest possible beauty, perfection, and glory; as shades, which appear deformed and disagreeable when they stand alone, being introduced into a picture by the art of a limner, add to the beauty of it, and are absorbed in the beauty and perfection of the whole, of which they are the occasion.*

2. That all moral evil is designed by God to answer a good end, and is overruled for the greatest good, is evident from divine revelation. This is certain, if we can find one instance of this recorded in the Bible. For, if sin may be overruled for good, so that, on the whole, there is much more good than could have been, had not that instance of sin taken place, then an infinitely wise and omnipotent Being can do it in every instance, and an infinitely good Being certainly will do it. Therefore, though numberless instances of this might be produced from Scripture history, but two or three will be mentioned, as sufficient to support the argument.

The sin of Joseph's brethren, in hating him and selling him, was overruled by God for great good, and appears to be an important and necessary part of his benevolent plan, to bring about the good he designed for Joseph himself and the people of Israel. Therefore, it is said, God sent Joseph into Egypt, and meant to accomplish good by it. The sin of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, in refusing to hearken to Jehovah, and hardening his heart, and obstinately opposing the God of Israel, was designed by God for great good, and overruled to answer this end. The happy consequences of this instance of rebellion are too many to be

* If any one desires to see this subject more particularly and accurately considered, he must be referred to Mr. West's "Essay on Moral Agency."

mentioned here; and they will abide and have influence and a good effect to the end of the world, yea, to all eternity.

It is sufficient for the present purpose to recollect what God himself says of this instance: "And, in very deed, even for this purpose have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth. And I will get me honor upon Pharaoh and upon all his host." He who is sensible of the desirableness, worth, and importance of the display of the name and character of Jehovah, surely will not say that the sin and ruin of Pharaoh was not the occasion of good which infinitely overbalances the evil. And who can say that God hath not more glorified himself by the sin and ruin of Pharaoh, and that he is not the occasion of immensely more good to the church and people of God, than if he had been perfectly obedient? Who can say, or has any reason to believe, that the sin and destruction of Pharaoh has not been, or will not be, the occasion of so much good, of so great a manifestation of the divine character and glory, and of so much holy exercise and happiness of the friends of God, as his obedience, holiness, and happiness would have been? Is it not, rather, certain that the contrary is true, and that to a degree beyond all conception? And therefore he was raised up, that by his sin and ruin he might, by the all-directing hand of God, answer this infinitely important end. Had not Pharaoh existed just such an one as he was, and such as he is, and will be forever, the great and good end of which he is made the occasion could not have been answered; and had not infinite wisdom seen that such a character as that of Pharaoh was necessary in order to the greatest good of the whole, it would not have had an existence.

We have another instance of this kind in the condemnation, sufferings, and death of the Lord of glory. This is an instance of sin, the most aggravated and criminal, doubtless, of any other that has ever taken place; and yet all this sin and suffering was foreordained, and actually took place, by the wise counsel and decree of God, because it was absolutely necessary in order to accomplish the most benevolent purposes of Heaven, and produce the highest good of the universe. In order to this, it was necessary that Christ should die on the cross; but this could not be, unless he died by the hands of sinful men. Had he not been thus put to death, there would have been no redemption of man, nor any of that remarkable, glorious display of the divine character, which is exhibited in this work. It was most certainly desirable, and of infinite importance, that all the sin should take place which was necessary in order to bring to pass this event, the suffering

and death of Christ, which though infinitely evil, in itself considered, is of most happy and glorious consequence. All this sin and evil sinks into nothing, when compared with the good, the glory that follows; and the whole appears to be an infinite good, the evil being covered, and vanishing, in the splendor and glory occasioned by it, and with which it is connected. Better, infinitely better is it, that the Jews should commit that sin, and that Christ should thus suffer, than that the infinitely good and glorious consequences should not take place. And may it not with safety and the greatest assurance be added, it is better that all the sin and misery that ever has been, or will be, should take place, than that there should not be such a character as that of the Mediator; such works as he has done and will do, such manifestations of the divine character as he has made and will make, such happiness and glory, which will be the eternal consequence of redemption? But to return.

If the sin of putting the Son of God to death was the occasion of the greatest good, which could not otherwise have taken place, and therefore God ordained that this should come to pass, for the sake of the infinitely overbalancing good, and brought it about, consistent with the freedom of man, and his own hatred of that sin, in itself considered, and the total inexcusableness and infinite ill desert of those sinners; then here is an instance of the most horrid wickedness, which is necessary to promote and bring about the greatest good; and in this view very desirable and of infinite importance that it should take place. And it may be hence safely concluded, that every instance of evil that ever has been, or will be, is as really necessary to promote the greatest possible good, and in this view a desirable event; and therefore determined by the infinitely wise counsel and decree of Heaven, however undesirable, odious, or detestable it may be, in itself considered.

But that all the sins of men are overruled by God for good, and are appointed to take place for this end, may not only be inferred from the instance mentioned, and from many others, but it is expressly asserted in the following words of sacred writ: "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain." If by the wrath of man here be meant the furious exertions of sinners in their opposition to God and their neighbor, this comprehends all the sins of men, as they are all of the same nature. It is here declared as a most certain truth, that these sins of men, however numerous, and though they rise ever so high, shall turn to the praise of God, and promote his declarative glory. God will so overrule the sin of man, that he will get honor thereby.

And that sin which would not answer this good and infinitely important end, he will not suffer to take place, but will effectually prevent it. The following things are clearly contained in this passage:—

1. That God does superintend and direct with regard to every instance of sin. He orders how much sin there shall be, and effectually restrains and prevents all that which he would not have take place. Men are, with respect to this, absolutely under his direction and control.

2. That all the sin which does take place shall answer the best and most important end, even that for which all things were made, the glory of God. "Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee."

3. That, therefore, God wills and orders it to take place, that he may answer this end by it. If he effectually restrains and prevents that which will not praise him, it is certain that he could prevent all sin, if he pleased, and that he would do it, were it not necessary to answer this end; and that he wills the existence of it, not for its own sake, but for the sake of the end to be answered by it, or the good of which it is to be the occasion.

4. From this it follows, that the sin of man is the means of a good which so far overbalances the evil of sin, and all the evil consequences of it, that it is desirable, on this account, that it should take place. Therefore, there is more good in the universe, and this is a better world, than could possibly have existed, had no evil come into it, and every instance of sin and evil is conducive and necessary to the greatest possible good of the whole.

5. All this is here asserted in the strongest terms, as a most certain and important, pleasing truth. The evidence and certainty of it are as clear and great as of the existence of an almighty, wise, and good Creator and Governor of the world. And it is a truth of the highest importance to be known, and believed with the greatest assurance, as it is implied in the exercises of true piety, especially in a joyful acquiescence in the divine government; joy in the supremacy and infinite felicity of God, and implicit cheerful trust in him; and as it is necessary to the support and comfort of the friends of God, in all the darkness and evil in this world, and the only proper ground of their rejoicing that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth, and that their God is in the heavens, and hath done whatsoever he pleased.

Thus it appears demonstrably certain, both from the being and perfections of God, and from divine revelation, that all the evil which takes place in God's world, and under the in-

fluence of his government, is necessary, in order to the greatest possible good, and is made the means of this; so that in this view it is desirable, and perfectly agreeable to infinite wisdom and goodness, that it should take place just as it does. Therefore God, infinitely wise and good, has determined and decreed that evil should exist, as necessary to the highest perfection, beauty, happiness, and glory of the system which was to be formed by his hand. Consequently, the evil which does actually take place does not afford the least ground of objection against the doctrine of God's decrees, by which he has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, but is perfectly reconcilable to this doctrine. And this truth is the great support and ground of comfort to the truly pious mind, in the view of the abounding evil with which this world has been so long filled. God has foreordained all this, and all that ever will take place, for his own glory, and the greatest good of the universe. He superintends the whole, and brings good out of all this evil, infinitely greater good than could have been, without the evil. Therefore all is perfectly agreeable to the dictates of infinite wisdom and goodness.

It is certain that evil, both moral and natural, is in itself undesirable, and must be considered as infinitely contrary to divine holiness and goodness, viewed in this light only; and could not possibly have place in a system formed by God, and absolutely under his direction and government, were it not necessary in order to the greatest good of the whole, to make the system in the highest degree perfect, happy, and glorious. And, in this view and connection, the existence of evil is desirable, and must be introduced, if infinite wisdom and goodness dictate and govern. And all the children of wisdom will approve and rejoice. And very unhappy are they who are dissatisfied with the works and ways of God in the moral or natural world, and think they have wisdom enough to see many things defective and wrong, and to have ordered matters better, had they been to contrive and direct them. This seems to be the situation of those who make the objection under consideration; which, it is presumed, will appear to all who well consider what has now been said in answer to it, to be altogether groundless and unreasonable.*

* There have been many objections to what has been here asserted and proved, viz., *that sin is necessary in order to the greatest good of the whole, and is the occasion of good in every instance of it.* It has been said, that such a position gives the greatest encouragement to sin; for the more sin there is, the better, the more good there will be — that sin, according to this, is really no crime — that this is therefore inconsistent with its being forbidden in the law of God, and the punishment of the sinner, etc. The distinction which has been made between sin, considered in itself, in its own nature and tendency,

Thirdly. It is now to be considered, whether God's foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass does imply that he is the origin, cause, and author of sin, in a sense which is contrary to infinite holiness, and, therefore, very dishonorable to him. This is confidently asserted by many; and they have on this ground exclaimed against this doctrine, and all that is implied in it, and represented it in a most shocking and horrible light. Therefore, though what has been said of the nature of sin, as consisting wholly in the disposition and will of the sinner, and of the good of which it is the occasion, which renders it desirable that it should take place, may serve to throw some light on this point, and show that God's choosing and determining that sin should take place, as necessary to accomplish the greatest good, is a wise and holy choice; yet it may be proper and important more particularly to consider this subject, and attend to it in the light in which it is set by the objection which has been introduced, and is now under consideration.

We ought to attend to this point, and think and speak of it with care and caution, and in the exercise of fear and reverence of the infinitely great and holy God, lest under the notion of thinking and speaking for him, and to his honor, our thoughts and words should be really against him, and tend to his reproach. And this caution and reverential fear ought to possess the minds of those who make the objection under consider-

and as it is connected with the whole, and as overruled and used by God for the greatest good of the universe, is sufficient, it is supposed, if well considered, to show how groundless such objections are. All sin is infinitely odious, in its own nature, and has the most evil tendency, as it consists in opposition to God, and his glory, and to all good. God's law, therefore, which requires love to him, must condemn and forbid sin, as infinitely wrong, and odious to him. The sinner cannot take encouragement to sin, from the good of which God makes it the occasion; because this is no good to him, so far as he is inclined to sin; and, therefore, cannot be a motive to sin, because it is directly crossing to all inclination to sin. A son who desires not his father's honor, but is of a disposition to be gratified in his disgrace, could not be persuaded to rebel against his father, from the consideration that his father would get honor by it. But if he be a friend to his father, and to his honor, he will not, from this friendship, be induced to act like an enemy, and do that which tends to hurt and dishonor him. Therefore, man never did do evil with a desire and design to promote the good of which God makes it the occasion, it being a contradiction, and, therefore, absolutely impossible. And as rebellion against God is as evil in its own nature and tendency, when God makes it the occasion of good, and the disposition, views and motives of the sinner are as vile and criminal as if no good, but infinite evil, were the consequence, the sinner is as blameworthy, and deserves punishment as much, as if no good, but all the evil which his sin tends to produce, took place. It is not thought necessary or proper to give a more particular answer to these objections here. This has been done in three sermons, on the subject of the good of which sin is the occasion, published in the year 1759, and reprinted in Boston, and at Edinburgh, in Scotland, in 1773.

ation, as well as of those who believe and assert the doctrine against which the objection is made. For if, indeed, God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, then all objections against it, however plausible they may appear, are really replying against God, and very dishonorable and displeasing to him. But if, on the other hand, the objection be reasonable and well founded, they who believe the doctrine of God's decrees do really dishonor and displease him. We are happy that we have a revelation from God in which this point, as well as every important one, is set in a clear and easy light, so that no man can, with this in his hand, run into an error concerning it, and be blameless. In the light of reason and this revelation, let the following things be well considered: —

I. It is of importance to observe here, and fix it as certain, that when the origin or cause of evil is inquired after, or is ascribed to God or any other being, the moral evil itself is not meant by the origin or cause of it. The origin or cause of any thing is necessarily before the thing which is the effect, and must exist and take place antecedent to the evil and before the evil can exist. It is therefore certain that there can be no moral evil in the origin or cause of this evil, in whatever and wherever it may be found; for to suppose the contrary, is a direct and plain contradiction. Moral evil cannot be the origin or cause of moral evil, any more than any effect can be the cause of itself, or a child be the cause of his father. We, in considering what is the origin of moral evil, are going back to something which is antecedent to the evil, and where, or in which, no such evil does or can be supposed to exist, to find the cause of moral evil, or a reason why it does take place, rather than not. We must go back, therefore, till we get to that in which there is no moral evil, before we arrive to or can find that which is the origin or cause of it. If we find an existence, object, or exertion, in which there is moral evil, we may be sure we have not yet found, or arrived to, the origin and cause of it, and must yet go a step farther back, even to that in which there is no moral evil, in order to find the origin of this evil.

It hence follows that if man, or any creature, is, in any instance, the origin or cause of sin, (meaning by cause that which is antecedent to the existence of sin, and of which sin is properly the effect,) that man or creature cannot be the sinful cause of that sin; and there is no moral evil in any conceptions, thoughts, or exertions of such a creature, which are necessary to take place antecedent to the existence of sin, and in order to it, whatever they may be, or if any be necessary.

It is also certain that if God, the first cause of all things,

be the origin or cause of moral evil, (and this can be proved and may be asserted as a most evident truth,) this is so far from imputing moral evil to him, or supposing that there is any thing of that nature in him, that it necessarily supposes the contrary, and that in being the first cause of moral evil, there is no sin; and, therefore, that he may be the origin or cause of it, consistently with infinite holiness, and exercise it in whatever exertions or influence may be necessary or implied in being thus the cause of sin.

If any should say or imagine that the thought, exertion, or influence which tends to produce sin, and is, in fact, the cause or origin of it, must be itself sinful or wrong, this is only to contradict himself and say that such exercise or exertion is not the origin of sin, but sin itself; consequently, as has been observed, we must go farther back to find the origin of this sin, till we find something in which there is no sin. And, according to this notion, we must go back without end and never find the origin of sin, unless sin itself be the origin and cause of all sin, which is a contradiction. It, therefore, still appears demonstrably certain, that if there be any origin or cause of moral evil, which is supposed by all those who inquire after it, there is no moral evil, nothing morally wrong in this cause, wherever it may be found, and whatever it may be. Therefore God, in foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass, may be, in this sense, the origin and cause of sin, consistent with infinite holiness; and the contrary cannot be supposed, without a contradiction.

If it should be said, "There is no origin or cause of moral evil except what is in the evil itself; it is the cause of itself, so far as it has any cause; therefore the question concerning the origin of sin, meaning something antecedent to it, is groundless and vain, there being no such thing in nature; moral evil has no cause, in this sense of cause;" — upon this it may be observed,—

1. If this be admitted, then the objection under consideration against the divine decrees foreordaining all actions and events, as making God the origin, cause, or author of sin, falls to the ground, and is given up; for, according to this, sin has no cause out of itself or previous to its existence. But this cannot be admitted; for, —

2. If moral evil may exist without a cause, there being nothing antecedent to its actual existence which had any more influence or tendency to the existence of sin than to the contrary, and there was no ground or reason of its existence, or why it should be rather than not be, antecedent to its actually taking place; then there is an end of arguing from any effect

whatever to a cause, and we have not the least evidence that we ourselves, or any thing around us, or the world, have any origin or cause. For if moral evil may exist without a cause, so may every thing else which comes under our notice, and we have not the least evidence that there is a God, as the cause of the things which we behold — which is not only directly contrary to the assertion of St. Paul, but to the reason and common sense of mankind in general. And why should one choose to embrace such an absurdity, and assert that sin has no origin or cause antecedent to its actual existence, and is the cause of itself, rather than to admit that God is the origin of it, since, by admitting this, it is not supposed there is any moral evil in him, but the contrary is necessarily implied, as has been observed above?

It will, perhaps, be further said, "It is not meant that sin has no cause whatsoever in any sense, but that it has no positive cause. It has a negative cause, and God may be the cause in this sense; that is, he permitted moral evil to take place by determining not to prevent the existence of it, when he had power to prevent it, had he been pleased to do it." Upon this the following remarks may be made: —

1. If God could prevent every sin that is committed, and yet has determined to permit all that takes place, which renders the event certain; then his determining to permit it is really decreeing that it shall take place, or foreordaining that it shall come to pass; so that the objection that God's foreordaining sin makes him the cause and author of it, is not the least obviated by this supposition or scheme. And it may be worth while to consider whether any other supposed difficulty is removed by this. This leads to observe, —

2. This does not in the least obviate what has been just observed upon the assertion that sin has no cause, for a negative cause is really no cause; therefore, to say concerning any existence, it has no cause but a negative one, is really denying that it has any cause. This, therefore, makes sin to exist without a cause or reason of its existence, rather than of its non-existence. If the world has only a negative cause of its existence, then there is no cause of its existence, and no reason can be given why it does exist.

Moreover, this notion of a negative cause of moral evil supposes some positive cause by which sin would come into existence, a cause of sufficient force and positive energy to produce this effect, unless the operation of it be counteracted by God, by preventing the existence of it by a positive energy, and, therefore, it has actual existence, as an effect of this cause, by the determination of God not to hinder it. If an effect will

certainly take place upon a mere permission or not preventing it, it is necessarily supposed there is a cause sufficient to produce this effect if not counteracted. And it must be now asked, What is this cause? Does it exist in God, or in the creature? If in the creature, from whence is the origin of this positive cause? Is its origin in itself, or in the creature? or must we go back to the first cause? If either of the former be admitted, then we are again involved in the absurdity of sin being the cause of itself, or of a cause and effect existing independent of the first cause.

3. Even this supposition, that God is only the negative cause of moral evil, were it consistent and did not leave sin really without any cause, yet relieves no difficulty respecting the existence of sin. It will be asked why God suffered sin to exist when he could have prevented it. If we could account for its existence without any reason or cause of it, if permitted or suffered to exist, that is, if not prevented, how shall we account for God's suffering it to exist? It is presumed all must agree in the following answer: — Because he, on the whole, all things considered, saw it best, or chose it should exist, rather than not. And if so, he must, he certainly did, choose things should be ordered so as to make its existence absolutely certain, and, consequently, did order them so, and did every thing that was necessary to be done, previous to the existence of sin, in order to render the existence of it certain. Indeed, if it be granted that God, on the whole, chose moral evil should exist, — which all must grant, who allow that he has permitted sin, — and that this is a wise and holy choice, such a choice implies his doing every thing that is necessary in order to render this choice effectual, and that God is wise and holy in willing, or doing all this, whatever it may be. And all this is really nothing more than his choice or will that it should exist; as all that God did in creating the world, so far as we can conceive, was to *will* its existence, or say, *Let it be*, — there being a certain connection between his willing the existence of any thing, or event, and the actual existence of it. He is, in no other sense, the origin or cause of any thing; and in this sense, it is granted, by all who allow he permitted it, that he is the origin of moral evil.

Some may, perhaps, think all which has been now said of the origin or cause of moral evil may be evaded, and proved to be nothing to the purpose, by observing that sin is purely a negative thing, — that it is so, at least, in its original and foundation, — and, therefore, has no origin or cause, or, at most, can have nothing more than a negative one.

On this it may be observed, that, if it be meant that sin is

a nonentity, and has, properly and in truth, no existence, and, therefore, is really nothing, and if this can be proved, then certainly a negative cause — or, which is the same, no cause — is quite sufficient, in this case, to account for that which is not an effect, and is really nothing. And the inquiry, and all assertions, about origin, cause, or effect, are nugatory and absurd.

But will any man say, or can he believe, that there is nothing positive in moral evil, and that it has no positive existence? If such a one can be found, he must, if he will be consistent, say and believe that it is nothing, or that there is no such thing; for, not positively to exist is non-existence. And what is this more than nothing? and why is not moral *good*, or holiness, a negative, or nonentity, also? Reason and divine revelation join to assert both to have a real, positive existence. Is there not as real, positive existence and exertion in selfishness, or self-love, as in benevolence, or love to God? — or, in enmity against God, as in the highest exercise of friendship to him?

But may it not be urged that it is, indeed, granted that sin has something positive in it when it comes to actual exercise, and is exerted in opposition to God and man? But is not this consistent with its having a negative original, or arising from a privative cause?

Answer. If there could be sin where there is not in any sense the least exercise, — which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to prove, — still this must be nothing, if a mere negative or privation, and can have no existence; — and a privative cause is no cause. But, granting that a negative or privative cause is a real cause, and that a negative effect is a reality, yet this does not account for this negative becoming a positive existence of its own accord, without any positive cause. If that which is merely negative, were any such existence possible, may start into positive existence, without any positive cause, then the whole world might come into existence without any positive exertion or cause. This supposition, therefore, does not appear to help the matter in the least, or to remove any difficulty.

But it may still be asked, — Is not the true and only origin of sin overlooked in all that has yet been said? Is not the sinner himself the only true and proper cause of his sin, — as he produces it, and there is no other cause or author of his sinful exertions?

Answer. If, in this question, it be meant that he with whom moral evil is found is the sinner, and that we must not look beyond him, or out of him, to find the sin of which he is

guilty, but that he is, in this sense, the origin, cause, and author of all the sin that is found with him, it being his own act, which he has exerted voluntarily, and without any compulsion, and for which he only is blamable, — if this be the meaning, it is granted the sinner is, in this sense, the sole cause and author of all the sin found with him, and we are not to look any further for it. But still there is a reason why things were so ordered and disposed as that he should thus sin, rather than not. Something must have taken place previous to his sin, and in which the sinner had no hand, with which his sin was so connected as to render it certain that sin would take place just as it does. This is the origin or cause of sin, which the question we are upon respects, and concerning which inquiry is made, and in which it has been observed there can be no sin, as, by the supposition, it takes place and is exerted before the existence of moral evil, of which it is the origin or cause, and in order to it. Therefore, if we find that the great First Cause of all things is, in this sense, the origin of moral evil, by foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass, this does not suppose any moral evil in him, but the contrary, and is perfectly consistent with his infinite holiness, as has been before observed.

Objection. But, after all the above reasoning about the origin of sin, which seems to prove that the first Cause of all things is, in a true and important sense, the cause of this evil, — he having foreordained that it should take place, and disposed and done every thing that was necessary to be done, antecedent to the existence of sin, and in order to it, by which this event was made certain, and that, in all this, there can be no moral evil, but the contrary, — yet it will appear to the common sense and feelings of men, that, to will the existence of sin, and to make any exertion or do any thing in order to it, in consequence of which it does actually exist, is wrong and sinful, and, therefore, infinitely unbecoming the supreme and infinitely holy Being. And, to assert any such thing, or even to suppose that God is, in any sense, the origin of sin, is shocking, and fraught with impiety.

Ans. I. It may be that many under the gospel, by not attending candidly and without prejudice to this subject, and not thinking closely upon it, nor making proper distinctions, and by habituating themselves to a wrong association of ideas on this point, may be shocked at the above representation, and feel as if it carried in it a degree of blasphemy; and yet this not be any evidence that it is not agreeable to the truth, and consistent with the highest degree of real piety and veneration for the Most High, and even the proper dictate and language of it.

The Jews had, by education and otherwise, imbibed such prejudices in favor of their temple and worship, and had habitually formed such an association of ideas, that they thought and felt that Stephen was guilty of blasphemy when he intimated that their place of worship should be destroyed, and the customs which Moses delivered to them be changed; and they were shocked, and stopped their ears, when he told them that he saw the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God. And when Christ said to the Jewish council, "Hereafter ye shall see the Son of man on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven," the high priest was so shocked that he rent his clothes, and they all cried out, blasphemy! The present Jews, and those of many generations past, have thought it a piece of high impiety to pronounce the *Tetragrammaton*, as it is called, — that is, the sacred name Jehovah, — and shudder at the thought of doing it, and are, to the last degree, shocked to hear it done. This is the effect of a false association of ideas, and superstition, introduced by the force of education, by which it comes to pass that the pronunciation of a name which was spoken freely, and with the highest exercise of pious veneration of the Deity, by the prophets and holy men of old, is now considered by the Jews as an instance of shocking impiety.

If we look into the popish world, we shall find innumerable instances of this kind. If a Protestant pay no veneration to the host, and refuse to bow, and worship the breaden god when it is carried in public procession, the populace will be shocked with a degree of horror; and it will be no wonder if he gets a broken head for his impiety. And if he do not worship and pray to the Virgin Mary, and venerate her image, but speaks against it as idolatry, their pious feelings are most sensibly excited, and they abhor the impious wretch, while he considers himself to be following the dictates of true piety in all this, and honoring the Most High.

From these, and many other instances of the same kind, it appears, that what is sometimes called the common sense and feelings of men, is not to be depended upon in determining what is true or false, especially in those things which respect the Deity; and more especially when the dictates of this sense and feeling are contrary to the most clear dictates of sober, sound reason, and to the plain and abundant declarations of divine revelation; for, as that which is often highly esteemed among men is an abomination in the sight of God, so that which is most important truth in his sight, and honorable to Him, is, in too many instances, an abomination to men. This leads to

ANS. II. That God did will the existence of moral evil, in determining, at least, to permit it, when he could have prevented it, had he been pleased to do it, must be granted by all who would avoid ascribing to him that imperfection, impotence, and subjection to that power, be it what it may, which introduced sin, contrary to his will — which is, indeed, shockingly impious, and real blasphemy, to every considerate and rationally pious mind. We may infer from this, with the greatest certainty, that it is, all things considered, or in the view of the omniscient God, wisest and best that moral evil should exist. For, to suppose that it was his will that it should take place, or that he has permitted it when he could have prevented it, and yet that it was not wisest and best in his sight that it should exist, is, beyond expression, impious, and at once strips the Deity of all moral good or holiness, and gives him the most odious and horrid character!

But if God did will and choose that sin should exist, this being, on the whole, most agreeable to his holiness or his infinite wisdom and goodness, this necessarily implies, as has been before observed, all that energy, exertion, and disposal of things that is necessary, previous to the existence of sin, in order to its actually taking place, and without which it could not have existed; for there is an infallible connection between the will of God that sin shall exist, and the actual existence of it; and this will of God is the cause or reason why it has taken place, rather than not. And if it be wise and holy to will and determine the existence of moral evil, it is wise and holy to order and do every thing which must be ordered and done antecedent to its existence, in order to its taking place, be that what it may; and not to order, dispose, and do all that, would be contrary to wisdom and holiness. Therefore, to assert that God is, in this sense, and so far the origin and cause of sin, is so far from imputing any thing dishonorable to him, that it is the only way in which his infinite wisdom and holiness can be consistently asserted and maintained; and to assert the contrary is highly impious, and very opposite to the sense and feelings of the pious mind of him who is truly judicious, sensible, and discerning.

The sum of what has been said on this point may be expressed in the following words: Moral evil could not exist, unless it were the will of God, and his choice that it should exist, rather than not. And from this it is certain that it is wisest and best, in his view, that sin should exist. And in thus willing what was wisest and best, and foreordaining that it should come to pass, God exercised his wisdom and goodness, and, in this view and sense, is really the origin and cause

of moral evil, as really as he is of the existence of any thing that he wills, however inconceivable the mode and manner of the origin and existence of this event may be, and however different from that of any other.*

* "If by the author of sin is meant the permitter, or a not hinderer of sin, and, at the same time, a disposer of the state of events, in such a manner, for wise, holy, and most excellent ends and purposes, that sin infallibly follows; I say, if this be all that is meant by being the author of sin, I do not deny that God is the author of sin, though I dislike and reject the phrase, as that which, by use and custom, is apt to carry another sense. It is no reproach for the Most High to be thus the author of sin. This is not to be the actor of sin, but, on the contrary, of holiness. What God doth herein, is holy, and the glorious exercise of the infinite excellency of his nature. And I do not deny that God's being thus the author of sin follows from what I have laid down; and I assert that it equally follows from the doctrine which is maintained by most of the Arminian divines." — EDWARDS, *on Freedom of Will*, 1st ed. Part IV. s. xi. p. 254.

"If it would be a plain defect of wisdom and goodness in a being not to choose that should be, which he certainly knows it would, all things considered, be best should be, (as has but now been observed,) then it must be impossible for a Being who has no defect of wisdom and goodness to do any otherwise than choose it should be; and that for this very reason, because he is perfectly wise and good. And if it be agreeable to perfect wisdom and goodness for him to choose that it should be, and the ordering of all things supremely and perfectly belongs to him, it must be agreeable to infinite wisdom and goodness to order that it should be. If the choice be good, the ordering and disposing things according to that choice must also be good. It can be no harm in one to whom it belongs to do his will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, to execute a good volition. If the will be good, and the object of his will be, all things considered, good and best, then the choosing or willing it is not willing evil. And if so, then his ordering according to that will is not doing evil." — *Idem*, p. 267.

It may be proper to observe here, that all which has been above asserted respecting the origin and cause of moral evil is contained and fully expressed in the following words, in the Shorter Catechism: "The decrees of God are, his eternal purpose, according to the council of his own will, whereby, for his own glory, he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass. God executeth his decrees in his works of creation and providence. God's works of providence are, his most holy, wise, and powerful preserving and governing all his creatures, and all their actions." And in their confession of faith, they say, "God, the great creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose and govern all creatures, actions and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence, according to his infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy." "The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in his providence, that it extendeth itself even to the first fall, and all other sins of angels and men, and that not by a bare permission, but such as hath joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing them, in a manifold dispensation, to his own holy ends." It is here asserted that God hath foreordained, decreed, and willed the existence of moral evil; for this has come to pass. And it is said God brings this decree or will of his into effect, by creation and his governing providence, by which he, in the exercise of wisdom and holiness, does powerfully govern his creatures, and superintend and direct, dispose and order all their actions. These assertions, which have been justly considered as essential to what has been called Calvinism, and are professed and espoused by all consistent Calvinists, have been strongly objected to by many, ever since they have been made and published, as full of impiety, and involving horrible consequences, making God the author

II. *Divine revelation* must be examined carefully to find in what light this point is there represented; whether it does warrant any to say, God has foreordained the existence of sin, or that he is in any sense the origin and cause of it. This ought to be done with fear and reverence of these sacred oracles, with impartial, upright hearts, and a religious concern and desire to think and speak according to this word, since they who do not "have no light in them."

In order to obtain the light which is contained in the Holy Scriptures, respecting this subject, it may be of advantage to observe the following particulars: —

1. According to divine revelation, God superintends, orders, and directs in all the actions of men, and in every instance of sin; so that his hand and agency is to be seen and acknowledged in men's sinful actions and the events depending on them, as really and as much as in any events and actions whatever. Of this every person must be sensible who has read the Bible with any proper attention and true understanding, as it is held up to view throughout the whole of it, and is suited to impress this idea on the mind of every one who reads it. All the historic part of the Bible and the predictions of events, whether great or less, to be accomplished by the wicked agency of man, and of innumerable particular sinful actions of men, are an incontestable evidence of this. So are all the acknowledgments of the divine hand and agency in the events brought to pass by the sinful conduct of men, which are too many to be particularly mentioned here. But the truth of this observation may, perhaps, be more fully illustrated and set in a stronger point of light, by attending to the following passages of Scripture: —

The very sinful deed of the brethren of Joseph in selling him, which was the necessary mean of his going into Egypt, is represented as so ordered by God, as to be as really done by him as if it had not been done by the hands and agency of these wicked men. Joseph says to his brethren that God did it, and that he had a particular and good design in it. "God sent me before you, to preserve you a posterity in the earth,

of sin, etc. It is, therefore, no wonder when this same doctrine is revived, explained, and vindicated, that the same objections should come into view, and be urged, as they have been heretofore.

This is observed with a view to rectify a mistake which some seem to imbibe, while they oppose the doctrine above asserted, respecting the origin and cause of moral evil; and yet do not consider or believe they are equally opposing the Assembly of Divines, and all who have espoused the confession of faith and the catechism composed by them, and not as a proof of the truth of the doctrine; for it is presumed this has been exhibited in what has been said above, and will be yet further confirmed by what is to follow, and needs not the testimony of man for its support.

and to save your lives by a great deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God, who meant it unto good." (Gen. xlv. 7, 8–20.) "He sent a man before them, even Joseph, who was sold for a servant." (Ps. cvii. 17.)

It is said concerning Eli's wicked sons, that "they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them." (1 Sam. ii. 25.) It is here asserted that by God's ordering and direction they disregarded the admonition of their father, as necessary in order to his destroying them.

When Shimei cursed David, he acknowledges the hand of God in it, as much as if Shimei had done it in obedience to, divine command, or it had been done immediately by God himself. "So let him curse, because the Lord hath said unto him, Curse David. Let him alone, and let him curse; for the Lord hath bidden him." (2 Sam. xvi. 10, 11.) It is impossible David should express himself thus, on this occasion, unless he viewed Shimei's wicked conduct to be ordered and directed by God, so that his hand was to be seen in it, as, in this sense, the origin and cause of what took place.

"And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithophel: for the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom." (2 Sam. xvii. 14.) This good counsel of Ahithophel was defeated by the folly of Absalom and the men of Israel; yet it is said, God had appointed it to bring about his own purpose. His hand guided the whole affair, and superintended every motion of the hearts of those wicked men.

"Wherefore the king hearkened not unto the people; for the cause was from the Lord, that he might perform his saying, which the Lord spake by Ahijah the Shilonite, unto Jeroboam the son of Nebat. Thus saith the Lord, Return every man to his house; for this thing is from me." (1 Kings xii. 15, 24.) Here it is said that God so superintended and directed in this affair, that he was the cause of that foolish and wicked conduct of Rehoboam, and that it was from him as necessary to accomplish an important event which he had determined and foretold. And who can say that God is not in the same sense, and as much the origin and cause of every instance of sin, that he may accomplish his infinitely wise designs? Is not this passage alone a sufficient warrant for this? And if the divine character can be vindicated in what is ascribed to him, in this instance, how can it be dishonorable to him to say he so directs and orders with respect to every instance of sin, as that he is, in this sense, the origin and cause of it? When the enemies of Judah came to ravage and destroy that people and

country, it is said God sent them. "And the Lord sent against Jehoiakim bands of the Chaldees, and bands of the Syrians, etc., and sent them against Judah to destroy it. Surely at the commandment of the Lord came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight." What can be the meaning of this, unless it be that God superintended, ordered, and directed all the motions and conduct of these wicked men, and so made them his instruments to destroy Judah? "Through the anger of the Lord, it came to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence, that Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon." (2 Kings xxvi. 2, 3, 20.) Is it not here declared that God ordered the sinful rebellion of Zedekiah against the king of Babylon, and that his hand or agency was to be seen, and his anger with the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judah was expressed in this?

"But Amaziah would not hear; for it came of God, that he might deliver them into the hand of their enemies." (2 Chron. xxv. 20.) It appears from the story that it was owing to the pride and folly of Amaziah that he did not hearken to the admonition and advice of the king of Israel, and yet this was of the Lord. By his determination, direction, and superintending influence it came to pass, in order to answer his own wise purposes. And his hand was to be seen in the obstinacy of Amaziah, as really as in any event which takes place by the immediate exertion of divine energy. And if this instance of sin was of God, then every instance may be, and most certainly is so. And we are warranted to assert this by the declaration before us, as well as many others of the same tenor to be found in holy writ.

In the tenth chapter of Isaiah, God, by his prophet, addresses the king of Assyria as the rod of his anger, and the executioner of his indignation, against the hypocritical nation of Judah and Israel, and says he would send him to punish them, though he in going and doing the work would have no design or desire to accomplish the ends God intended to answer by his pride and cruelty. And, therefore, after he had accomplished his ends by him he would punish him for that wickedness of which he would be guilty, and which was necessary to fulfil the purposes of God; and while he was as really an instrument in the hand of God, and as much under his influence and direction, and as dependent on him in all his motions as is the axe or saw in the hand of the workman. There is no need of any comment to show that this passage represents God as ordering, directing, and bounding the sinful actions of wicked men, so that they are answering his ends in what they do, and his hand is to be seen and acknowledged in their sinful motions and

actions, as really as the hand and exertions of the workman is to be seen in the motion of the axe or saw by which he executes his designs.

In the same manner God speaks of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. He says, he would send and fetch him, and the nations under his command, and by him utterly destroy Judah and the neighboring nations; and speaks of him as his instrument or weapon in his hands to lay waste and destroy. "Thou art my battle-axe and weapons of war. For with thee will I break in pieces the nations, and with thee will I destroy kingdoms," etc. (Jer. xxv. 9; li. 20.)

To the same purpose are the following words: "Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work; and I have created the waster to destroy." (Isa. liv. 16.) This is said to support and comfort the people of God in all their dangers and troubles from evil men, telling them that they had no reason to be afraid of them, since they were made by him to answer his ends, and they were absolutely in his hands, so that they should do nothing but what he ordered, and therefore could do them no real hurt.

"And before these days, there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beast; neither was there any peace to him that went out, or came in, because of the affliction; for I set all men every one against his neighbor." (Zech. viii. 10.) This warrants us to consider God's hand, and the efficacious influence in all the hatred, quarrels, and wars that take place among men.

"Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live. And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know that I am the Lord." This has reference to the statutes and judgments which they made for themselves, and practised in their abominable idolatries, etc.; yet God says, He gave them these evil and destructive statutes and judgments, and he polluted them in these abominable sacrifices, by which they polluted themselves. This strongly expresses his superintendency and agency in all this, in order to answer a wise and important end. (Eze. xx. 25, 26.)

The crucifixion of our Savior, and all the circumstances that attended it, are expressly and repeatedly declared to have taken place, in consequence of the divine determination and decree, foreordaining them; and by his direction and superintending hand. It was so important and useful, that this whole affair should be viewed in this light, that special care

was taken to keep it in view. "Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then shall the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?" "But all this was done, that the Scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled." (Matt. xxvi. 53, 54, 56.) "But behold the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. And truly the Son of man goeth as it was determined." (Luke xxii. 21, 22.) "Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain. And now, brethren, I know that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers. But those things which God before had showed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled." (Acts ii. 23; iii. 17, 18.)

Peter, in these passages, is careful to observe, that the death of Christ was part of the divine plan, which he had in his wise counsel determined, and had particularly foretold by the prophets, and which he had now fulfilled by their wicked hands, as it was necessary to be viewed in this light, in order to understand it, and see the reason and importance of this memorable event; and not consider it is an argument of the weakness and disappointment of the Savior and his followers. Accordingly, the disciples kept this constantly in view, and say, in a solemn address to God, "For of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done." (Acts iv. 27, 28.)

If God had before determined, or foreordained, that all this should be done, with every act of sin which was necessarily implied in its being done, and his irresistible hand and operation was to be seen and regarded in all this, and the church did see and particularly attend to this, as matter of support, thankfulness and joy, and devoutly acknowledged all this, in a solemn address to God, in order to glorify him; all which must be owned to be true, as long as this passage is allowed to stand in the Bible; then there can be no impiety in believing and saying, that God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, and with his hand is executing his own wise purposes, in his governing providence, ordering and directing all the actions of men, even the most sinful, as well as others, for his own glory and the general good, and that his hand is to be seen in every event, and in every action of man, as really as if he was the only agent in the universe; yea, to view things in this light, and to have feelings and exercises answerable, is

for the glory of God, is suited to support and comfort all his friends, and is implied in true devotion.

2. The Holy Scriptures represent God as in some way or other moving, exciting, and stirring men up to do that which is sinful, and which, in itself considered, and as done by them, is very displeasing to him.

"And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, to say, Go number Israel and Judah." (2 Sam. xxiv. 1.) This, to which God is said to move David, was a great sin in him, and very displeasing to God. "And the Lord stirred up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad the Edomite. And God stirred him up another adversary, Rezon, the son of Eliada." (1 Kings xi. 14, 23.) "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul, king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tilgath-pilneser, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and Gadites, and brought them unto Halah," etc. (1 Chron. v. 26.) "Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them, which shall not regard silver," etc. (Is. xiii. 17.) These passages express a divine agency, either mediate or immediate, on the minds of these persons, by which they were influenced and moved to those actions; and God is represented to be the first moving cause of what was done by them; and what he did, be it what it may, was antecedent to their volitions and actions, and the latter the effect of the former. And if their liberty and sin consisted wholly in their voluntary exercises, as has been proved, then they were as free and as blamable as if nothing had been determined and done antecedent to their determinations and choice, and as necessary to their taking place, whatever it was. And whatever is implied in God's moving them, and stirring up their spirits to act as they did, it was only in order to bring to pass his infinitely wise, important, and good purposes, or executing his holy decrees; and therefore was infinitely wise and holy, and directly contrary to the views, inclinations, and designs of these wicked men, and therefore consistent with his abhorring their doings, his displeasure with them, and punishing them for their wickedness.

3. Agreeable to the last particular, the Scriptures represent God as moving the hearts of all men just as he pleases, and even when they do that which is sinful.

"Draw me not away with the wicked and with the workers of iniquity, which speak peace to their neighbors, but mischief is in their hearts." (Ps. xxviii. 3.)

"From the place of his habitation he looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth: he fashioneth their hearts alike." That is, He forms the heart of every one equally, of one, as well as another. (Ps. xxxiii. 14, 15.)

"He turned their heart to hate his people, to deal subtilly with his servants." (Ps. cv. 25.) "Incline my heart unto thy testimonies, and not unto covetousness." (Ps. cxix. 36.) "Incline not mine heart to any evil thing, to practise wicked works with men that work iniquity." (Ps. cxli. 4.) "For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled." (Rev. xvii. 17.) These are the ten kings and their subjects, mentioned in the preceding context, who join to support the beast, and make war with Christ and his people. God is here said to put it in their hearts to do this, so far and so long as this is necessary, in order to answer his ends and fulfil his infinitely wise and important designs. This cannot import less than that God has the hearts of these kings, and all under them, so in his hand and under his direction, that he turns them as he pleases, to accomplish his purposes, so that he makes them answer his ends, in all their opposition to him. Agreeable to this, it is said, "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will." (Pr. xxi. 1.) If God does turn the heart of the king whithersoever he will, then his heart, his will and choice, is always and in every instance under God's direction and control, and there can be no motion, determination, or exertion of his heart, which is not as God wills it to be. Every turn of his heart then is an event which God wills should take place, and therefore foreordained that it should come to pass just as it does. And God, in thus turning the heart, is in this sense the origin and cause of every motion, choice, or volition, in which the heart turns this way or that. And if the heart of the king is thus in the hand of the Lord, and he turneth it whithersoever he will, then the hearts of all his subjects, yea, of all men, may be, and actually are, as much in the hand of God. This is implied in the assertion under consideration. The heart of the king is mentioned, as he has great power and influence over others, and is most absolute and despotic, and commonly most obstinate and inflexible. Even his heart, as well as the heart of all others, is in the hand of the Lord, wholly under his power and influence, and is turned by him just as he pleases. The same thing is asserted in many passages of Scripture, some of which have been mentioned, as that of God's representing the king of Syria, as sent by him to distress Israel and Judah, and as an axe or saw in his hand, directed and moved by him to execute his will, his speaking of other kings as raised up and sent by Him, to be his servants, to do his pleasure, and putting it into their hearts to fulfil his will, etc. But, in these words of

Solomon, this is asserted in the most express and strongest manner, of the heart of kings and of all men; so that it seems impossible not to understand, or to evade the truth here expressed; as no words, perhaps, can be devised to convey it in a more clear, unequivocal, and decisive manner.

All the objections made against God's foreordaining all the moral evil that takes place, and his being, in this sense and so far, the origin and cause of it, as has been asserted and explained above, do equally lie, and are as strong against this passage, and many others which have been mentioned under this and former particulars.

4. In divine revelation an evil spirit which is in men, and takes place among them, is said to be from God, and to be sent or caused by him.

"Then God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem. And the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech." (Judg. ix. 23.) "But the spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. And it came to pass on the morrow that the evil spirit from God came upon Saul." (1 Sam. xvi. 4; xviii. 10.) "Now, therefore, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets." (1 Kings xxii. 23.) "The Lord hath mingled a perverse spirit in the midst thereof: and they have caused Egypt to err in every work thereof." (Isa. xix. 14.) Whatever be meant by an evil, lying and perverse spirit, — whether it be no more than the evil inclination and exercise of the hearts of men, or an evil agent, distinct from their spirits, exciting them to sinful exercises, — God is, in these Scriptures, represented as superintending and ordering this spirit to take place in men, as it did. And, if he did this, and yet maintained his own infinitely holy character, and these men were, notwithstanding, wholly free in their evil inclinations and conduct, and accountable and deserving of blame and punishment for them, — which was most certainly the case, — then all the evil volitions of men may be, in the same sense, manner, and degree, from God, consistent with all these. It is, therefore, easy to see that all objections against the doctrine under consideration may, with equal reason, be made against such declarations as these, which are found in the Holy Scriptures.

5. God is said, in the Scriptures, to order, send, and effect the sinful deceptions and delusions of men. "With him is strength and wisdom: the deceived and the deceiver are his." (Job xii. 16.) "O Lord, why hast thou made us to err from thy ways?" (Isa. lxiii. 17.) "And if the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceived that

prophet." (Ez. xiv. 9.) "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." (2 Thes. ii. 11, 12.) According to these passages, the divine hand and agency are concerned in all the errors and deceptions which take place among men, by which many of them run on to destruction.

6. In the Scriptures, God is many times said to "blind the minds," and "harden the hearts" of men. This is often ascribed to him in the most express terms, without saying any thing to qualify, soften, or explain the expressions, or to intimate that they are not to be taken in their plain, natural meaning. These will be now produced, as worthy of particular attention.

"And he said, Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed." (Isa. vi. 9, 10.) We have this remarkable passage quoted in St. John's gospel, in the following words, and applied to the Jews in his day: "Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said, He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them." Here those words in Isaiah — "Make the heart of this people fat, and shut their eyes" — have the meaning of them given in the following words: "He" — that is, God — "hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts." God is here said to do what Isaiah was directed to do; for the prophet was infinitely unequal to produce the effect, and could be only the instrument by whom God caused it to take place. In this view, and in no other, the evangelist appears to have given the true sense of the passage, while he uses these strong and pointed expressions.

"For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes. They have not known, nor understood: for he hath shut their eyes, that they cannot see; and their hearts, that they cannot understand." (Isa. xxix. 10; xliv. 15.) "Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for: but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded;" (or *hardened*, as it is in the original.) "According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber; eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear unto this day." (Rom. xi. 7, 8.)

Those passages are now to be produced, in which hardening

the hearts of men is expressly ascribed to God. This is done more than ten times in the history of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. "But I will harden his heart, that he shall not let the people go." (Ex. iv. 21.) "And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt. But Pharaoh shall not hearken unto you." (Ex. vii. 3.) "And he hardened Pharaoh's heart, that he hearkened not unto them, as the Lord had said." (Ex. vii. 13.) "And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and he hearkened not unto them, as the Lord had spoken unto Moses." (Ex. ix. 12.) "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh: for I have hardened his heart, and the heart of his servants, that I might show these my signs before him; and that thou mayest tell in the ears of thy son, and of thy son's son, what things I have wrought in Egypt, and my signs which I have done among them; that ye may know how that I am the Lord." (Ex. x. 1, 2.) "But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go." (Ex. x. 20.) "But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go." (Ex. x. 27.) "And Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh. And the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, so that he would not let the children of Israel go out of his land." (Ex. xi. 10.) "And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, that he shall follow after them; and I will be honored upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host; that the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord." (Ex. xiv. 4.) "And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel." "And I, behold I, will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them: and I will get me honor upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host." (Ex. xiv. 8, 17.)

There are other passages, in which God is said to harden the hearts of men, which are now to be mentioned. "But Sihon, king of Heshbon, would not let us pass by him: for the Lord thy God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hands as appeareth this day." (Deut. ii. 30.) "For it was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly." (Josh. xi. 20.) "O Lord, why hast thou hardened our heart from thy fear?" (Isa. lxiii. 17.) It might be safely and with good reason argued, from these instances of God's hardening the hearts of men, that God hardens every heart that is hard and obstinate, as no reason can be given why he should do this in one instance and not in another; or, there is the same reason why the hardness and obstinacy of men's hearts in general, and wherever it takes place,

should be as really ascribed to God, as these instances which are mentioned; and there can be no objection against his hardening the hearts of all men whose hearts are hard, that may not, with equal reason, be made against his hardening the heart of Pharaoh, and others concerning whom it is expressly asserted. But this is made certain, as the consequence is drawn to our hand by one under divine inspiration: "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, *and whom he will he hardeneth.*" (Rom. ix. 18.) The apostle, in these words, has reference to God's hardening the heart of Pharaoh, whom he mentions in the words immediately preceding; and, from this instance of God's raising him up and hardening his heart to answer his own infinitely wise purposes, he makes this inference: "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth." Here, every one of mankind is comprehended in those on whom God has mercy and those whom he hardeneth; and it is asserted that he hardeneth all those on whom he will not have mercy, that is, all whose hearts are hardened. It must be further observed,—

7. In the Sacred Scriptures, God is expressly said to form, make, or produce moral evil.

"The Lord hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." (Pr. xvi. 4.) Here God is said to make the wicked, not considered merely as men, but as wicked; for in this character, or as wicked only, are they the proper subjects of natural evil or punishment. What less can his making the wicked mean, than his having some hand or agency, in some way or other, in forming their character as wicked? And is this any less or more than his willing that there should be such existences as wicked men, because moral and natural evil are necessary, as necessary as any other existence, to answer the infinitely wise and important purposes of God, in the brightest display of his perfections? He has made them for himself, to put them to his own use, and by them to manifest his own character, his holiness, hatred of sin, etc.

"I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God besides me: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil. I the Lord do all these things." (Isa. xlv. 5, 6, 7.)

These words are addressed to Cyrus, who was not then born; but was to arise in the eastern world to conquer the Babylonians, and to release the Jews from their captivity, and

order the temple and Jerusalem to be rebuilt. He was born and educated where the God of Israel was not known, and where they were taught that the good being, who was the author of all good, was not the only power that reigned; but that there was an evil being or principle which reigned, so far as to counteract the good principle or being, and introduce all the evil, both moral and natural, which takes place, and of which he is the proper cause or author. The good principle, or being, they represented by light, and worshipped him before the sun or fire, considering it the brightest emblem of him, and, in a peculiar manner, possessed or inhabited by him. The evil being, and the evil of which they supposed him to be the cause and author, they represented by, and called, darkness. There is an evident reference to these false and hurtful notions in which Cyrus was educated, in the address to him, part of which has been cited, in which *Jehovah* declares them to be great and dangerous delusions, and repeatedly asserts that he is the only Supreme God: "I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no other God besides me. I am the Lord, and there is none besides me." And then he asserts that he is the cause of all that which they ascribed to the evil being which they believed in and feared: "I form light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil. I the Lord do all these things." *

Does not God, in these words, expressly take to himself this character, and assert that he is the origin and cause of all evil? If so, then we have no reason to be afraid to think and speak of him as such, but may consider ourselves as promoting true piety and the honor of the only true God, while we be-

* The Magians began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, and there they remain unto this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles, one of which was the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil; that the former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols, and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. Therefore, when Xerxes prayed for that evil upon his enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their best and bravest men from them, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to the evil god of the Persians, and not to their good god. The good god they always worshipped before the fire, as being the cause of light, and especially before the sun, as being, in their opinion, the perfectest fire, and causing the perfectest light. (Isa. xlv. 5, 6, 7.) "I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God besides me. I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me. I form light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things." These words, being directed to Cyrus king of Persia, must be understood as spoken in reference to the Persian sect of the Magians, who then held light and darkness, or good and evil, to be the supreme beings.—*Dr. Prideaux, Connection*, 9th ed. pp. 252, 253, 304.

lieve and assert that all evil is the consequence of his determination and will that it shall exist, and is wholly dependent upon it; as without his will that it should take place, it could no more exist than any thing else whatsoever. No one can devise stronger terms or language to express this, than that which is here used by God himself. How this appears to be consistent with the infinite wisdom and holiness of the divine character, and most honorable to God, has been repeatedly shown in what has been already said on this subject; and, therefore, it need not be again repeated here.

But it has been said by many, that moral evil is not meant by darkness and evil in this passage, but only natural evil, or calamity and pain. Of this God may be, and is, the cause, but not of sin. To this the following reply may be made:—

1. The opinion to which this passage has reference had respect to moral evil as well as natural; yea, this was chiefly in view, as the former is the origin and occasion of the latter. And the evil being was considered as having the direction and disposal of moral evil, so that it originated from him as the cause. Therefore, if this was designed to be excluded in the passage before us, which is spoken to Cyrus, and has reference to that notion in the east, respecting the cause of moral evil as well as natural, it must have been done by an express exception. For without this, and as it now stands, Cyrus, and every one else, must consider it as included and intended, as well as natural evil. Nor can it be now excluded without doing violence to the text, and at the same time really gaining nothing by it. For if it be allowed that moral evil is intended here, as well as natural, no more is really asserted than is expressed in many other passages in the Bible, as every one may be sensible who will attend to what has been before produced from the Scriptures, under this head.

2. If it be granted that natural evil only is directly intended here, yet this will necessarily involve moral evil; for a great part of the former, which takes place among men, is the natural and necessary result of the latter. It is effected by the exercise of men's selfishness and lusts. "From whence come wars and fightings among you? come they not hence, even of your lusts, that war in your members?" (James iv. 1.) "But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." (Gal. v. 15.) If, therefore, the divine Being has no direction and government of the wills and evil conduct of men, he cannot be said to create or produce, or even to regulate and superintend natural evil. If God does not will, direct, and order a war, which is wholly carried on by the exercise of men's lusts, how can he be said to direct, will,

and order the attendant or consequent natural evil? How does he cause or produce the one more than the other? In this view, we may turn to the words of the prophet Amos: "Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?" Here evil is mentioned without restriction, confining it to natural evil. But if it be supposed that natural evil is particularly meant here, yet this implies moral evil; as the natural evil, the calamity, sufferings, and distresses which take place in a city, are chiefly the concomitants or fruits of vice and folly. And if the Most High has no concern or hand in directing, ordering, and producing the latter, how can he be said to produce or effect the former? or how can it be said to be done by him, since it is the necessary attendant and fruit of the sin of men; and it is really done by them, and they are as really the cause of natural evil as they are of their own sin, as the former is involved in the latter?

3. It must further be observed, that if natural evil only be meant by evil in the above passages in Isaiah and Amos, yet there is as great, and the same difficulty, in accounting for God's creating and doing this, as there is in accounting for his determining and willing the existence of moral evil; or the same objections lie, and may be urged with as much reason, against God's willing, causing, and producing natural evil, which are or can be made against his willing that moral evil should exist.

If this proposition can be demonstrated and made plain to every one who will allow himself to think calmly on the subject, then all the objections which have been made against God's foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass, and all that is necessarily implied in this, will fall to the ground; and the ways and labor which have been taken to construe the Scriptures mentioned above, so as not to imply that God is, in any sense, the origin and cause of moral evil, lest they should be understood in a sense dishonorable to him, will appear to be needless and unreasonable. Let this matter, then, be carefully considered.

Natural evil is as really contrary to infinite goodness as moral evil is; infinite goodness cannot be reconciled to it, considered in and by itself, but is infinitely opposed to it. And to suppose that God wills and causes it to take place, for its own sake, and because he delights in it, in itself considered, is as dishonorable to him, and does as much impeach and deny his goodness, as to suppose that he wills and causes moral evil for its own sake, and because he is pleased with it, and delights in it. Yea, to say that God causes natural evil to take place, for its own sake, and because he is pleased with it, in itself considered, is to charge him with moral evil, or that

which is infinitely contrary to infinite holiness or goodness, as really as to say that he causes moral evil because he is pleased with moral evil, as such.

Therefore, if, when God says in the passage under consideration, "I create darkness and evil, I the Lord do all these things," this is to be understood of natural evil only, it cannot mean that God causes this evil for its own sake, for this necessarily supposes him to be an evil being; but he causes it to take place, he creates it, for some good end, and for the sake of the good, of which the evil is the occasion or means, and without which evil the good could not possibly take place; so that, on the whole, there is much more good or happiness than could have been, had there been no natural evil. If natural evil could answer no good end, and were not necessary in order to this, it could not be created or made to take place, or be permitted to take place, by an infinitely good Being who has the disposal of all things. But if it be necessary to answer the best end, and to promote and produce the greatest good of the whole, then it may be not only permitted, but created, or caused to take place, consistent with infinite goodness, yea, it is inconsistent with infinite goodness not to do so.

And who does not now see that God may determine, order, and cause moral evil to take place, and, in this sense, create it, consistent with his infinite holiness and goodness, if this be necessary for the greatest good of the whole, both moral and natural, yea, that God could not be infinitely wise and good, if, on this supposition, he did not order and cause it to take place? If the divine conduct can be vindicated in causing natural evil to take place, on the same ground it can be vindicated in causing moral evil to exist, and not one objection can be made against the latter, which may not equally, and with as good reason, be made against the former. For instance, if it should be objected against the latter, that to make God the origin and cause of sin is to suppose moral evil is in him, for there can be nothing in the effect which is not in the cause, this may with equal truth and reason be said of natural evil. If God be the origin and cause of it, this supposes natural evil to be in him, and that he is infinitely unhappy and miserable, for there can be nothing in the effect which is not in the cause. Again, if it be objected, that if it be agreeable to the will of God that sin should exist, and he chose it should take place, and is therefore the origin and cause of its existence, then sin is agreeable to his will, and he is pleased with it; it may with as much propriety, and as good reason, be said, if God wills the existence of natural evil,

and causes it to take place, then he is pleased with it, and delights in the misery of his creatures; consequently, he cannot be a good, but a morally evil being. If the objector, to remove the difficulty that is urged upon him, should say, that God does not cause natural evil, for the sake of the evil, but for the sake of the good end to be answered by it, he may be asked, Why this, which is as true of moral evil, does not equally remove the difficulty respecting God's being the cause and origin of that? If it solves the difficulty in one case, it must do so in the other. If God may order and cause natural evil, which, in itself, is infinitely contrary to his goodness, to exist, consistently with his goodness, then he may will and cause moral evil to exist, though it be in itself considered, infinitely contrary to his holiness, and most odious to him; and no one can account for the former, without giving as good a reason for the latter. Is it not very unreasonable and most absurdly inconsistent, for men perpetually, and with great assurance, to object and urge that against the supposition that God wills and chooses the existence of moral evil, which may be with as much reason urged against his willing the existence of natural evil, while they allow he does will and cause the latter; and at the same time cannot tell how this is consistent with the divine perfections, without offering a reason, which equally proves the other to be as consistent?

It has been said, that if it be best on the whole that sin should take place, as it is necessary to promote the general good, then sin is a good thing, and the more sin the better. Now, this may be with as much reason said of natural evil. If God order that, to answer a good end, then it is a good thing, and the more of it the better. The inference from the latter is as well grounded as from the former. In truth, it is in both instances utterly unreasonable. That which is in itself, in its own nature, evil, may by God be made the occasion of the greatest good, and this is so far from altering the nature of the evil, or making it less an evil, in itself considered, that if this should be the case, and it were possible, the end to be answered by it would be defeated, and there would be no evil, to be the occasion of good. It is indeed a good thing, that evil, both moral and natural, should take place, and the good of which this is the occasion swallows up the evil, and the whole taken together is the most complete, perfectly beautiful, and good system; but this alters not the nature of the evil, and it is still as evil, as contrary to all good, and as disagreeable and hateful, considered in itself, and as unconnected with the whole, as if it were not made the occasion of good, but of evil. But this has been often brought into view before. It is

again introduced, to show the unreasonableness of the objection, and that it is as much against the existence of natural evil, in order to answer a good end, as it is against the existence of moral evil, for the same end. The infinitely wise Being most perfectly knows how much evil, both natural and moral, and what particular instances of it, are necessary, in order to accomplish the greatest possible good; and all this takes place by his decree and will, and no more. The existence of just so much, and no more, is desirable, as it is necessary to accomplish the best end; but God will not suffer any more to exist; the remainder he will effectually restrain. If he did not, and more than is necessary to answer the best ends should take place, it would be infinitely undesirable and evil, and inconsistent with the divine perfections. How unreasonable then is it to say, "If evil be necessary for the good of the whole, and thus answers a good end, then the more evil the better!"

It has been further objected, that if God wills the existence of sin, and it is therefore agreeable to his will that it should take place in every instance, when and wherever it does, then the sinner does not resist his will in sinning, nor can be blamable for it; but rather ought to sin, that good may come. Let it now be carefully and with impartiality considered, whether this objection may not with just as good reason be urged against God's willing and causing all the natural evil which takes place. If any one, by his sin, cause natural evil to take place, by oppressing and afflicting the widow and fatherless, or by murdering his neighbor, or in any other instance, he voluntarily does that which is agreeable to the will of God that it should take place. He has not resisted the will of God, but has complied with his will and designs; therefore he cannot be blamed for it, but rather ought to do all this, since without his agency this natural evil would not take place, which God has determined should be done, because necessary to effect the greatest good, and accomplish his own wise design. In short, if God be pleased with the existence of that natural evil which is effected by the oppressor, murderer, etc., then he cannot blame or be displeased with the oppressor or murderer for being also pleased with the existence of this evil, and exerting themselves to produce it. Is there any way to answer this objection, and remove the difficulty, unless it be in the words of Joseph to his brethren? "As for you, ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good." (Gen. l. 20.) There was a direct and total opposition and contrariety between the will of God that this evil should take place, and the will and design of

Joseph's brethren, in desiring and effecting this natural evil, consisting in his being made a slave in Egypt. God ordered it, and took measures effectually to produce the evil, not from any pleasure in the evil itself, but in the exercise of his infinite goodness, because it was necessary to accomplish the greatest good of which this evil was the occasion. "He meant it unto good." But the brethren of Joseph thought and designed evil against him. They did it in the exercise of malevolence, or ill will towards him, which was most unreasonable, and was in the nature of it enmity against that good, for the sake of which God ordered this evil to take place, and therefore was directly opposed to that benevolent will of God which determined and ordered this evil. Their disposition and will in this affair were just as opposite to the disposition and will of God in determining and willing the existence of this evil, as malevolence is to benevolence and goodness, or as evil is to good, and therefore must be displeasing and hateful to God, and they as blamable in his sight as if he had brought no good out of it, and nothing but evil had taken place. As this is the only solution of the difficulty, and fully removes the objection respecting God's willing and causing natural evil, it is easy for every one who attends to see that it equally answers the objection against his willing and causing moral evil; and shows how the existence of both may be chosen and caused by God, not for their own sake, but for the sake of the good end answered by them, and consistent with his hating them both, in themselves considered, so that in him it is an exercise of infinite benevolence, and therefore directly contrary to the disposition and will of the sinner in sinning, and in willing and producing natural evil, and consequently shows how justly God is displeased with the sinner, and blames him for willing and choosing both moral and natural evil.

These things have been observed to show that when God says, "I create evil," in the passage above cited, moral evil as well as natural may be intended, as there can be no difficulty or objection thought of, if the former be included, which is not equally against the latter; and if the former must be excluded as inconsistent with the divine perfections, in any sense and view, to form and create it, for the same reason must the latter be excluded; and that moral evil must be intended, as well as natural, not only because nothing is said to exclude it, but because the occasion and design of the words do necessarily include both.

The words of St. Paul seem to claim a place under this head. "Thou wilt say, then, unto me, Why doth he yet find

fault? For who hath resisted his will? Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God! Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor? (Rom. ix. 19, 20, 21.) Upon these words, the following observations may be made: —

1. The objection here introduced by the apostle has reference to his assertion in the preceding verse, and is grounded upon it, "And whom he will he hardeneth." And this same objection is made now, and always has been made by men, against the truth here asserted; which is, that it is the will of God that all the hardness and obstinacy of heart which is found amongst men should exist just as it does; and, therefore, he has foreordained, according to the counsel of his own will, that it shall take place. So much, at least, is expressed in these words of the apostle; and, indeed, no more than what is implied in this; for, whatever God wills to take place, has a cause of its certain existence; and this can be found nowhere but in the divine will. The objection is, "If all the sins of men take place by the will of God, and according to his will, then there can be no crime in sin, and men cannot be justly blamed for that, the existence of which is agreeable to his will."

2. It is observable, that the apostle, in his answer to this objection, does not say that the objector had mistaken his meaning, and that he had not said that it was agreeable to the will of God that the hardness of men's hearts, and every instance of obstinacy and sin, should take place just as it does, — and therefore the divine purpose and agency was concerned in all this, — but implicitly grants that this is a truth, and that he had asserted it, by not only not denying it, but proceeding to vindicate it in his answer, by which the meaning of his words is fixed beyond a doubt.

3. In his answer, he is so far from palliating what he had said, or softening down his expression, to which the objection is made, that he rather heightens it, and expresses himself in a stronger manner, if possible. "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor?" The potter makes one vessel as really and as much as another; that which is made to dishonor and that which is made unto honor. Therefore, if the similitude is any thing to the purpose, and does not give a very wrong idea of the matter which it is designed to illustrate, all sinners whose hearts are hard-

ened, who are represented by the vessels made unto dishonor, are as really formed and made such as they are, hardened sinners, as the vessel unto dishonor is made a dishonorable vessel by the potter. And God's sovereign right to do this is here asserted; and he who objects to this, the apostle says, speaks against God. Besides, the apostle expressly asserts that the hardened sinner is formed and made so by God. "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?" Thus the apostle speaks this out, and repeats it in the most express and pointed language, without fear of hurting any one by it, and with assurance that he is espousing the cause of God, and vindicating his rights and honor in opposition to an apostate world.

The apostle, having asserted the sovereign right of God to form his creatures as he pleases, in the next words gives the reason of this, and mentions the important end he has in view, and answers, by making the wicked for the day of evil. "What if God, willing (or determined) to show his wrath and make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath, fitted to destruction; and that he might make known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory?"

The following things are suggested by these words:—

1. That God does not harden sinners, or punish them, for the sake of hardening and making them miserable, or because he has any delight or pleasure in their sin and punishment, considered in themselves, and unconnected with the end to be answered by them; but he does this to answer a wise and important end, which could not be answered in any other way, and to produce a good which infinitely overbalances the evil which is necessary in order to it.

2. We are here told what this great, all-important end is, which God designs to effect; the good which is produced by the persevering sin and destruction of men, who are the vessels of wrath. It is the manifestation and display of his own perfection; "to show his wrath, and make his power known; and to make known the riches of his glory." That is, he does this for himself, for his own glory. This perfectly coincides with the words of Solomon, which have been mentioned, and serves to fix the sense of them: "The Lord hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil."

3. It is here supposed, that what God does in hardening sinners, and making them vessels unto dishonor, and enduring, with much long-suffering, these vessels of wrath, fitted for destruction, is consistent with their being blamable for their hardness, and every thing which renders them dishonorable,

and with his being highly displeased with them for it; and that he may justly destroy them forever, for their hardness and obstinacy in sin. This is supposed, and really asserted, in the words; for, in any other view, they would be inconsistent and absurd; as otherwise sinners could not be vessels of wrath, fitted to destruction. Whatever men have thought, and may think and assert, St. Paul, and he by whom he was inspired, knew that both these are perfectly consistent. How these things are consistent does appear, it is hoped, from what has been said above, and may be yet further offered, on this head.

Having thus considered what is the language of Scripture on this point, and made particular remarks on the passages which have been adduced, some more general observations on the whole, in one general view of them, must now be made, hoping they may serve to throw further light on the subject, and confirm the truth exhibited respecting it in divine revelation, which has been so difficult and intricate to many.

1. It appears from these passages of Scripture, that God has foreordained all the moral evil which does take place, and is, in such a sense, and so far, the origin and cause of it, that he is said to bring it to pass by his own agency. Therefore, it is not bold or dangerous to believe and assert this; but it is for the honor of God, and tends to promote the good of men; and to believe and assert the contrary, is directly the reverse, bold, dangerous, dishonorable to God, and hurtful to man. It is safe to speak according to the Scriptures; and so far as any man does not, it is because, in that instance, there is no light in him.*

2. If these Scriptures be understood, as many have chosen to understand them, as importing only that God permits sin, and so orders every thing respecting the event, that, he permitting, it will certainly take place just as it does, this really comes to the same thing, or, if not, does not obviate any difficulty which has been thought to attend the representation which has now been made of this matter. For they who choose this way of speaking do represent God as willing that sin should take place, or, on the whole, preferring and choosing that it should exist, rather than not. And this, as has been shown, implies all that is intended by his being the origin and cause of sin, and ordering and doing every thing, that was necessary to be ordered and done, previous to the existence of sin, in order to render it certain, in every instance where it

* "Beza well expresses it, *Qui sequitur Deum, emendate sane loquitur.* We need not fear falling into any impropriety of speech, when we use the language which God has taught." — *Doddridge's note on Luke* xxii. 22.

does take place. His decree turns the point in favor of the existence of sin; and his agency makes it certain, without which it could have no existence.

And if God determined to permit all the sin which does take place, and by his agency orders things so, that, he permitting it, it will be done, this is liable to all the objections that have been or can be made against the assertion that all the sinful volitions of men are the effect of the divine agency; for the former makes sin as certain and necessary as the latter, and it is no more consistent with the holiness of God and his hatred of sin, to will the existence of it, and lay a plan to have it take place upon his permission, than it is directly to cause it to exist in the creature, by any agency or exertion whatever, which is previously necessary to the existence of sinful volitions. And the former is not only liable to all the objections that can be made against the latter, but, so far as it differs from the latter, supposes an effect without any real origin or cause, and therefore involves the greatest difficulty and absurdity imaginable, as has been shown above. Why then is it not most reasonable, safe and best, to understand these Scriptures in their most plain and obvious meaning, since by a strained or forced interpretation, no difficulty is removed, and nothing is obtained, and by explaining away the most easy and natural meaning, new and inextricable difficulties are incurred? *

In short, there appears to be no rational or consistent medium, between admitting that God, according to the Scriptures, has chosen and determined that all the moral evil which does, or ever will exist, should take place, and consequently is so far the origin and cause of it; or believing and asserting that sin has taken place, in every view, and in all respects,

* Calvin represents those as very unreasonable, and perverting the Scriptures, who insist that no more is meant than a bare permission, when God is said to harden the hearts of men, shut their eyes, etc. He speaks of them as *frigidi speculatores, diluti moderatores;* to whose delicate ears such Scripture expressions seem harsh, and are offensive. They therefore, he observes, soften them down, by turning an action into a permission, as if there were no difference between acting and suffering, i. e., suffering others to act. He says, such who will admit of a permission only, suspend the counsel and determination of God wholly on the will of man. But that he is not ashamed or afraid to speak as the Holy Spirit does; and does not hesitate to approve and embrace what the Scripture so often declares, viz., that God blinds the minds of wicked men, and hardens their hearts, etc. See Calvin's Commentary on Exodus iv. 21; vii. 3. Joshua xi. 20. Rom. ix. 18. See also West's "Essay on Moral Agency," pp. 241, 246.

When the apostle Paul says, "And whom he will he hardeneth," he refers to the words of God, when he repeatedly says to Moses, that he would, and actually did harden the heart of Pharaoh; and he does not attempt to soften or alter the expression in the least, when he applies it to all who are hardened.

contrary to his will, he having done all he could to prevent the existence of it, but was not able, and is, therefore, not the infinitely happy, uncontrollable, supreme Governor of the world, but is dependent, disappointed, and miserable! No one, surely, will adopt the latter; how, then, can he avoid admitting the former?

3. If the Scriptures which have been mentioned, where hardening the hearts of men, blinding and shutting their eyes, and inclining and turning their hearts, when they practise moral evil, etc.; if these Scriptures are to be understood as meaning no more than that God orders their situation and external circumstances to be such, that, considering their disposition, and the evil bias of their minds, they will without any other influence be blinded and hardened, etc., then all those Scriptures which speak of God's changing and softening the heart, taking away the hard heart, and giving a heart of flesh, opening the eyes of men, and turning them from darkness to light, and from sin to holiness, working in them to will and to do, and causing them to walk in his ways, etc., may and must be understood in the same way, as not intending any special divine influence on the mind, as the origin and cause of virtuous, obedient, holy volitions, but only his using means with them in an external way, putting them under advantages, and setting motives before them; so that if they be well disposed, or will dispose themselves to obedience, they may be holy, etc. To be sure, it cannot be argued from the expressions themselves, that the latter express or intend any more real influence on the minds of men, or divine agency, by which God is the origin and cause of virtuous exercises, than the former do with respect to men's sinful exercises, for the expressions are as unlimited, plain and strong, which speak of the former, as those which are used for the latter.

The Arminian, and all of his cast, understand the latter, as they do the former, as intending no internal, decisive influence on the mind, turning the heart or will one way or the other, but ordering external circumstances, etc. And are they not herein more consistent than the professed Calvinist, who insists that the latter cannot be understood as expressing less, than that God, by his agency and influence on the minds of men, does actually produce all virtuous volitions, as their real origin and cause, while he as confidently asserts that the former cannot mean any such thing, but understands them as the Arminian does. Were they consistent, they would give up the cause to the Arminian, and own that the latter expressions may well be understood, as he understands them, and must mean no more, if the former do not. This is mentioned, it

must be observed, as *argumentum ad hominem*, to convince these professed Calvinists, or whatever they choose to call themselves, that they are really inconsistent, and, in this point, are taking a measure to strengthen their opposers, rather than to convince or confute them. This leads to another observation.

4. They who object to the divine agency being the origin and cause of sinful volitions, because, in their view, this is inconsistent with freedom and moral agency, in such volitions, and with any blame or crime in that which is the effect of such a cause, must, if consistent with themselves, reject the doctrine of the divine agency, as the cause of virtuous volitions and exercises, on the same ground, and for the same reason.

If any kind or degree of supposed influence and agency, which is antecedent to a man's volition, and the cause of its taking place, renders such volition not free, and not the man's own volition and exercise, so that he is neither virtuous nor vicious in having and exerting such a choice, then there is no freedom or virtue in the exercises of those called good men, which are the effect of powerful divine influence, causing them to take place; but if such agency and influence, producing virtuous volitions in men, be consistent with the freedom of men, in such volitions, and they are as much their own exercises, and they are as virtuous, and as much their own virtue, as if they had taken place without such previous influence, or as they could be on any possible supposition; then all this is as true of all contrary or sinful volitions of men, whatever kind or degree of influence and agency be exerted antecedent to their existence, and as the cause of it.

This observation is made for the sake of those who make the above objection against there being any origin or cause of sinful volitions, antecedent to their existence, supposing this is inconsistent with man's freedom and blame in such exercises; and yet they believe and assert, that all virtuous exercises of men are the fruit and effect of divine influence, as their origin, which efficaciously causes them to take place; and that these exercises are as really and as much their own, and as virtuous and praiseworthy, as if they had taken place, without any such previous influence and cause, were this possible. It is desirable that this palpable, gross inconsistence of theirs might be discerned and attended to by them; upon which they would drop this objection as wholly without foundation, or urge it equally against the virtuous exercises of men, being the effect of any previous, divine, efficacious influence, as their origin and cause, and renounce it as inconsistent with the liberty and moral

agency of men, by which they will be consistent with themselves in this point, however inconsistent they may be with the Bible.

Both the one and the other is, indeed, equally and altogether consistent with human liberty, and with virtue and sin. No supposable or possible influence or agency, previous to the exercises of the will, which is the origin and cause of such exercises, can render men less free in such voluntary exercises, or the less virtuous or vicious; and that because liberty consists, and is exercised in willing and choosing, and in nothing that does or can take place antecedent to the volitions of men, or as the consequence of them. And virtue and sin consist in the exercises of the will or heart, and in nothing else; and men are sinful or holy according to the nature and quality of these. These are most certain and evident truths, which has been in some measure shown above, and which ought to be always kept in view, when attending to this subject.

5. There is a certain connection between God's hardening the hearts of men, and shutting or blinding their eyes, whatever this may be or imply, and their voluntarily hardening their own hearts and shutting or closing their own eyes; so that when or wherever the one takes place, the other does also.

When God is said to harden Pharaoh's heart, he is, at the same time, said to harden his own heart. God said to Moses, that he would harden the heart of Pharaoh. (Ex. iv. 21; vii. 3.) And it is repeatedly said that he hardened his own heart, as the Lord had said, (Ex. viii. 15,) referring to his saying that he would harden the heart of Pharaoh. So it is said (Ex. ix. 34, 35) Pharaoh sinned yet more, and hardened his heart; and in the first verse of the tenth chapter, the Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, for I have hardened his heart, — referring to the instance just before mentioned, of Pharaoh's hardening his own heart. Hence, it appears, that whenever God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, he hardened his own heart; and whenever Pharaoh did harden his heart, God did also harden it. And that this is true of every instance of hardness or obstinacy of the heart, God hardens the heart, and the sinner himself hardens his own heart.

It does not follow from this, as some have thought it did, that God's hardening the heart of Pharaoh, and his hardening his own heart, are one and the same thing. This supposition is contrary to the representation and the express words. Here are two distinct agents, who are said to be concerned, and to act in producing one and the same event, without which it could not take place; viz., the hardness of Pharaoh's heart. As the agents are infinitely distinct and different, and their

characters directly opposite to each other, so is their agency; that of God is holy, that of Pharaoh sinful. Yet the one necessarily supposes and involves the other. The agency ascribed to God is the origin and cause of the hardness of the heart, without which it could not take place, and of which it is the certain consequence. The agency ascribed to Pharaoh, and which is to be ascribed to every sinner whose heart is hard, is the effect or consequence of divine agency, and consists wholly in this effect, that is, in hardness of heart. The heart cannot be hardened, or there cannot be a hard heart, without the agency of the sinner, hardening his own heart; for it consists in voluntary exercise, and therefore does not, and cannot take place, while men are wholly passive and do not act or put forth those exertions in which hardness of heart doth consist.

When God made man a living soul, the effect produced consisted in man's activity; he lived; for life is not merely a passive effect, but is itself action. Man could not be made a living soul without life, or unless he lived; and he could not live unless he were made to live, so that the one is necessarily implied in the other. Yet life is as really life and activity, or man as really lives, and it as much his own life and activity as if he had lived without being created or made to live, were this possible. Every one cannot but see how false and absurd it would be to say, that God's making man a living soul, and man's agency in living, are one and the same thing, because one necessarily implies the other; so that to assert one, is, in effect, and really, to assert the other. To say that God breathed into man the breath of life, implies that man lived, and does really assert it; and to say that man became a living soul, or lived, implies the divine agency in causing him to live, and does really assert it; though there be two different agents, and two very different kinds of agency, as distinct and different from each other as if there were no connection between them, and the one did not imply the other.

This is applicable to the instance before us. When God hardens the heart of any man, that man certainly hardens his own heart, or that hardness is his own chosen obstinacy; and were it not so, he could have no hardness of heart, or his heart could not be hardened. To suppose the contrary, is an express contradiction. And it is as much his own chosen obstinacy, and his own crime; and he is as odious and ill deserving as if his Maker had no hand or concern in the matter. When God hardens the heart, or exerts any supposable or possible kind or degree of influence or power, of which sin or holiness in the creature is the consequence, this is so far from being or

implying any necessitating influence, impelling or forcing men to sin or obey, that it is absolutely impossible there should be any such thing antecedent to the actual existence of will and choice; and it is necessarily implied, that the disposition, will, and choice, in which the sinner's obstinacy consists, is the exercise of freedom, and his own choice. The will or heart is not capable of any such necessitating influence, by which it is forced to act, in opposition to acting freely, because, as has been observed, exercise of choice, or voluntary action and freedom, are the same thing. To talk of a necessitating influence by which the will is forced to act, which deprives a man of freedom, is just as absurd as to say, that a man is forced to live without having any life, and so as utterly to exclude it. But this has been considered before.

To return. The observation to which we are now attending, viz., that whenever God hardens the hearts and blinds the minds of men, they do harden their own hearts and shut their own eyes, and the latter is necessarily implied in the former, as the former is implied in the latter, may be further illustrated and confirmed by several other passages of Scripture, which, at the same time, will serve to throw some light upon them.

The Lord says to Isaiah, "Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes: lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed." These remarkable words are quoted or referred to no less than six times in the New Testament, and oftener than any other text is quoted from the Old Testament. In St. John's Gospel it is expressed in the following words: "Therefore they could not believe, because that Isaiah said, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them." In this quotation the expressions are as they are in the prophet, though stronger and more decisively plain, if possible, representing the agency of God in blinding the eyes of men and hardening their hearts. He is said to do this, and it is ascribed to him as the cause, and nothing is said expressly of the agency of men in the matter. St. Paul is supposed to refer to these words, together with other passages, in the following passage: "The election hath obtained it; but the rest were blinded: according as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this day." (Rom. xi. 7, 8.) Here he speaks, agreeable to the words in Isaiah, and as St. John quotes them, of God as the agent, and of what he

does, and he is represented as blinding men, giving them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, etc., and nothing is expressly said of the agency of men. But he quotes these words, on another occasion, in a different manner: "Well spake the Holy Ghost by Isaiah, the prophet, unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing; and their eyes have they closed, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and should be converted, and I should heal them." (Acts xxviii. 25, 26, 27.) In Matthew xiii. 15, these same words are quoted by Christ himself, just as St. Paul quotes them here: "For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed." Here they are said to close or blind their own eyes. They are represented as active in the matter, and their agency only is spoken of expressly, and the divine agency is not mentioned; whereas, in the passages above produced, these same words of Isaiah are made to express, not the agency of those who are blind in making themselves so, but the divine agency in shutting their eyes; so that their being blind and unbelieving is ascribed to God. It is a question worthy to be considered, — How can these words in Isaiah be consistently quoted so differently, and be made to speak of the agency of the sinner hardening his own heart and closing his own eyes, when the prophet expresses nothing but the divine agency in hardening and blinding them, as they are quoted by St. John and once by St. Paul?

Is not the only solution and satisfactory answer to this question contained in the observation made above, namely: that, whenever God hardens the heart and closes the eyes of men, they harden their own hearts and shut their own eyes, — the one being necessarily implied and involved in the other? So that, when it is expressly said that God hardens the heart of any man, or hath given him eyes that he should not see, it is as really asserted that the man himself hardens his own heart, and closes his own eyes, — as the latter is necessarily implied, it being the very thing expressly said to be produced as the effect of the divine agency. Therefore, when Isaiah speaks of God as hardening men's hearts, and shutting their eyes, he equally asserts that these men harden their own hearts, and close their own eyes; and may justly, and with the greatest propriety, be quoted, as asserting both of them, or either the one or the other.

This is equally true of the light, wisdom, and holiness of good men. God is certainly the origin and cause of all this,

according to the Scripture. He circumcises the heart to love him; he gives a new heart, and puts a new spirit in them, — creates in them a clean heart, and renews in them a right spirit; he saves them by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost; he causes them to walk in his statutes, and to keep his judgments and do them. (Deut. xxx. 6. Ps. li. 10. Ez. xxxvi. 26, 27. Tit. iii. 5.) Yet the Scripture speaks of them to whom God gives a new heart, and whose heart he circumcises, and whom he renews by his Holy Spirit, as circumcising their own hearts, — making themselves a new heart; — as those who have put off the old man, and put on the new man, and renewed themselves in the spirit of their minds, and have cleansed and purified their own hearts. (Deut. x. 16. Ez. xviii. 31. Rom. xii. 2. Eph. iv. 22, 23, 24. 1 Pet. i. 22. 1 John iii. 3. Jam. iv. 8. Isa. i. 61.)

These passages may be reconciled by observing that the former speak expressly of the divine agency in the renovation of the hearts of sinful men and forming them to true holiness. The latter speak of the agency and exercises of men, implied in their renovation and holiness, and in which their turning to God and their obedience does consist, and which is necessarily connected with the former and involved in it. Whenever and wherever God gives a new heart, the man makes himself a new heart in that agency and those exercises in which a new heart consists. He renews and cleanses his own heart, and circumcises it, by turning from sin to God, — hating sin and loving God, — and in all that agency, and those pure and holy exercises, in which he conforms to the divine law and to the gospel, and lives a holy life. All this is necessarily implied in what God does in giving a new heart, as it is the effect which he produces by his agency; and these are connected and involved in each other, as are the cause and effect, so that to assert one is equally to assert the existence of the other. The sinner's heart cannot be made a clean heart by the divine agency in any other way but by the sinner's cleansing his own heart; because a clean heart consists in those exercises of the man in which he does cleanse his own heart. It is a contradiction to say that God has circumcised the heart of a man to love him, and yet the man does not love him, or, which is the same, has not circumcised his own heart to love the Lord; and so of the rest. Therefore, when God says he will give a new heart and put a new spirit within men, it is really asserted that they shall renew their own hearts, in the proper exercises and agency in which a new heart and new spirit consists, or, that they shall walk in his ways. And, on the contrary, whenever a man makes him a new heart, and becomes

obedient, this implies all that divine agency by which God gives a new heart; and, therefore, by asserting the former to exist, the latter is really asserted. If a man purifies himself, and cleanses his own heart in pure, holy exercises, it is certain that God has created in him a clean, a new heart; and to assert the former, or the latter, is really to assert both.

Here are two distinct agents, infinitely different: God, absolutely independent and almighty; and a creature, absolutely dependent for every thought and volition, having no power and sufficiency that is not derived immediately from his Maker; and the agency, or operation, is as distinct and different as the agents. The creature's agency is as much his own as, in the nature of things, it can be, and as it could be if it were not the effect of the divine agency, if this were possible. And the creature acts as freely as if there were no agent concerned but himself, and his exercises are as virtuous and holy; and it is really and as much his own virtue and holiness, and he is as excellent and praiseworthy, as if he did not depend on divine influences for these exercises, and they were not the effect of the operation of God. All this, it is presumed, is plain, and must be evident to all who have attended to what has been said above on this subject. And there can be no difficulty respecting God's hardening the sinner's heart, and his hardening his own heart, which does not equally attend God's making a new and clean heart, and, at the same time, the man renewing and cleansing his own heart; and no objection can be made against the former which is not as much against the latter, unless it be that, in the latter instance, moral good or holiness in the creature is the effect of the divine operation. But in the former it is directly the reverse, and moral evil, or sin, takes place in consequence of the divine determination and agency, which has been thought, by many, to be inconsistent with the infinite purity and holiness of God. It is presumed that what has been said above to this point is sufficient to obviate this objection, and show it to be wholly without foundation. But this leads to another observation.

6. Though it be as expressly asserted, in the Scriptures which have been cited and particularly considered, that God has determined the existence of all the moral evil that takes place, and does, by his own operation and agency, cause it to take place as it does, — as it is that true virtue and holiness which takes place in men is the effect of divine operation, — yet it does not follow from this that the manner and mode of divine operation, which is the cause of those different and opposite effects, is, in all respects, the same; and, consequently, no man has a right to assert this. Indeed, this, in both

instances, is inscrutable by man, and cannot be particularly explained. We know that what is produced in the latter instance is, as it consists in the exercises of the creature, conformable to the law and nature of God. In the former, what takes place in man is directly the reverse, — contrary to God's nature and law. But, as to the manner of operation, as the cause of either, we are wholly in the dark, — as much as we are with respect to the manner of the divine operation in the creation of the world, and the different and various existences. All we know is that God *willed* their existence to be just as they do exist, or said, *Let them be*, — with which fiat their existence is infallibly connected. And he as really willed the existence of moral evil as of holiness in creatures; and the existence of both is equally the infallible consequence.

And though the effects, holiness and sin, are in their nature, and considered in themselves, so infinitely different and contrary to each other, and the latter most odious and abominable, yet the existence of them both may be equally important and desirable, and necessary for the glory of God, and the greatest possible good. And in this view God willed the existence of both, in the exercise of infinite wisdom and benevolence, even the same kind of benevolence which he requires of creatures in his holy law, and which is opposed by the sinner in every act of sin. It hence appears, that God's disposition and will respecting the existence of sin, which is the origin and cause of it, and his disposition and will revealed in his law requiring benevolence, and all that is implied in it, and forbidding the contrary, are perfectly consistent, and one and the same. And were it possible for him to will and choose that sin should not exist, this would have been infinitely contrary to the divine law. Thus it appears that God is holy in all his works and ways, even while he wills the existence of moral evil. And that there neither is, nor possibly can be, any moral evil, in being thus the origin and cause of it.

The following questions and answers will conclude this subject: —

Question. Does not the doctrine which has been advanced serve to strengthen and confirm the infidel and others in their belief that man is not a moral agent, and is not capable of sin or blame, whatever he may do? Many who reject divine revelation profess to believe the doctrine of universal necessity; that all things and events, from the greatest to the least, are fixed, so that there can be no alteration. And hence they infer that man has no liberty, and is not a moral agent so as to be in any degree criminal. And many who do not professedly renounce revelation, profess to believe the absolute

and universal dependence of all creatures and things on God, and hence infer and say they are what God has made them to be; therefore, they are not answerable for what they are or do; nor are they justly blamable for any thing in their character or conduct. These will think themselves supported by the doctrine of the decrees of God, as it has been stated above. Is it wise or right to advance a doctrine which tends to produce such an evil effect? Had it not better be suppressed, if it be true?

Ans. 1. If the doctrine, as it has now been stated, be clearly and abundantly asserted in the Scripture, and the whole be necessarily implied in the independence and supremacy of God, and the entire dependence of the creature, in all respects, which, it is presumed, has been made evident, then there can be no good reason why it should not be asserted and vindicated; and it is certain it does not tend to any evil, or to produce any bad effect. And if it be improved to any bad purpose, and any groundless inference be made from it, it must be an abuse of the truth, and perverting it to an end to which it has no tendency, but the contrary.

Ans. 2. There is no religious or moral truth revealed in the Bible, which may not be improved to some bad purpose, and has not been so improved by ignorant and wicked men. And if no truth ought to be explained and vindicated, or mentioned, which may be abused, and will be perverted by some, even to their own destruction, all religious truth must be suppressed, and the Bible must be shut up, and no more lie open to the world.

Ans. 3. At the same time that the doctrine of the divine decrees has been stated and vindicated, it has been equally proved, from Scripture and reason, that man is a free agent, and accountable for his moral conduct; and in all respects as much so, and is as real and as much a moral agent as he could be on any supposition, and if this doctrine were not true, and no events or actions were fixed and certain before they actually took place; and he is as much the former and author of his own moral character as he could be were there no other agent concerned in them. And all his moral actions are as much his own, and his own virtue or sins, as they could be, if nothing were previously done or determined which rendered them certain. If any will abuse their own reason and the Holy Scriptures so much as to believe but one of these equally evident truths, and reject the other, he must answer for it, and take the consequence. But must one or the other of them be given up or suppressed, lest men should abuse one or both of them? Let the Scripture and reason judge.

Ans. 4. All the difficulty in this matter appears to lie in

reconciling the total, universal, and constant dependence of man on God, with his freedom and moral agency, and accountableness for his moral conduct. The Scripture asserts both these in the strongest manner, from the beginning to the end, in a variety of ways. The instances are too numerous to be all mentioned here. This dependence is represented by the potter and the clay; and man is asserted to be as dependent on God for the manner of his existence, and in all his moral character and actions, as the clay is on the potter for the shape and kind of vessel into which it is to be formed. (Rom. ix. 19, 20, 21.) And wicked men, in all their actions, are represented to be as much in the hand of God, and moved by him, as the saw, axe, rod, or staff, are in the hand or power of a man who uses and moves them. (Is. x. 15.) The apostle Paul says, (Acts xvii. 28,) "In him we live, and move, and have our being." *

And reason, or true philosophy, teaches the same. A creature cannot be made independent in any the least degree or respect whatever, because this implies a contradiction; for if a creature can be independent with respect to any thing, or in any degree, he may be so in every degree, and in all respects; which is inconsistent with his being a creature. Therefore the constant and entire dependence of man on God his creator for existence, for every perception and thought, and every motion of body or mind, and every circumstance of these, from the least that is possible to the greatest, is absolute and perfect in the highest degree, and in every respect. According to Scripture and right reason, this is perfectly consistent with the moral freedom and agency of man; and he is as virtuous or vicious, and as worthy of praise, or deserving of blame and punishment, as if he were not thus dependent, if this were possible, which it is hoped has been made evident. But, apostate, proud man feels as if he were, in a great degree at least, self-dependent, and inclines and aspires to be so. This tends to lead him to wrong ideas and speculations on this point, and to prevent his reasoning properly upon it. And it is no wonder that great mistakes are made, and that many are led aside by false reasoning on the subject, and cannot be convinced of the truth; or, if they be in some measure convinced in their judgment, or at least silenced by unanswerable arguments, yet they may feel as if it were not, and could not, be

* Dr. Doddridge gives the following translation of this text: "In him we live, (*Κινουμεθα*) *are moved*, and exist;" and adds the following words: "No words can better express that continual and necessary dependence of all derived beings, in their existence, and all their operations, on their first and almighty cause, which the truest philosophy, as well as theology, teaches."

true, and not submit to it, but oppose it in all the exercises of their hearts.

They who are humble, and feel their dependence on God, and are pleased with it, are most likely to understand these things, and to see the consistence of such dependence, and their freedom and accountableness to God for their moral conduct, and to be satisfied with it. And if they cannot remove every difficulty in speculation, and answer all the objections which are made to it, they nevertheless do acquiesce, and are pleased with being thus dependent, and yet wholly blamable for every deviation from the law of God, and have no doubt of the consistence of these, though they may not be able to show how, or to reason the matter out with others. "The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way." (Ps. xxv. 9.) They will approve of the sentiments and exhortation of the apostle Paul, and feel and act accordingly. They will "work out their own salvation with fear and trembling;" that is, in the exercise of true humility, and a sense and acknowledgment of their entire, constant dependence on God for every exertion and motion of their will, knowing that "He worketh in them both to will and to do."

QUESTION. Do not the words of the apostle James expressly deny that the divine agency is concerned in the existence of moral evil, when he says, "Let no man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man"?

ANSWER. To tempt, and be tempted, are to be understood in different senses, as they are used in the Scripture. God is said to be tempted, and men are often said to tempt him. And it is said that he tempted Abraham; and in this sense he does tempt others, and may tempt all men. Sometimes to tempt, is taken in a bad sense, as it is in this passage, and means a sinful act, as it always does when Satan is said to tempt any one. In this sense God does not tempt any man, for he is holy in all his works. To be tempted, sometimes means only to be tried, and is consistent with the perfect innocence and holiness of him who is said to be tempted. In this sense God is said to be tempted, and Jesus Christ was tempted. Sometimes to be tempted implies moral evil, and actually falling into sin. In this sense, the word seems to be used in the following passages: "Considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Lest by some means the tempter have tempted you, and our labor be in vain." (Gal. vi. 1. 1 Thess. iii. 5.) In this sense the word is to be understood, when James says, "God cannot be tempted," and in the same sense

he uses the word, when he speaks of a man being tempted. This is evident from his own explanation of it in the following words: "But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed." A man cannot be tempted, in this sense, but by the exercise and gratification of his own lusts; the existence of which is therefore supposed, and necessary, in order to his being tempted, without which he could not be so tempted. Therefore a man is not, nor can be tempted, in the sense here stated, by any thing that is, or can be done, antecedent to the existence of evil, or lust, in his heart. For the temptation applies to his lust, and is suited to excite sinful exercises, or lead men into sin. It is easy to see that God does not so tempt any man; and that his foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass, and executing his decrees in ordering and governing all the actions of men, does not imply this. All that God does is infinitely wise and holy. And he does not exhibit any thing to the view of men, or set any thing before them, in his word or works, in false colors, or that has any tendency to deceive them, or draw them into sin, but every thing which he suggests to them in his word and providence has a contrary tendency, and is perfect truth. And if men view objects in a wrong and false light, it is wholly owing to their lusts, by which the light and truth which God sets before them is perverted and abused.

QUESTION. Have not those who have been called Calvinists, and have professed their belief of the doctrine of the decrees of God, that he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, denied the divine agency in the existence of moral evil, while they hold that God decreed to permit it? And is not this way of representing the matter safest and best, to avoid the charge of making God the author of sin? And others who hold that God is the cause of every act and volition of the sinner have distinguished, and said that he is the cause of them, as natural actions and events, or so far as they are natural, but not of the moral depravity of them, that this is wholly from the sinner, and he alone is the cause of it. Is not this distinction proper and necessary, in order to avoid the above imputation?

ANS. 1. It has been observed, that Calvin, and the assembly of divines at Westminster, assert that the divine decree and agency, respecting the existence of sin, imply more than a bare permission, viz., something positive and efficacious.* They, therefore, who hold to only a bare permission, do depart from those who have been properly called Calvinists; and do

* See p. 131, margin.

not agree with the confession of faith composed by said assembly of divines, or with those numerous churches and divines who do assent, or have assented, to that confession of faith, in England, Scotland, Ireland, and America.

Ans. 2. If by God's permitting sin be meant, that sin will exist, if God do not interpose and hinder the existence of it by a positive exertion, and he only forbears such exertion, and suffers it to take place, this involves a real absurdity and impossibility, as it supposes sin to exist without any proper cause, and wholly independent of the first cause. And if any one thing, or event, may come into existence, independent of the first cause, every existence may do so: too, and there is no need of a first cause of all, and the being of God cannot be proved, from any existence which men behold. But if it did not involve this impossibility, and any should think such an inference not just, it does really remove no supposed difficulty with respect to making God the origin of sin. For if sin could not exist without the will and decree of God to permit it, and nothing but a bare permission were necessary in order to its existence, yet God, in determining to permit it, willed the existence of it; and this necessarily implies his choice and pleasure that sin should exist, in every instance in which it does take place, and that he orders things so that, he permitting, it will certainly exist just as it does. And this implies the whole of the doctrine which has been advanced, as has been before observed. To decree to permit sin in the case supposed, is to will the existence of it. And this is liable to all the objections which can be made to the doctrine which has been advanced in this chapter, as making God the author of sin, etc. And nothing worse, or more, can be said against this doctrine, as it has been stated above, which has not been said against the assertion, which has been espoused by all Calvinists, viz., that God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass. This has always been loaded, by many, with the greatest opprobrium which they could invent, asserting that it is the most blasphemous, horrid doctrine that was ever thought of, making God the sole author of all the sin in the world; and most unreasonable and cruel, in punishing men or devils, who, according to this doctrine, are perfectly innocent and incapable of sinning, etc. And nothing will satisfy such objectors but to give up the doctrine of the divine decrees, and admit man to be and act so as to form his own moral character, independent of God, and in every sense contrary to his purpose and will, if it be sinful.

Ans. 3. The attempt to distinguish between the sinful volitions or actions of man, as natural and moral actions, and

making God the origin and cause of them, considered as natural actions, and men the cause and authors of the depravity and sin which is in them, is, it is believed, unintelligible, and has no consistent or real meaning, and gives no rational satisfaction to the inquiring mind; unless by making this distinction it be meant, that, in every sinful action, God is not the sinful cause of it, but all he determines and does respecting these is the exercise of holiness. And all the moral depravity and sin consists in the volitions and actions of men, and is their sin, and cannot be ascribed to God; men being as much the cause and authors of their own sins, as they could be if God had not done or determined any thing respecting them. And this is the doctrine which has been vindicated in this chapter. And is it not reasonable and candid to suppose that those worthy men who have made this distinction did really mean no more nor less than this?

On the whole, it is presumed there has nothing been advanced, as included in the doctrine of the decrees of God, which is not necessarily implied in his independence and supremacy, his infinite wisdom and goodness, or holiness, and man's necessary dependence on him, or that is inconsistent with the most perfect freedom of man, and his moral agency, and accountableness for all his moral exercises, and being justly blamable for every thing in him which is contrary to the holy law of God; — and that, consistent with this doctrine, as much depends on the will and conduct of men as if they were not dependent, if this were possible, and nothing had been done or determined, respecting their volitions and conduct, previous thereto; — and that their will and conduct is as much their own, and is as deserving of praise or blame, is as virtuous or vicious, as it could be, were they wholly independent; — and that there is nothing contained in this doctrine that makes God the author of sin, in any bad sense, and so as to impeach the divine holiness; — and that all this has been made evident. But if the contrary can be made to appear, this doctrine, with all that is implied in it, shall be given up and renounced.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. From what has been said on this high and important subject may be inferred the truth and divine original of the Holy Scriptures, in that the doctrine of the divine decrees is clearly revealed and so abundantly asserted therein; and the whole Bible is evidently formed on this plan. This doctrine is so agreeable to reason, and so essential to rational and con-

sistent conceptions of the character and perfections, the infinite felicity, and absolute independence and supremacy and dominion of the Most High, — and it is so desirable and important that infinite wisdom and goodness should dictate and form the plan of all existences and events, making one harmonious, absolutely perfect system, of all possible ones the wisest and the best, — that it might be reasonably expected a revelation from heaven would contain this doctrine in all its length and breadth, exhibiting it in a clear and incontestable light, and expressly or implicitly asserting the perfect consistency of it with every truth respecting the divine character and conduct, and the liberty and moral agency of man.

If this doctrine were not contained and asserted in divine revelation, it would be perfectly unaccountable. And if the Holy Scriptures were formed on a contrary plan, and in opposition to this doctrine, it would be an insuperable objection against them as coming from God. But when the children of wisdom see this contained in the Bible, they approve and are satisfied, and discern the divine stamp in this as well as in other things, and a perfect harmony and consistence through the whole.

It is true that many have supposed that, if this doctrine were in the Bible, it would be an unanswerable objection against the authenticity and divine original of it; and have thought they have been supporting the credit of divine revelation by attempting to explain away those passages in which it is most expressly asserted, and to put another meaning upon them. But what has been gained by these attempts? Has one professed deist been hereby brought to think more favorably of the Bible, or to believe this doctrine is not contained in it? Not one instance of this, it is presumed, can be produced. And have not impiety and infidelity prevailed most when and where the doctrine of the divine decrees, as above asserted and explained, has been most opposed and discarded?

All professed deists see the doctrine of the divine decrees, and the fixed certainty of all events, plainly asserted in the Bible; and some of them dislike this doctrine, and make it an argument that it is not a revelation from God. Others believe and embrace the doctrine, and hence infer, contrary to the Scriptures, that there is no such thing as liberty, moral agency, virtue or vice, and, therefore, dislike and oppose divine revelation as much as the other.

But, in the Bible, the doctrine of the divine decrees foreordaining whatsoever comes to pass, and the consistency of this with human liberty, moral agency, praise and blame, reward and punishment, is asserted; and he who well attends to this

will not only acquiesce and approve, but, in discerning the beauty and harmony of these truths, he will have evidence in his own mind that this is a revelation from God; as the corrupt heart of man, not guided by heavenly illumination, would not have represented the matter in this light. Thus what the wisdom of man, the wisdom of this world, calls folly, and rejects as such, the children of wisdom embrace as wiser than men, even the wisdom of God, and see and adore the finger of God in forming such a revelation.

2. This view of the divine decrees and operations tends to enlarge the mind in high and exalting thoughts of God, and leads to adore him as the first and the last, — the Almighty, who worketh all things by the counsel of his own will, — infinite in power and wisdom, doing what he pleases in heaven and on earth. And this view of the Deity tends to lead the mind of man to humbling views of himself as absolutely dependent on God in all respects, and as infinitely little and inconsiderable in comparison with God, and to see the reasonableness and importance of being devoted to him, — in seeking his glory as the supreme end. In this view, the words of St. Paul will be naturally suggested and espoused by the pious mind: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor? Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things. To whom be glory forever. Amen."

3. This doctrine is the only foundation, and a sufficient and ample one, for the support, comfort, and joy of the pious friends of God in the midst of all the darkness, sin, and misery that take place. "The Lord reigneth, let the people rejoice." Infinite wisdom and goodness, clothed with omnipotence, reign; and nothing takes place but what is important and necessary to accomplish the wisest and best end, the glory of God, and the greatest possible good. God will bring infinite good out of all the evil; and for this end he hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass. Was not this a most certain truth, and to be relied upon, the pious mind must sink in darkness in the view of the evil that takes place, and could find no relief. But here is a source of comfort and joy: since all things are ordered in the wisest and best manner, nothing could be added, or taken away, without rendering the divine plan less wise, perfect, and excellent.

It belongs to the infinitely wise, almighty Maker and Owner of all things, and Governor of all worlds, to order every event;

— especially the events of the moral world, and the moral actions of creatures, which are the most important. They must be determined and fixed by something, — by undesigning chance, or by ignorance or folly, or by infinite wisdom. He who is infinitely wise and almighty can do it in a way perfectly consistent with the liberty and moral agency of his creatures; and this being every way most desirable, and the contrary supposition infinitely dreadful, when the friends of God see this is done by him, and that his counsel, with respect to every event and all actions, stands forever, and the thoughts of his heart to all generations, they rest in this, and rejoice continually, and no man can take this comfort and joy from them. Though the earth be removed, or the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea, — whatever events, and however evil in themselves, take place, — yet they will not fear, but drink consolation at this river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God. "Let the righteous be glad; let them rejoice before God; yea, let them exceedingly rejoice." (Ps. lxviii. 3.)

4. This affords a solid, stable foundation for the most unreserved, implicit confidence and trust in God. He superintends in all things. He is in the heavens, and hath done whatsoever he pleased; he will accomplish his own ends, and cannot be disappointed. Therefore his friends may trust in him with the greatest assurance, that, whatever appearances there may be against it, he will accomplish his own ends, glorify himself, fulfil all his promises to his people, and make them most happy forever. "O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee." Therefore, —

5. This doctrine is suited to promote true piety and holiness; for this consists in loving God, in trusting and rejoicing in him and his government and works, acknowledging him in all our ways, in seeing his hand in all events, in submitting to him, and obeying him. This doctrine is so far from affording any just ground of encouragement to sin, that, so far as it is understood and cordially embraced, it forms the heart to hate sin and love the law of God, and to the most hearty, cheerful submission to his government. Experience proves this to be true, and the reason of it is very obvious. For they who see and approve of the wisdom of God in making all things for himself, and ordering all things, even the sins of men, for his own glory, must themselves desire and seek the glory of God; and this necessarily implies an approbation of the law of God, and a cordial submission and obedience to it.

6. Hence may be inferred the propriety and importance of preaching this doctrine, and of explaining and vindicating it, as it is revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

Some who believe it is revealed in the Bible, yet think it ought not to be preached or spoken of, as it is such a mysterious doctrine, and is so difficult and puzzling to many, and a stumbling block to them, rather than to their edification, and is liable to be misimproved to bad purposes.

But such must be under a great mistake. It is dishonorable to God and to the Bible, to suppose any truth which he has there revealed is of a bad tendency, and therefore ought not to be published; yea, it is implicitly denying that the Bible is from God, and taking sides with the deist. Besides, there is a contradiction and absurdity in the supposition that it is a truth, and yet has a bad tendency; for this is impossible in the nature of things. That which has a bad tendency, is error and falsehood; but truth has a direct contrary tendency and effect, wherever it is received.

It is true, this doctrine may be preached imprudently, it may be represented in a partial and improper light, and so that the hearers will not understand it. No one can be justified for preaching this, or any other truth, in such a manner. But this is rather a reason why it should, with all other important truths, be thoroughly and fully preached, so that they who are disposed to attend, and willing to understand, may have opportunity to be instructed. It is, doubtless, better, if there can be a better in the case, not to preach it at all than to do it to the halves, just mentioning it sometimes; for this is not the way to have it understood, but tends to raise prejudices against it. But the best and only wise way is, to preach it, and explain it clearly and fully, and give persons opportunity, more privately, to propose any objections they may have, that they may be removed.

And parents ought to be able and willing to teach it to their children; to explain it and show them the reason of it, and the evidence there is in the Scripture of the truth of it. And though they might not fully understand it in early age, yet a foundation would be hereby laid for their making improvement in understanding as they advance in years. It is not so difficult a doctrine as many imagine, who, perhaps, never understood it themselves, through strong prejudices which they imbibed before they were well instructed in it. A child of twelve or fourteen years old, who is carefully instructed, and will attend, is capable of understanding and seeing the evidence and reasonableness of this doctrine, which must be believed as an important article of the Christian faith, where the Bible is well understood; however it be now, and has been, rejected by many, with the greatest contempt, boldness, and assurance.

CHAPTER V.

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY OF MAN.

God began to execute his infinitely wise and good plan, which he had formed and fixed by his unchangeable purpose and decree, in the work of creation. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Heaven and earth comprehend the whole creation, both that which is visible and invisible to man.

This is said to be in the beginning, to denote that creation, or every thing that is created, had a beginning, in opposition to being eternal, or without a beginning, and because time and succession of existence then began; there being no other beginning of existence but this, and therefore no beginning before this; there being nothing before creation but the Creator, whose existence is without beginning.

The creation is great, extensive, and manifold, and vastly exceeds our knowledge and comprehension; but God spake the whole into existence, from nothing, with infinite ease. He said, "Let it be, and it was. He spake, and it was done: He commanded, and it stood fast." The invisible heaven, which probably is intended when St. Paul speaks of the third heaven, and is called by Solomon, "the heaven of heavens," was in this beginning created, and formed for the peculiar residence of God, who is said to have established his throne in the heavens, to be and dwell there, and the place where angels dwell; their creation being comprehended in the creation of heaven. And this is the heaven to which the redeemed will be received after the day of judgment, which our Savior says was "prepared for them from the foundation of the world." This heaven and the angels were created then; but before this lower world was formed, and brought into order. Therefore, it is represented by God, that when he created this earth, the angels were spectators of the work; for these are the morning stars and the sons of God, who are said to sing together and shout for joy, when the earth was formed. (Job xxxviii. 4, 7.) God was pleased to create innumerable hosts of intelligent beings, with strong powers of mind, and large capacities, to be spectators of his works, and attend to the numerous worlds and creatures, as they rose into existence and order; and behold and admire infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, manifested herein, and rejoice, adore, and praise the Creator.

We have no knowledge of the existence of any other rational

creatures besides angels and men; and, therefore, we have no reason to conclude there are any other. Men may suppose there are many other ranks or kinds of rational creatures; but this, at most, is but mere conjecture. The supposition that there are no more, seems to have a more solid foundation; viz., that divine revelation makes no mention of any such, which it is reasonable to suppose it would, if there were any; since all rational creatures, under the same moral government, must have some connection and concern with each other.

The angels are often brought into view in the Holy Scriptures, and they are represented as having a particular concern and interest in the future general judgment. Were there any other moral agents, they would have an equal concern in this judgment, and be members of the same society and kingdom of God with the holy angels, and the redeemed from among men, or share in the punishment of the wicked; therefore, it is reasonable to suppose their existence, and some circumstances relating to them, would have been revealed, had there been any such creatures. The silence of the Scriptures, on this head, is a sufficient reason to conclude, that angels and men are the only moral agents in the created universe; or, at least, not to conclude there are any such, and to be silent about them.

If it should be said, that the supposition of innumerable ranks of rational creatures, beside angels and men, represents God's moral kingdom vastly more grand and glorious than if there were none but the latter; it may be observed, that we are not competent judges of the number which will best answer the ends of infinite wisdom. There must be some bounds set to the number of rational creatures; and how many soever are included in this number, there would be equal reason to suppose it would be better, and render the kingdom of God still more grand and glorious, to have innumerable myriads added to the number, as there is to suppose it would be better there should be more than angels and men. Therefore, there is certainly no reason for such a supposition.

There are "an innumerable company of angels," even when numbers, beyond our reckoning or conception, are left in sin and ruin. And who can have any adequate conception of the number of the human race, including all who have existed, and all who shall yet exist, before the end of the world? No man has any reason to think or suppose that this number of intelligent moral agents, far beyond his conception, is not exactly sufficient, in the view of him whose understanding and wisdom are infinite, to answer all the ends of his moral government, and to render his eternal kingdom most complete, happy, and glorious.

The number and magnitude of the various bodies, worlds, and systems in the material universe, which we behold or can imagine, do not render it certain, or in the least degree probable, that they are all, or any of them, inhabited by rational creatures. If we were certain that the fixed stars are all like the sun in our system, which give light and heat to as many vast bodies or worlds as our sun does, and no more, and that there are innumerable stars or suns of this kind invisible to us; yet all these, and as many more as the most enlarged mind can imagine, may be no more nor greater than is proper and necessary to answer the ends which infinite wisdom has in view, with respect to angels and men. It is certain no man can determine they are not all necessary to answer the best ends, though there be no other ranks of rational creatures.

God was able, and could as easily create the whole world, and all creatures and things therein, and put them in the best form and most perfect order at once, in the first moment of their existence, as to do it gradually, and by a progressive work; but the writings of Moses inform us, that he was pleased to be six days in creating the world and finishing this stupendous work. And we are particularly told in what manner and order this work was carried on, until the whole was finished. We may be sure there were wise and important ends to be answered by creating in this manner, and taking up the time of six days, and no more, in this work, though we were not able to discover or imagine what they are. But we are not left wholly in the dark with respect to this. It is evident from Scripture, that the natural world is so adapted to the moral, that the former is a representation or emblem of the latter; and that there is a designed analogy of the natural to the moral. This appears in that, in innumerable instances, reference is had to things in the natural world, and use is made of them to represent and illustrate those of a moral kind, in the Holy Scriptures.

The darkness and chaotic state in which the materials of which the world was to be made lay and were found, it being *tohu bohu*, without form and void, or emptiness, confusion and vanity, is a striking emblem of the moral state in which man is found, as the subject of redemption, from which a most perfect, beautiful, and glorious kingdom is to be formed, which is, therefore, called a new creation, the new heavens and the new earth. Mankind are, in consequence of the first apostasy, in a state of moral confusion, disorder, and darkness; of total ruin, emptiness, and vanity. Redemption or the new creation, the kingdom of Christ, is formed out of these materials, and, when brought to perfection, will be a most bright

and glorious monument of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; and will so vastly exceed the first creation in importance, duration, worth, beauty, and glory, that the former work will be forgotten, and not be worthy of mention in comparison with the latter. This is the representation given of it in the Scriptures, particularly by the prophet Isaiah, (chap. lxv. 17, 18,) "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth. And the former shall not be remembered, nor come into the mind. But be you glad and rejoice forever in that which I create; for behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy." This is further explained by the apostles Peter and John. (2 Pet. iii. 13. Rev. xxi. 1.) Peter, speaking of the dissolution of the old or first heavens and earth, says, "Nevertheless, we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." By the last words he fixes his meaning of new heavens and a new earth. It is that society or moral kingdom wherein dwelleth righteousness, — that is, the holy church and kingdom of Christ, consisting in moral excellency, righteousness, or holiness. John says, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away." He then proceeds to describe the new heaven and the new earth: "And I, John, saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." This is the new heaven and the new earth, even the new Jerusalem, the holy city, wherein dwelleth righteousness, that is, the church and kingdom of Christ, formed out of the moral chaos of disorder, confusion and darkness, in which he found mankind, and adorned with righteousness or true holiness. None who attend can be insensible that this passage is parallel with that in Isaiah, quoted above, and explains the meaning of the new heavens and new earth, and of Jerusalem mentioned there. In both places, Jerusalem and the new heavens and new earth are evidently put for the same thing; and the new Jerusalem is certainly the church of Christ, or the work of redemption, with all the appendages of it.

The gradual increase and advance of light and order, in creating and forming the natural material world, is analogous to the increase of light and order in the moral world, particularly in the work of redemption, and an emblem of it. This light began to dawn directly after the fall of man, and has been increasing ever since; and will continue to increase, till the Sun of righteousness (the sun of the moral world, the Lord and Savior, who is the light of the world, and of whom the natural sun is an emblem) shall arise upon all nations,

with healing in his beams, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea; when the church shall arise and put on her morally beautiful garments, and shine in the beauty of holiness. And the darkness in the natural world preceding light, and night preceding day, is a representation of what takes place in the church, and will, in some degree, continue till the consummation of all things. Darkness, affliction, and trouble, the fruit of the original universal moral disorder, do take place in a sort of periodical succession, which is followed with a greater or less degree of light, peace, and comfort, until all evil shall be banished from the church forever, and there shall be no more night there.

As God was six days in forming the natural world, in bringing it into the order which he designed, and furnishing it with the various sorts of inhabitants, and then rested on the seventh day; this was a designed emblem of the moral world, or of redemption, pointing out the length of time that it would take to bring that to such a state of order and beauty as was intended, a day being put for the period of a thousand years. During the space of six thousand years Christ is carrying on the work of redemption, and forming his church and kingdom, out of the chaotic mass of mankind, to a state of order and beauty, through various revolutions and conflicts; when it shall be brought to a state of rest and peace, and the seventh thousand years of the world shall be a day of rest, when "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High;" and the church shall put on her beautiful garments, prepared as a bride is adorned for her husband. And the Lord her God will rejoice over her with joy; He will rest in his love, and will joy over her with singing.

Moreover, by working six days, and resting from his work on the seventh, and consequently sanctifying that, and setting it apart as a day of rest for man, he set an example, and made an institution for man which was useful, important, and necessary for the best good of man, and the promotion of his designs respecting his moral kingdom.*

According to the Scriptures, there have not yet been six thousand years since the creation. And there are a variety of facts and arguments which prove the world cannot be much older than it is represented to be in sacred history, which

* No evidence can be produced that this seventh day from the beginning of creation is not that which is now the first day of the week; and the contrary, perhaps, may be supported by satisfactory evidence; and some astronomers assert that this can be demonstrated by astronomical calculations. But this will be more particularly considered in the sequel.

have been mentioned by many writers. And there are no appearance or facts which give the least evidence of the contrary.

It has been asked, why the world was not created sooner; why it would not have been wiser and better to have had it created so much sooner, or before it was created, as to have every thing ready for the day of judgment by this time; yea, so as to have had all the blessed in the enjoyment of complete happiness for millions of ages already. For this would have been so much clear gain of happiness, which is really lost, and never can be enjoyed, because the world was created so late.

It may be observed upon this, — 1. That this question can never be satisfied, so that it might not still be asked with as much reason and propriety as it is now asked; and, therefore, it must be an improper and unreasonable question. If the world had now existed ten thousand ages instead of six thousand years, and were this possible, still the question might be asked, with as much apparent reason as now, Why it had not been created so early, as now to have existed ten millions of ages instead of ten thousand? and so on without end. That question or demand, which in the nature of things cannot be answered or satisfied, on any supposition whatsoever, is unreasonable, and ought never to be made.

2. This question is inconsistent and absurd, and can really have no meaning. Antecedent to the beginning of time, there could be no succession from one minute or hour to another; for minutes and hours relate only to time. There was no before or after, sooner or later. Antecedent to the creation of the world, there was no existence but the Creator, who only exists without beginning to exist, and, therefore, without succession. There is no such thing or idea to answer the words, before or after, sooner or later, with respect to him and his existence. These are relative terms, and denote ideas that relate to time, and, therefore, cannot be used with propriety to denote any thing antecedent to creation; because no such thing can be predicated of absolute eternity, which has no relation to time and succession. Therefore, it may be with truth asserted, that the world could not be created *sooner* than it was, or *before* it was actually created. Because there was no succession, and, therefore, nothing sooner or later, before or after, antecedent to creation.

And when it is asked, Why the world was not created so early, that from the creation to the present time, as many millions of years should have passed as there have thousands? there is an impropriety in the question, in the use of the word

early, because there was no such thing as early or late, antecedent to the creation, and, therefore, this is altogether inapplicable to eternity, and is a word, when used in this case, without any idea or meaning; or if any idea be affixed to it, or conveyed by it, it is a false and delusive one, or not agreeable to the truth, as has been just before proved. But if the word early were allowed to be proper, it may upon this be observed, that the world could not be created so soon, or so early, but that there must be a time when there have been just so many years from the creation to that time, as there have actually been since the world was created to this time. And whenever that time had come, and the world had been created but six thousand years, the question might be asked, Why the world was not created before, so that millions of years should have passed by that time, instead of six thousand? And on that supposition, this question would be as proper and reasonable as it is now. And, therefore, it may always be asked, and never can be satisfied. Consequently, it is an unreasonable, absurd question, as has been shown.

Besides, the querist may be asked, since, though the world were created ever so early, even as soon as it was possible it could be created, yet there must be a time when it had existed just so many years as it has now actually existed, how does he know that he does not live in that very time, and that the world was created as early as his question demands? yea, as soon as it could be created and have a beginning?

He who attends to this will, doubtless, perceive how unreasonable and absurd it is to suppose that the creation might have been sooner or later, or that there might now have been more or a less number of years since the creation, than there have been by creating the world sooner or later than it was actually created; and, therefore, that there is no propriety or sense in the question which has been considered. And, perhaps, it may be thought needless to introduce it here, and say so much, or even any thing, by way of answer.

It has been a question, when, or at what time of the year, the world was created, and time began? The general opinion has been that the world was made, and time began, at or about the autumnal equinox. It is reasonable to suppose that the fruits of the earth, necessary for the support and convenience of man, were all ready for his use when he was created, and, therefore, that the trees, etc., were created with their fruit in maturity, which they have since constantly produced at that time of the year; which, in the climate in which Adam was created, is in the latter end of our September or beginning of October. And there is this greater evidence that time began

at that time of the year, viz., that all nations began their years at that time ; and Abraham and his descendants did so, until they left the land of Egypt, when God ordered them to begin their religious year at the vernal equinox, which takes place in our March. Yet even then, and after that, they continued to begin their civil year at the autumnal equinox, as other nations did. This is evident from the beginning of the seventh month, reckoning from the beginning of their ecclesiastical year, being said to be in the end of the year; that is, when the year past had ended, and another year was begun. (Ex. xxiii. 15, 16.) " Thou shalt keep the feast of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labors out of the field."

When God had created the world, and furnished the earth in a manner suited for the habitation of man, he created Adam, and then formed Eve out of one of his ribs, last of all, in the end of the sixth day. The particular manner of making Eve expressed the near and intimate union which was to take place between the sexes, and their mutual relation and dependence, together with the superiority of the man to the woman. These two were so formed, that the whole human race was contained and formed in them, and to be propagated from them ; so that in creating these two parents of mankind, and commanding them to multiply and fill the earth, all mankind were created. And as, in creating them, he made the whole human race, and they comprehended the whole, so there was a propriety in treating them as if they were the whole, in his transactions with them, and what he said to them ; in this, having respect to all their posterity, and comprehending them as much as if they had then actually existed. As in forming the trees and plants, with the seeds in them, according to their kind, by which they were to propagate the same kind to the end of the world, he created and really gave existence and form to all the trees and plants that grow out of the earth, — they being all comprehended in the original stock, and existing after their several kinds, by the same command which formed the first of the kind, and under the same regulations and laws of nature, — so in creating the original stock, the first parents of mankind, with power, and under a command to propagate their kind, God created all their posterity ; and by forming them, formed the whole, after their kind. And what he did for, and with them, he did for all, and they, with all their race, were put under the same regulations and laws ; and what he said to these parents of mankind, he said to them and their posterity.

Man was made superior to all other creatures on the earth, being created with a rational soul capable of understanding things

of a moral nature, and acting voluntarily from moral motives; by which he was placed in the moral world, being made capable of moral government; of being under a moral law, and of obedience or disobedience to it; and of reward or punishment, according to his moral exercises and conduct. And he was made in the moral image of God, with a good discerning taste or disposition, or rectitude of mind, and will, or heart; by which he was perfectly conformed to the rule of his duty, or the moral law, which is the same with conformity to the moral character of God. This is to be made in the image of God, and after his likeness, in the highest and most proper sense, and to exist in the most excellent manner, and must be implied in the expression, "Let us make man in our image, and after our likeness." And in the assertion, "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him." Though that which is less perfect and excellent may be implied in this, viz., his natural faculties and endowments, of understanding and will, and his being made lord of this earth, having dominion over all inferior creatures on earth and in the sea. The moral image of God must be implied and particularly intended, as it is asserted without any limitation or restriction to the natural image of God; and to be in his moral image is, unspeakably, the greatest, most important, and excellent, and without which his natural abilities, and dominion over all other creatures, would be worse than nothing. But were there any doubt about the meaning, St. Paul puts it beyond dispute in giving the true and important sense of the image of God, (Eph. iv. 23, 24:) "And be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God (that is, after his image or likeness) is created in righteousness and true holiness." (Col. iii. 10:) "And have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him." This is parallel with the passage cited from the epistle to the Ephesians, and therefore by knowledge here is meant that true discerning which implies holiness, and which Christ says is eternal life, even to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ. Therefore, according to St. Paul, to be created after the image or likeness of God is to be made truly holy, or to put on his moral image. To the same purpose he says, (2 Cor. iii. 18,) "But we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord are changed into the same image." The glory of the Lord is his holiness; therefore, to be changed into the same image is to be made like God in holiness.

Man was not only put at the head of this world, this earth, in which he was made, and all creatures and things in it, which were all made for him, but the whole creation was

made with reference to him, and in a sense for him; so that he is the end of all, under God, and next to him. It has been observed, that the material or natural creation, however large we may suppose it to be, and even though it may exceed our imagination, was made with reference to the moral world, and for the sake of that, and that angels and men are most probably the only moral agents which were created, and that God's moral eternal kingdom will consist of these only. For the sake of these, then, the worlds were made; they are the end of all God's works, next to himself, who is the ultimate end of all, for God hath made all things for himself. He made the material, natural world for angels and men, to promote his designs concerning them; and he made them, who are the end of all his other works, for himself.

And though man in his natural powers and capacities, and in his situation and circumstances, was first made lower than the angels, and in many respects inferior to them, yet we learn from the Scriptures that he is more an ultimate end in the creation than the angels, or that the angels were made for man, and not man for the angels. We may know the particular end for which God makes any creature or thing by the use to which he puts it, or the end which he makes it to answer. And the Scripture teaches us that the angels are improved to answer God's ends, respecting man, and that he uses them all in the service of man. (Heb. i. 14.) "Are they (the angels) not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation?" It appears from divine revelation, that God designed to answer his ultimate end of the creation chiefly, and in the most eminent degree, by man, and therefore all other creatures and things are subordinated to him, and made to answer the divine purposes with respect to him, even the angels, the highest and most noble order of beings that were created. The human race were the peculiar favorites of Heaven. The most important and glorious ends were designed to be answered by them. The redeemed from among men, the church, is the bride, the Lamb's wife; is to be raised in dignity and glory, far above the angels, to sit with Christ in heaven, and reign with him in a peculiar union to him, as the members of which he is the head; while the angels are represented as standing round about the redeemed, waiting upon them and ministering unto them. The Son of God took not on him the nature of angels, but of man, and has hereby laid a foundation to raise the redeemed, who were originally made below the angels, and by sin had sunk infinitely low in unworthiness, guilt, and wretchedness, far above the angels in honor, glory, and happiness. And hereby

is made the brightest and most glorious eternal display of infinite power, wisdom, goodness, justice, mercy, grace, truth, and faithfulness, in which God is glorified to the highest degree that is conceivable or even possible. Into these things, therefore, the angels desire to look. They are all attention to man, and the wonderful, glorious scene that is opened respecting him; and by the church of Christ, and the wonders of redemption, are made known unto them the manifold wisdom of God. Therefore, the angels, with all other things visible and invisible, were made for Christ, considered in the capacity and character of the Redeemer and Savior of the church. "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in the earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, principalities, or powers; all things were created by him, and for him." (Col. i. 16.) Therefore when he came into the world to redeem his church by his obedience and death, all the angels of God received command to worship him, that is, to submit and devote themselves to him, to wait upon and serve him in the work and business which he came into the world to perform in favor of mankind. Accordingly, a multitude of those heavenly hosts attended upon him when he first appeared in the world, and worshipped him, and were with gladness and joy his messengers to carry the good tidings of his incarnation to men. And they waited upon him, and ministered to him, while he was tempted of the devil, and labored and suffered in this world; and when he rose from the grave, they were present to serve him, and to tell the good news to his friends. And when he ascended into heaven, all the angels accompanied him with veneration and joy; rejoicing in his exaltation and glory, when he sat down on the right hand of God, and they were all made subject unto him, voluntarily giving themselves to him, to be the willing instruments in promoting his cause and work in the salvation of sinners, rejoicing in the conversion of the elect, and cheerfully serving and ministering to the heirs of salvation. Therefore, because the angels were made for man, and are the devoted servants of Christ in his work of redemption, and of the redeemed, constantly waiting upon them, and ministering to them, Christ, speaking of the redeemed, calls the angels their angels.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. The view we have now taken of the creation of the world, though a very partial, imperfect one, is sufficient to im-

press our minds with a belief, and assurance of the being of God, and of his power, greatness, wisdom, and goodness, the marks and evidences of which are every where to be seen in the things which are made. The existence of the world, and of all things around us which we behold, and our own existence, and the manner of it, are a demonstration, constantly held before our eyes, of the existence of an invisible Being, who has power and wisdom enough to contrive and produce all these things in their order and harmony, and so as to supply the wants and promote the happiness of the sensible part of the creation; and that this Being exists independent, necessarily, and therefore without beginning, absolutely and infinitely perfect, happy and glorious. And the more we attend to the creation, and examine the great works, the sun, moon, and stars, or this globe on which we live, and the various ranks of creatures which come under our notice, the more clear and striking will be the evidence of design, and of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Creator. And we ought hereby to be led sensibly to say with the Psalmist, "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all; the earth is full of thy riches." And may well join with the four and twenty elders, "Saying, thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created."

2. From what has been observed concerning the creation of man, his endowments and circumstances, we are led particularly to reflect upon the goodness of God to him, in making a world for him, every way furnished for his convenience and happiness; in forming him for the moral world, by giving him understanding and moral liberty; in acting voluntarily in the view of moral motives, thus making him a moral agent, capable of virtue, or vice, of reward, or punishment; and therefore immortal, giving him an existence never to end. He made him lord of the world in which he was placed, giving him dominion over all the creatures in the earth and sea. He formed him in his own image, after his likeness, a perfectly holy creature, which is the highest excellence in the universe, by which he was united to his Creator in perfect love and friendship, enjoying a sweet and happy intercourse and intimacy with him.

In this happy state all mankind were created and placed, for, as has been observed, all the posterity of Adam were included in him, and what was done for him was done for all. And we ought to consider ourselves as originally placed in the happy state in which Adam was created. And if Adam was

under obligation to exercise peculiar gratitude to his Maker for his wonderful goodness to him, we are to consider ourselves under the same obligation to gratitude for creating goodness, and view all the kindness conferred on our first parents in their creation as conferred on all their posterity. And if the apostasy of Adam, by which he fell from this happy state, and plunged into unspeakable wretchedness, did not dissolve his obligation to gratitude for the happy state in which he was at first placed, and the goodness of God to him herein, as it certainly did not, then, notwithstanding his and our sin has rendered us miserable, we are not for this reason under the less obligation to gratitude for the goodness of God to us in our creation, and the happy state in which he placed mankind, in which Adam and all his race would have continued forever, had they not fallen from it, by rebellion against their Creator.

3. We are hence led to see and reflect upon the magnitude and aggravation of the crime of the first rebellion of man against God. Man's obligations were every way infinitely great to love and obey his Creator. The greatness, excellence, and infinite worthiness of God brought an infinite obligation on man to love and obey him. His deriving his being wholly from God, and the consequent absolute propriety and right God had to him, increased his obligation to devote all he was, and all he had, to him — to his honor and service; and his particular and great goodness to man unspeakably increased his obligations to obedience, love, and gratitude. And, as it was his supreme happiness to love, serve, and enjoy God, — and in this way, only, he could secure to himself and his posterity perfect and eternal felicity, and by refusing to do this must bring upon himself the infinite displeasure of his Maker, and sink into complete and eternal woe, with all his posterity, — this brought an immense addition of obligation on him to love and obedience.*

* It has been thought, by some, that to suppose every sin which men commit against God is an infinite evil, or a crime infinitely great, is to make every sin of equal magnitude, and that, according to this, one crime cannot be greater and more aggravated than another. And this objection may arise in the minds of some readers, when they attend to this representation of the many aggravations of sin by which the crime of it is increased, while it is, at the same time, asserted that every sin is infinitely criminal, as it is committed against God.

All this may be easily obviated, only by observing that every sin, and the deserved punishment of it, may be infinite in one respect, and yet some sins, and the just punishment of them, be unspeakably greater than others, — there being, in other respects, a great difference. Two cords, or cylinders, may be considered as extended in length without end, or to be infinitely long, or of equal extension in length, and yet differ greatly in their diameters, and, in this respect, have vastly different degrees of magnitude. Two men may be in pain, and yet one of them may suffer an unspeakably greater degree of pain than the

What finite mind can measure or comprehend the greatness, the aggravations, of the crime, in man's violating all these obligations by rising in rebellion against his Creator and owner, and ungratefully abusing his infinite goodness to him? Surely, the crime of this is unmeasurable by man or angels! We must pronounce it boundless, or infinite, which can, therefore, be comprehended by God alone, who has proclaimed the infinitude of it by threatening it with infinite evil, — even endless misery.

CHAPTER VI.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE IN GENERAL.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE consists in preserving, directing, and governing all creatures and things which are made, or in taking the most wise and effectual care of them, so as to make them answer the end for which they are created.

God preserves or upholds all things by his powerful word, — by the constant exertion of the same power by which they were at first created, or caused to exist. Every created thing is constantly and entirely dependent on the Creator for continuance in existence. Should that power which first caused it to exist be withdrawn, or cease to be exerted one moment, it would have no existence; it would cease to exist, and sink into its original nothing. It is impossible that a creature should be made so as to exist one moment, in any respect or degree, independent of the Creator; it must be as really and as much dependent on him for continuance in existence, as for its first existence. Therefore, preservation is a constant exertion of the same power which first produced the existence of the creature, in causing or giving continual existence, and is really continued creation.

Every part of creation, and each creature and thing in it, from the greatest down to the least, is not only constantly upheld by the exertion of the same power which first gave existence, but is, in all respects, continually under the direction, and governing power, and care of the Creator in every change as to the place or manner of existence, and every motion by which God orders, disposes, and uses every thing in

other; and, if the pain of each were continued without end, he who suffers the least would be doomed to infinite evil; yet the other must suffer evil, unspeakably greater, every minute.

his creation to accomplish his own infinitely wise and important designs. As God created all things for himself, in order to accomplish his own designs, being formed according to his pleasure, so he uses every thing so as, in the wisest and best manner, to answer the end for which it was designed. If any the least thing were not so directed and used as to answer the end designed, it would be created in vain, which is inconsistent with the wisdom and goodness of the Creator. God governs the world, and all things in it, by stated and fixed laws, or rules, which are called the laws or the course of nature, by which all motions and events take place in a certain order, and constant series and connection of cause and effect. But this law, or course of nature, is nothing but divine power and wisdom constantly exerted to cause things to take place in such a stated way and manner, — or, the divine will establishing such an order in events, — and does not suppose any power in creatures, or any created thing, to cause such motions and events, aside from the immediate exertion of divine power, which is the proper, efficient cause of every event; so that all power is in God, and all creatures which act, or move, exist and move, or are moved, in and by him.

This fixed law and course of nature, which, as has been observed, is nothing but the divine will wisely determined to operate in a certain, steady, fixed manner, by way of cause and effect, — the same cause generally producing the same effect, — is necessary in order to man's gaining any proper knowledge of things around him, and obtaining any prudence and wisdom with regard to the objects with which he is concerned, and by which he is to regulate his conduct, form his plans and prospects, and to excite his hopes, fears, and exertions. Were there no settled order and fixed connection in things and events, there would be no foundation for all this, but man would be involved in total darkness and uncertainty, without any knowledge and wisdom to conduct any of his affairs, or any motive to action in matters relating to his body. And, in this established order and connection in the visible creation, not only the power, but the wisdom and steady counsel, the goodness, truth, and faithfulness of him who worketh all things by the counsel of his own will, are constantly manifested to man, — which is asserted in the sacred writings.

When this stated course of events, or these laws of nature, are interrupted and visibly counteracted, and events take place in a contrary manner, these events are called miracles; though there is no more power necessary, or really exerted and manifested in these, than there is in producing events according to

the ordinary course of things. No more power is necessary, or manifested, in causing the sun to stand still, or move from west to east, than there is in causing it to keep a steady, uninterrupted course from east to west. The former would be a miracle; the latter is not. The Governor of the world may, and does, for wise reasons and to answer important ends, thus visibly counteract the general course of things and events; and that on such occasions, and in those instances and ways, as not to frustrate the general and important ends to be answered by the steady course of things which he has established. And in how many instances, among the inconceivable number and variety of events which take place, they are brought about and caused to exist, just at such a time and in such a manner, not according to any stated law or course of things, no man can tell; as the agent, by whose constant energy all things are conducted, is invisible to us, and may act immediately, or by the instrumentality of invisible agents; and yet this may be done so as not visibly to counteract the stated laws or course of nature, or be the least obstruction to the exercise of human wisdom and prudence in every thing in which men are concerned. No one can doubt of this, who will carefully attend to the matter, and observe the representation of it in the Holy Scriptures. All such instances, be they ever so many, may be called miracles, though invisible to man, being out of the reach of our perception, as they are of the same nature and kind with those instances above mentioned, in which what is called the course of nature is visibly, or to our senses, counteracted, and events take place contrary to it, which we call miracles.

This care and providence of God, in directing and governing all creatures and things, is universal, and constant, respecting all things at all times, and is extended to the least as well as the greatest and more important existence, and is concerned in every event, however minute, and in our view inconsiderable. Not a sparrow, or the least bird or insect, falls to the ground, or dies, without the direction and agency of God. The hairs of our head are all carefully numbered, and so many and not one more are ordered to exist, and not one is removed or broken, without the order and operation of the divine hand. And this is equally true of every hair on men and beasts, and of each leaf in the forest, or spire of grass on the earth that ever have existed, or will exist, to the end of the world.

In the exercise of this divine providence, some events take place by the more immediate energy and agency of God, and others by the instrumentality and agency of creatures, and by

various mediums, and what are called second causes. But in all the events of the latter kind, the divine hand, power, and energy is as really and as much concerned and exerted, and is really as evident, and as much to be acknowledged, as if no instrument, agent, or second cause were used, or had any concern in the matter. Because the creature or the instrument, has no power to act or effect any thing, independent of God, or which is not given to him by God; and is in the hand of God, as the axe or saw is in the hand of the workman. This is the light in which divine revelation every where represents the providence of God, as every one who carefully attends to it must be sensible. And what has been observed shows that this is perfectly consonant to reason, and that a different and contrary idea of divine Providence is insupportable and inconsistent.*

IMPROVEMENT.

1. From this scriptural view of divine Providence, it appears that they are in a great and dangerous error who believe and assert that the creation and all creatures, when once made, have power to subsist of themselves, and stand alone by their own power, given to them in their creation, and to continue in motion and action, independent of any immediate exertion of divine energy to support and direct them; that creation and creatures, once made and put in order, go on in a regular course of their own accord, and that God does never interpose, or take any further care of the works of his hand. Every one who has attended to the Bible must be sensible that such a notion is very inconsistent with that; and it is most unreasonable, as it supposes that which is impossible, viz., that the creature may subsist of itself, when once made, in a measure independent of the Creator. This is contrary to all true philosophy, and at the same time dishonorable to God, as if he did not take a particular and wise care of the things he has made, and exercise and manifest his power, wisdom, and goodness, in preserving and governing the world and all things in it. And it tends to suppress and even eradicate all true piety, by leading to conceive of the Creator as at a distance, and in a great measure out of sight, and as it obliterates a sense of our immediate dependence on God, and encourages self-dependence. In a word, it makes too much

* That such a divine Providence as is here described and asserted, which is rational, and every where supposed and held up to view in the Bible, is perfectly consistent with the moral agency and liberty of man, appears from a foregoing chapter on the decrees of God.

of creatures, and raises them infinitely too high, by which the Creator and Governor of the world is concealed and hid, whereas in a right view of divine Providence, every creature and all events exhibit Deity to view, as constantly present in every thing, in the exercise of omniscience, power, wisdom, rectitude, and goodness, and unite to impress that sense of the divine Being on the mind, and lead to that acknowledgment of him, in which all true piety most essentially consists.

2 We are, therefore, in the next place, led to observe, that the true philosophical and scriptural account of divine Providence opens the most ample field for the exercise of piety and religion, as it leads us to see God in all things, and in every event, to fear him, trust in him, and acknowledge him in all our ways, feeling our immediate, constant, absolute dependence upon him. This leads us to hear him speaking important truths, in an intelligible language, by all creatures and things with which we are surrounded, and in all events; which calls for answerable exercises of prayer, acknowledgments, thanksgiving and praise, and a constant glorifying him, in whose hand is our breath and all our ways. Of such exercises and expressions of piety we have many examples in the Holy Scriptures, which, at the same time, appear perfectly rational.

3. Hence we learn the reasonableness and duty of a cheerful submission to God, and acquiescence in the events which take place under his direction and providence. Not to submit is to oppose God and his will, and to resist infinite wisdom and goodness. Every event that takes place is under the immediate direction of unerring wisdom and goodness, and ordered for the greatest good, to promote the most important and best ends, and is, therefore, so far from being the reasonable ground of any reluctance and regret in us, that we ought not only barely to submit, but to acquiesce with pleasure, and rejoice that God reigns, and hath done, and continues to do, whatsoever he pleaseth, and worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will.

4. How safe and happy are they who put their trust in God! He who directs and governs all things, and orders every event, who is infinitely above all control, on whom all things entirely depend, who does whatsoever he pleases in heaven and among the children of men on earth; — He is engaged by repeated promises to them, that no evil shall come near them to hurt them, but that every thing shall work together for their good. If God be thus for them, who or what can be against them? The Lord reigneth, let them who trust

in him always rejoice. Well may they say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea. Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof." "O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee!"

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD, AS IT RESPECTS MORAL AGENTS, ANGELS, AND MEN.

SECTION I.

Divine Providence, as it respects the Angels.

As moral agents are the highest and most noble and important part of the creation, they are the end of all the rest, and all the inferior creatures and things were made, and are preserved and governed, for the sake of these, who are the subjects of moral government, which is by far the most excellent and important. Of these, we know of none but angels and men; and it has been observed, that we have no evidence that there are any other creatures in the created universe capable of moral government. We know nothing of the existence, number, capacity, or employment of angels, but what we learn from divine revelation. We are there informed, that in their original formation they were made a higher rank of beings than man, and with greater natural capacities, that their number is very great, that they were made perfectly holy, and under law to God, otherwise there would have been no foundation for the fall and ruin of any of them, by disobedience and sin, which we are told has been in fact the case. And were they not at first holy, there could have been no apostasy by rebellion, or by leaving their first state.

But that they were under moral government, we may be certain, from the reason and nature of the case. They being made rational creatures and moral agents, and so capable of moral government, must be under such a government, in order to be treated properly, or according to their nature and capaci-

ty. A moral law is essential to moral government; requiring of rational creatures those exercises and that conduct of which they are capable, and which are reasonable and proper. We are not expressly told what this law was, as it relates to angels, and what was particularly required of them. But we can be at no great loss about the general requirement of it. They must be under obligation, from the first of their existence, to love God with all their hearts, and their fellow-creatures as themselves. This, therefore, was required of them. The law they were under must require this, as it was the rule of their duty; and, therefore, must require the whole of their duty. This law did not, strictly speaking, make it their duty to exercise and express this love; but required and commanded it, because it was their duty. And it could require no more, this being the whole of their duty; unless it were to point out in particular instances in what way they should exercise and express this love to God, and to other creatures, by express positive injunctions and prohibitions. How many, or whether any of these, or if there were any, in the law given to angels, we are not particularly and expressly informed.

In order to this being a complete law, or having the nature of a law, so as to exercise and maintain moral government, there must be a penalty expressed or implied, theatening evil to disobedience to the precept; for if the creature be exposed to no evil by disregarding the command, more than by obeying, he cannot be said to be under any moral government: nor does God express or exercise any authority, as moral Governor, if he neither inflicts nor threatens evil to the transgressor. And if it be a perfect law, and a perfect government, as God's law and government certainly are, the evil or punishment threatened must be exactly proportioned to the crime or the desert of the transgressor. And as the transgression of the law of God must be a crime proportioned in its magnitude to the creature's obligation to obedience, and this obligation is great in proportion to the excellence, dignity, and authority of God, which are all infinite, it follows, as certain and clear as any mathematical demonstration, that such a crime is infinitely great, and therefore deserves a punishment which is infinitely great and dreadful, that is, an endless punishment.

We therefore have sufficient light and evidence to determine, that the angels were under a law requiring them to love God with all their hearts, and their fellow-creatures as themselves; and to yield perfect obedience to every positive command which God had given, or should give to them; and threatening them with infinite evil, even endless destruction and misery, for the least single instance of disobedience. For no

less than this was their duty, and, therefore, God must require it of them; and the least transgression or neglect of coming up to their duty could deserve no less than complete and endless evil, and therefore God must threaten it; or this must be the penalty of his perfect law.

That the angels were under such a law, with such a penalty, is yet further evident, if possible, from known fact which has taken place. Some of the angels have sinned by transgressing this law; and for one, the first transgression, they have fallen into endless destruction. For, St. Peter says, "God spared not the angels that sinned; but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." And our Savior tells us what will be their doom at the day of judgment; and that they will then be cast into everlasting fire, which is prepared for them. We, therefore, know by this, had we no light from any other quarter, that the angels were under a law, requiring perfect obedience, and threatening every act of disobedience with endless destruction. The experiment has been actually made, and every one that sinned, that was guilty of the least deviation from perfect obedience to the law, (for every such deviation is sin,) has perished, has fallen into a state of endless misery. Therefore every transgression of the divine law, every sin, deserves endless punishment, and this is the only proper penalty of such a law.

The threatening of infinite evil to disobedience seems to imply a promise of good or happiness to obedience; or, at least, a continuance of existence in a state of happiness, so long as the creature continues obedient. For though annihilation be not a positive evil, yet it must appear to a happy creature, enjoying the pleasure of obedience and of the favor of God, and having an ardent desire to serve and glorify him, to be an unspeakably great evil, though it be a negative one, to have his existence taken away, and be forever deprived of all his happiness by annihilation. This would be to him a real and great punishment. And we have good reason to believe, that, to annihilate such a creature, is not agreeable to infinite wisdom, rectitude, and goodness, and, therefore, that God never will do it; but we may be certain that every moral agent shall continue in existence and happiness, and enjoy the favor of God, so long as he continues in obedience, and that this is implied in the threatening. For a threatening to inflict evil on the disobedient, necessarily implies that he will not inflict any on the obedient, even the negative evil of ceasing to exist. And, indeed, the innocent and obedient must be considered as having a right to impunity. Hence, by the way,

it appears that moral agents must and will exist without end; as this is necessary, in order to the proper exercise of moral government, and their being the proper subjects of such government. For the moral law, which is essential to moral government, must threaten infinite evil to all who disobey it. Therefore, the disobedient must exist forever, in order to suffer the evil threatened, and which they deserve. And those who never disobey can never cease to exist, consistent with the wisdom, rectitude, and goodness of the Lawgiver and Governor.

It may be further observed, that there is reason to conclude that the best and most perfect moral government is not consistent with moral agents' being continued in a state of trial without end, so as to be continually exposed to fall by sin, and always remain in a total uncertainty, whether they shall persevere in obedience, or fall into endless perdition by transgression. That there should be a time for such trial, is certainly proper and necessary to answer the best ends in moral government. How long this time shall be, and with what particular circumstances it is best it should be attended, the infinitely wise and sovereign Governor only is able and has a right to determine. It is also certain that God is not so obliged, in justice to the obedient creature, to confirm him in holiness and happiness, after the longest term of obedience, that he would do any injury or wrong to him if he should not grant this favor. For the creature can never merit or deserve such a reward by any obedience whatsoever, so that eternal life should be a debt due to him for what he has done. The creature, by giving all he has, that is, by perfect and constant obedience to the law of God, gives no more than he constantly owes to God, or only just pays a debt which is due, and therefore continually demanded of him. Therefore, he can have no demand on his Maker of any positive reward, or of any thing which is due to him.

But notwithstanding all this, considering how undesirable it must be to the obedient creature to be always in suspense, knowing himself in danger every moment of falling into sin and eternal ruin, and that he depends wholly upon God for preservation from this evil, and that he is under no obligation to grant it; and, on the contrary, considering how very desirable and pleasing it must be to such a creature to arrive to a state of certainty that he shall never fall into sin and misery, being confirmed by God in a state of perfect holiness and happiness forever; and considering what a strong motive and great encouragement to obedience it would afford to the creature, for God to promise him, that upon his continuance in obedience for a set time, which he will fix, he shall be confirmed in his

favor, in holiness and happiness forever, without any possibility of falling into sin and ruin; and since such a promise, on such a condition, would be a striking manifestation of God's love of virtue and holiness, in that he grants so great a reward of the obedience of his creatures, and an expression of his bountiful munificence and infinite goodness; — considering all this, and more that might be mentioned, is there not reason to conclude that such a promise is essential to the best and most perfect moral government; and that this promise is always implied or expressed in God's law, under which all moral agents are originally placed, and which threatens infinite evil to the transgressor? Such a law or constitution, with such requirements, promises, and threatenings, may be called a covenant, in which what is required of the creature is stated and fixed; and the rule and manner of God's conduct towards him, and treatment of him, is also revealed and established.

That the angels were under such a constitution, law, or covenant, which not only threatened endless punishment to the disobedient, but promised a confirmation in holiness and happiness upon their continuing obedient through a certain time of trial, and that this time of trial is long since over, is evident from Scripture, in that they were in the apostles' days called *elect angels*, which denotes their being fixed in holiness and the favor of God; or, that they had a sure title to eternal life. And the endless torment of the wicked is represented as being in the presence or sight of the holy angels, which supposes, at least, that they will be holy and happy without end.

How long the time of trial was before they were confirmed who continued obedient, and what was the special test and trial of their obedience, if there were any, and what was the particular temptation and sin of those who fell into rebellion and ruin, we are not expressly informed in divine revelation. Yet, perhaps, it will appear that we are not left wholly in the dark respecting these particulars, if we attend to the following things, some of which seem to be suggested from the Holy Scriptures, and are here offered as being probable.

It has been observed, that it appears from Scripture, that man is more an ultimate end than the angels; that angels were made to answer ends respecting man, and, in this sense, were made for man; and that this appears from the use which God makes of the angels, in giving and subjecting them all to Christ, as the Redeemer of man, to be improved by him as instruments of promoting his designs in the redemption of sinners, and to minister to and serve the redeemed from among mankind, and that they were, therefore, created for Christ, considered as God, Man, Mediator, and Redeemer of

sinners, and are his angels, to be used by him in carrying on his great designs in the redemption of his church.

May we not infer from this, that when the angels and man were made, the angels were, in some way, made to know that God had peculiar and grand designs to answer by man; that, though mankind were made so much inferior to them, yet they were to be the peculiar favorites of Heaven; and that one of that race in the human nature, even a Man, should be the head of a most glorious kingdom, and be the Lord of angels, to whom they must yield a most ready obedience, being employed by him in ministering to and serving his friends and subjects of the human race; that this was one end for which they were made; and that their cheerfully complying with the revealed will of God in this matter, and submitting to this person as their Lord, and serving him, and his friends of the human race, should be the particular test of their obedience and faithfulness; and if they did cordially acquiesce in this design, and persevere in obedience to this revelation and command through the time of their trial, they should be confirmed in holiness and happiness forever? As this now appears to have been God's design respecting the angels, and that he made them for this end, and as this was doubtless the greatest trial, whether they would be obedient in all things, is it not reasonable to suppose that so much of this divine scheme was revealed to the angels as was necessary to give them opportunity voluntarily to consent and acquiesce in it, and cheerfully devote themselves to this service?

This revelation and injunction of the Most High, made known in a degree and manner agreeable to infinite wisdom, was most probably the occasion of the rebellion of those angels who sinned; they disapproved, and refused to comply with it. Lucifer, who was at the head of all the angels, — the highest and most noble creature that God had made, — was displeased with such a plan. Pride entered his heart, and he was not willing — he refused — to obey this command, and stoop so low as to become a servant to the inferior, diminutive creature, man, and be subjected to serve and adore one in the human nature as his lord and king. This immediately sunk him down from his high station; and, by his example and influence, myriads of angels went off, and joined with him in rebellion. Thus they by sin left their first station, and were banished from heaven, and by the arm of the Almighty were cast down to hell.

This, perhaps, will, in the most natural way, account for the head of these fallen angels immediately entering upon a plan to seduce and ruin man by tempting him to sin as he

had done, supposing that he should hereby effectually defeat God's revealed designs respecting him, against which he had rebelled. And this may, also, in the best manner, account for his opposing, with all his cunning and might, and by all his servants and angels, the redemption and salvation of men, and his hating and opposing the Redeemer, and attempting to defeat him in his designs in every possible way, and to destroy every one of the human race, — being a peculiar enemy to the church and all the friends of Christ. To all this he is naturally led by his first sin, and is only persevering in opposing that against which he rose in his first rebellion.

This apostasy, whatever was the occasion of it, was a very important event indeed, — the consequences of which will continue to eternity. It, with many of its consequences, are, in themselves considered, infinitely dreadful. But the designs of the Most High are not in the least frustrated [illegible], but his counsel and plan are hereby established; and this was necessary to bring to effect and complete his infinitely wise purposes.

It has been observed that there is evidence from Scripture that the angels who have not sinned are now, and have been, long since, in a confirmed state. And from what has been now supposed, concerning the special trial of their obedience, it has been thought that they continued in a state of trial until the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that they were then confirmed in holiness and his favor. They were obedient to the divine orders, and all attention to man, — particularly to the church and people of God, willingly ministering to them, and serving them and their Lord from the fall of man to the incarnation of the Son of God. But their greatest trial did not take place until he who was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God, took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, being born of a poor virgin, and laid an infant in a manger, — when he appeared as an outcast in the wilderness, assaulted and tempted by the devil, — when he lived a poor despised man, and was finally apprehended, being betrayed by one of his disciples into the hands of men, and condemned as a malefactor, and crucified, and buried in a tomb. In this time, while the Son of God was in this state of humiliation, the angels continued to own him as their Lord; they attended upon him constantly, and were his willing, faithful servants. They attended him when in a manger, and with pleasure carried the joyful news of his birth to the shepherds, and the whole multitude of them sang praises on the occasion. They were with him when in the wilderness, assaulted by Satan, and

ministered to him. They assisted and strengthened him when he was in an agony in the garden. And when on the cross, and in the grave, they were his constant attendants, and proclaimed his resurrection from the dead to his disciples. And when he ascended from earth to heaven, and sat down on the throne of the universe, all these mighty angels came down and attended upon him, and ascended with him with joy, and added to the triumph and splendor of that event. And when they saw him seated in glory, all heaven was filled with a joy which never was known there before; and all these angels renewedly devoted themselves to the service of Christ and his church, and were made voluntarily subject unto him. Then, it is supposed probable, Christ their Lord said unto them, "Well done, good and faithful servants, you have been faithful to me through the time of my and your greatest trial, and have persevered in the most willing and cheerful obedience; I, therefore, now put an end to your state of trial, and publicly confirm you in holiness and happiness, and confer on you the reward of eternal life." And as their election of God to eternal life was now made known, they are after this, but not before, called "elect angels."

Section II.

The Providence of God, as it respects Man in a State of Innocency.

Man being made upright, or perfectly holy, this necessarily supposes a rule of right, or that there was a right and wrong in moral character and conduct; and that God did, and could not but require or command that which is morally right, and forbid the contrary; or, in other words, that man was under moral government, which supposes a law requiring perfect obedience of him or his whole duty, and forbidding all disobedience, on pain of suffering the just desert of it. What has been observed in the foregoing section of angels, respecting the nature of the moral government, and the law under which they were,* is equally applicable to man; and proves that he was certainly and necessarily under such a law, which required him to love God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself, and to express this in all proper ways, and to obey every precept which God should give him; with a penalty annexed, threatening every instance of disobedience with a punishment exactly answerable to the crime, which must be endless suffering. So

* Pages 169, 170, 171.

much is certainly essential to moral government, and necessary in order to man's being treated as a moral agent by his Creator.

We have, indeed, no particular account of this law, or history of man's being put under this moral government, in the inspired narrative which Moses has given of the primitive state of innocency. And there is this very good reason to be given for it, viz., because it was entirely needless. The most express narrative of this matter would not have made it more plain and certain than it now is. There is now as great and as clear evidence of it as there is that man was created with a capacity for moral agency, and is a proper subject of moral government, as has been proved. But if this were not so evident from the nature of the case, it might be demonstrated from what has been since revealed. St. Paul, speaking of the law under which all mankind are, asserts the tenor of it in these words: "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all the things which are written in the book of the law, to do them." (Gal. iii. 10.) This law must have existed before man sinned, and while he had opportunity and was in a capacity to continue to do every thing required by it; for if man, when in these circumstances, was not under this law, with this sanction, and bound by it, there could be no reason or propriety in making this requirement on such a penalty, when man had already violated it, and rendered it impossible to come up to, or do, what is required, — which the apostle says is the case with all mankind, since the original apostasy, — for they are all under the curse of this law. It necessarily follows, therefore, that man was originally made under this law when in a state of innocency, which denounced a curse upon him, if he failed of perfect obedience. This curse implies in it all the evil that man is capable of suffering, even endless destruction; and will take place in its fulness, and without any abatement, on those to whom Christ, at the day of judgment, will say, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." We must look forward to this time, to see it completely executed. This, then, we may be sure, is the penalty of the law, under which man was placed, when he became a subject of moral government; which is also true of angels, as has been proved in the preceding section. So far, therefore, we go on sure ground. No particular express revelation could make it more evident and certain; therefore, we may see good reason why we have no such revelation.

It has been observed, that the sum of duty required in the moral law is *love;* — to love God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. This we are sure of from the express declaration of Christ. (Matt. xxii. 37, 40.) He has reduced

the whole moral law to this, and said, that "on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." This includes and enjoins obedience to all special or positive directions and commands, which God may be pleased to give at any time; for love to God implies obedience to all his particular commands, as disregard to any of his injunctions is contrary to love to him. How many, and what particular and positive commands God gave to man when he was at first created and in a state of innocency, we are not told. But some of them are expressed, or may be collected from what is related. A Sabbath was instituted; God blessed and sanctified the seventh day from the beginning of the creation, which Christ says "was made for man;" and, therefore, he must have been commanded to keep it holy, or dedicate it to sacred uses in the worship of God, etc., laying aside the business and employment which might be attended on other days. God instituted marriage, and, consequently, all the duties peculiar to such a relation; and commanded man to multiply and fill the earth, and subdue and cultivate it. He gave him authority and dominion over all inferior creatures; which is a command to exercise government and dominion over them, and use them for his convenience and profit. But it appears from another direction that he was forbid to kill and eat them for sustenance; and probably was not allowed to put an end to the life of any animal, on any occasion. The direction or command mentioned is in the following words: "And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat." Thus they were commanded to live on vegetables, and had no license to eat animal food; but a prohibition of this is implied. He was ordered into the garden of Eden, and commanded to dress and to keep it. He was allowed to eat of every tree of the garden except one; and he was commanded not to eat of that, upon the severest penalty. "And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die."

We cannot justly infer, from this prohibition or command only being mentioned, that man was not prohibited the violation of the moral law, in every instance, upon the same penalty; or that there were no other positive commands given to him, guarded with an equally severe threatening, in case of disobedience; or that this prohibition was the only test of his obedience; or that, if he had violated any other command, it

would not have been attended with equally fatal consequences. The contrary has been proved above, by which it is very evident, it is presumed, to all who will properly consider the matter, that they who have supposed any of those things have no reasonable foundation for what they have believed and asserted. This positive prohibition, with the threatened penalty, is thus particularly mentioned, for two very good reasons: First, because it was a positive prohibition or command, and, therefore, it could not have been known that man was forbidden to eat of that particular tree, unless it had been thus particularly narrated. Secondly, because man actually fell from his innocence and happiness, and incurred the threatened penalty by disregarding this prohibition, and eating of the fruit of this forbidden tree. Had he sinned by transgressing any other positive command, which we know nothing of now, that, in this case, would have been as particularly mentioned, with the same penalty, as this now is, and we should have heard nothing of this in a history so concise as that which Moses was inspired to give, in which not a word is mentioned which was not necessary, in order to understand the important story; leaving many things implied in the history to be investigated or inferred from what is written, or to be further opened and explained in some future revelation.

It has been a great question, What this threatening imports? What is meant by the *death* here threatened to disobedience? Those who have attempted to answer it, have done it very differently. Some have been confident that it intends only the death of the body, or the separation of soul and body, to which all men are now condemned; to which Adam, and in him all his posterity, was sentenced, after man had transgressed: "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Others suppose that a total annihilation of soul and body is intended, so that if the threatening had been executed without any mitigation or remedy, Adam and Eve would have been annihilated, and none of their posterity would have had actual existence. Others have thought that by dying is meant their becoming totally corrupt or sinful, — "dead in trespasses and sins," — which is denominated spiritual death. The most general and common opinion has been, that it includes the death of the body, which is called temporal death, and spiritual death, and also eternal death, or endless misery; or, as it is commonly expressed, "death temporal, spiritual, and eternal."

Instead of attempting directly to confute all, or any of these different opinions, or to vindicate any one of them, it is thought the most likely and easy way to get satisfactory evidence of the real and true meaning of this threatening, de-

nounced against man, if he transgressed the divine prohibition, is, to endeavor to find some clew which will lead us into it, so as to give all desirable evidence and satisfaction that we have fixed on the truth. Perhaps such an one may be investigated. In this view, the following things must be observed, and carefully examined and put together.

I. Every transgression of God's law or command is a crime of such magnitude, that no punishment is adequate and answerable to it, so as to express the turpitude and ill desert of the sinner, but that which contains infinite evil. Or every violation of the law of God is infinitely criminal, is an infinite moral evil, and, therefore, deserves a punishment infinitely great and dreadful, and which contains infinite natural evil. This has been brought into view above, and the evidence of it exhibited, so that it is needless to say much upon it here. That all sin against God is infinitely criminal, every one must grant, or be inconsistent with himself, who will allow that it is a greater crime for a child to abuse his kind, excellent father, than to injure the meanest servant in the family, and that the former deserves a much greater punishment than the latter. For by allowing this, he grants that the crime of abusing another is greater or less, according to the degree of worth and excellency of him who is injured, and to the relation in which he stands to him. And this is granting that to injure and abuse a Being of infinite greatness, authority, dignity, worth, and excellence, who, in the highest sense, is our father, friend, and benefactor, must be infinitely criminal. But this is true of every sin against God. Therefore, every sin against God, which is an injury and abuse offered to him, is a crime of infinite magnitude; consequently, the sinner must be punished with infinite evil, if he has his desert.

Again, if it be evident and certain that every criminal deserves all that punishment or natural evil which his criminal deed tends to produce, or would certainly follow, were it not prevented by some other person or counteracting power, which, it is presumed, all will allow, then every transgression of the divine law deserves infinite evil. Upon this ground a number of the laws given by Moses are founded, and cannot be proved to be just, if this be not admitted as a truth. It was commanded that if a man injured his neighbor, and brought any evil upon him, by depriving him of his life, limbs, or senses, he should be punished, by suffering the same, or as great evil. "Thine eye shall have no pity, but life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot." (Deut. xix. 21.) And it is to be observed, that not only he who actually did evil to another, and took away his

life or any of his limbs, but he who attempted or aimed to do this, and did that which tended to effect it, though it did not actually take place, but was prevented, was himself to be punished with the evil which he willed and designed to bring on his neighbor. (Deut. xix. 16–21.) By the same rule, if a man should murder a thousand men, or will and design to do it, he would deserve to die a thousand deaths, or lose a thousand lives; and this punishment might justly be inflicted, were he capable of suffering it, or had so many lives to lose.

Now, according to this, as has just been asserted, every transgression of the divine law deserves infinite evil. For every instance of opposition to God, which every sin is, is an attempt to destroy his being, or to take away his happiness, and make him infinitely miserable; to put an end to his government, and introduce universal confusion and misery through the whole creation; and the rebel would be glad to effect all this, and would do it, were it in his power. Therefore he deserves to suffer infinite evil, even all the evil which he is capable of suffering.

If any proposition relating to things of a moral nature be capable of the clearest demonstration, this is such a one. And this is a chief corner-stone in the science of theology. Whatever is properly built upon it must stand, and every proposition naturally and necessarily following from it, or that can evidently be deduced, must be a truth.

II. It is essential to a perfect, moral government, that there be a law, pointing out and requiring what is right, and the duty of the subject, and threatening all transgression of it with a punishment exactly answerable to the crime.

This has been considered before, and, it is hoped, has been made so evident and certain, that every one who examines it with care and impartiality will be satisfied that it is an important truth. However, in addition to what has been said in support of this proposition, the following things may have weight.

1. If there could be a law and any proper moral government without a penalty threatening punishment to the transgressor, (which, as it has been observed, is impossible,) yet it could not be so good and perfect a law and government as that which threatens punishment to the disobedient, and by which the transgressor is exposed to suffer some evil at least. This appears so evident in itself at first view, and is so demonstrably certain, from the many threatenings of punishment to transgressors in divine revelation, that there is no need of attempting to adduce further evidence. If threatenings of evil

to transgressors were not necessary in the most perfect government, they could not be found in the divine laws and government, nor could that threatening which we are now considering have been made to man.

2. It is necessary in order to the most perfect government, not only that there should be a penalty, or a law threatening evil to the transgressor, but that the threatened evil should be neither more nor less than the crime deserves.

If the evil threatened be greater than the crime deserves, the law would be unjust. If it be less than the demerit of the transgressor, the ends of a threatened penalty will be wholly, or in a measure, defeated; and, therefore, the law and government will be proportionably imperfect and defective. This will appear by considering what are the principal ends to be answered by threatening punishment.

One end is, to deter the subject from transgressing the law, and prevent rebellion. Now, it is easy to see that a greater and more dreadful punishment is better suited to answer this end than a less, if it be not greater than the crime deserves. Therefore, so far as this end is regarded in threatening a penalty, it will require it to be as great as the sin deserves; and if a law threatens a less punishment, it is so far defective, and not suited in the best manner to answer this end of a threatened penalty; which cannot be supposed of the divine law and government, because that is in all respects absolutely perfect.

Another end of the threatening is, to state and express the evil nature of sin, and show how great the crime is, in the estimation of the legislator. The perceptive part of the law does not determine the ill desert of the transgressor. This is to be seen only in the penalty threatened. This determines how criminal sin is, in the sight of God, and what evil it deserves as a punishment. In this view, it is necessary that the punishment threatened should be as great, and contain as much evil, as sin deserves, and be exactly proportioned to it. By this, the law becomes the standard of truth, while it declares not only what is sin, but how sinful or criminal it is. It is with reference to this that St. Paul says, "that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful." In these words he has particular respect to the penalty of the law or punishment threatened, by which he was slain, and death was wrought in him, even the death threatened to every transgressor, of which he speaks in the words immediately preceding. Sin becomes exceeding sinful, that is, appears to be criminal, beyond expression, by the infinite evil which the law threatens, as the proper desert of it. In this view, to threaten a less

punishment would be deviating from the truth, and tend to deceive; or, at least, one important end of the divine law and government could not be answered.

We, therefore, have the greatest assurance that the law of God threatens a punishment exactly proportioned to the desert of sin.

Another end to be answered in the divine government, by the penalty of the law, is to express the sacred authority and worthiness of the Most High, and the desert of sin and rebellion against him. The binding authority of a law, and of the lawgiver, is expressed in the threatening only; and in order to there being an expression of infinite authority, the evil threatened must be infinite; for where there is less authority and right to govern, a less evil may be threatened to disobedience, and executed; and this will be no expression of infinite authority. And the dignity, worthiness, and importance of the Legislator, and the greatness and ill desert of the crime of transgressing the law and despising him and his government, appear and are expressed in the punishment threatened to the transgressor. If treason against the king be threatened with no greater punishment than is an attempt upon the life of a common subject, this represents the former to be no greater a crime than the latter; and, instead of properly expressing the importance and dignity of the king, and the worth of his life, it degrades him, and sets him upon a level with all his subjects. The greater the evil is, which the threatening denounces against him who slights and opposes the supreme Legislator and his law and government, the more is his worth and excellence expressed, and the more fully is discovered and asserted the sacred importance and perfection of his law. Therefore, if the law do not threaten as great a punishment as the crime deserves, it will not assert the greatness of the crime, nor the real worthiness and importance of God and his law and government, but the contrary, and, therefore, must be a very imperfect, deficient law. From this it appears most certain that the infinitely distinguished and sacred authority, dignity, and worthiness of God, and importance and excellence of his government, and infinite greatness of the crime and ill desert of rebellion, cannot be properly, and in the most clear and striking manner, expressed and asserted, unless an infinitely great and distinguished evil be threatened to every transgression of the law, — an evil which no other legislator ought to threaten, or is able to inflict; and, therefore, not to threaten such evil, or to threaten one infinitely less, is undesirable and wrong, and cannot be supposed of an infinitely wise and perfect government. If God threatens and punishes, he must threaten

and punish like himself; and nothing short of infinite evil must be the threatened punishment.

Another end to be answered by the penalty of the divine law is to manifest and express the Legislator's infinite hatred and abhorrence of all moral evil, and how much he is displeased with the sinner. God is certainly infinitely displeased with sin, as it opposes his being and infinite felicity, and all the good of the universe, and tends to produce infinite mischief, — to involve the universe in total and eternal confusion and misery. His displeasure with sin, and hatred of it, must be as great as his love of holiness, and the infinite good of the universe. This is, therefore, essential to the divine character and perfection, in which his glory consists; and, consequently, it is desirable, and of infinite importance, that it should be manifested and expressed in the most clear and strongest manner in his moral government, and in his law, which is the foundation and rule of it. But this cannot be done by merely requiring obedience and forbidding sin. In order to the expression being as clear and strong as possible, God must threaten sin with a punishment equal to the greatness of the crime, and manifest a disposition to execute the threatening and inflict the punishment. To threaten sin with a less punishment than it deserves is so far from expressing a proper hatred of it, that it is, in a degree, favoring sin and the sinner. And not to threaten any punishment, or to threaten only that which is infinitely less than the crime deserves, is to manifest infinitely less displeasure with the sinner than God has, and which it becomes him to express; and it would be favoring the sinner infinitely too much, and discouraging and tending to prevent sin unspeakably less than is proper and necessary in a good and perfect government, — therefore, would be infinitely dishonorable to God and his government, — and one great and important end of threatening and punishing the transgressor would not be answered.

And now it must be left to the impartial, who will attentively consider what has been offered under this head, whether the evidence does not amount to a certainty, — even to a clear demonstration, — that, in the most perfect moral government of God, his law must threaten evil to the transgressor which is answerable to his crime, or, as great as he deserves.

III. The threatening under consideration — "For in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" — is the threatening of the divine law, and must be considered as annexed or belonging to every divine command, and expresses the punishment which every transgression deserves, and, therefore, is a threatening of infinite evil.

This appears from what has been observed, that there was nothing so special in this prohibition that could be a reason why it should be attended with a peculiar and distinguished threatening. This same death was the threatened evil, as the punishment of the transgression of any command or prohibition which was given to man; and it is mentioned with regard to this prohibition or command, because the penalty was incurred by transgressing this, and not because this was a penalty peculiar to this prohibition, which was not threatened for any other transgression, and would not have taken place on rebellion against any other command, whether moral or positive.

We have an absolute certainty of this, two ways.

1. From what has been proved under the observation preceding that now under consideration, viz., that in the best and most perfect government, — which the moral government of God certainly is, — the penalty threatened in the law to the transgressor of it must be as great an evil as the crime deserves. This prohibition, or command, was contained in the law given to man. It was the law of God; and, therefore, disobedience to it deserved as great a punishment as disobedience to other commands; and, indeed, offending in this one point was sinning against the whole law and every command in it. But every sin, every act of disobedience, deserves infinite evil; hence it follows, with the greatest certainty, that this is a threatening of a punishment which involves infinite evil — the just desert of every sin.

2. That the death here threatened implies and intends endless misery, we may be very certain, in that such an evil is intended by death and dying in other parts of divine revelation. This is always meant by death, or dying, when these words are used to denote the penalty of the divine law, or the punishment which impenitent sinners will suffer on whom the threatened penalty will fall without mitigation. Any one may know this who attends well to the Bible. How often are these words used in this sense by the prophet Ezekiel, in the third, eighteenth, and thirty-third chapters of his prophecy? It is there repeatedly said that the impenitent, wicked man shall "die," and "surely die," — the very words of the threatening under consideration; — which death the penitent shall escape. It must, therefore, mean the sufferings for his sins in a future state. Christ saith, he that eateth his flesh shall not die. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, If a man keep my saying, he shall never see death. Whosoever believeth in me shall never die." (John vi. 50; viii. 51; xi. 26.) Here, not to die does not mean there shall not be a separation between soul and body, — for none escape this, — but dying is put in oppo-

sition to eternal life, and, therefore, must mean eternal death, or endless punishment. St. Paul says, "The wages of sin is death." The wages of sin is the proper punishment of sin, or that which sin deserves. By this he fixes the meaning of the original threatening, and shows what is intended by death or dying, when threatened as the penalty of a divine law. And that by death here is meant eternal death, or endless punishment, is certain, because he puts it in opposition to eternal life. "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." (Rom. vi. 23.) He speaks of death in the preceding verses, as the end and consequence of sin, and puts it in opposition to life. He says, "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." (Rom. viii. 3.) Here he means by dying, perishing forever, in opposition to living forever; or endless misery, opposed to endless happiness. This fixes the meaning of dying, as the fruit, consequence, and wages of sin, and is the same threatening with that under consideration, in the same words, ye shall die. If there be need of any further confirmation of this point, it may be observed, that endless misery or infinite evil, the punishment which sin deserves, is expressly called death or dying. "But the fearful and unbelieving, etc., shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death." (Rev. xxi. 8.) What can be more certain than that the first threatening to man, if he sinned, "Thou shalt surely die," did express the proper penalty or wages due to sin, even endless misery, or infinite evil, since this is expressed often in other parts of Scripture in the same language, and more than once in the same words? If the Bible may be allowed to explain itself, the matter is clearly decided.

Must not every one who will attend to what has now been brought into view on this point, be left without a doubt about the meaning of the original threatening, "Thou shalt surely die"? Is it not as demonstrably certain that it is a threatening of all the evil that sin deserves, even endless punishment, which is the second death, as any proposition in theology is, or can be?

This point being established beyond all controversy, that the threatening made to man, if he eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, denounced the evil which sin deserves, and which was equally applicable to the transgression of any other precept, and, therefore, was a threatening of infinite evil, or complete and endless destruction, the following inferences necessarily follow, viz.:—

1. That temporal death or separation between soul and

body is not the whole or the chief of the evil contained in the threatening. This is not an infinite evil, but a very inconsiderable one, compared with what sin deserves. Therefore something infinitely more dreadful must be implied in the threatening, even that which in Scripture is called the second death, which is endless misery.

2. It further follows, that separation of soul and body is no part of the punishment threatened. The death threatened was quite of a different kind, and not only does not include, but necessarily excludes, separation of soul and body. Had the punishments taken place and been executed without any mitigation, or had there been no reprieve and redemption for man, this separation of soul and body could not have taken place; because the punishment deserved, and, therefore, the punishment threatened, was, evil to the whole man, or to the man made up of soul and body. This creature, consisting of body and soul, which were essential constituent parts of the man, was threatened, and if he sinned was to be punished, and not one part only, while the other is taken down and annihilated. Therefore, this could not take place, consistent with the full execution of the threatening. It is not so great an evil for the mind only to suffer, as it is to be miserable, or to suffer evil in body and soul. The man is capable of suffering unspeakable evil or pain in his body; therefore, this suffering must be included in the threatening. And this proves that separation of soul and body could not be the subject of a threatening, that is, could not be threatened. For this would not have been an evil, in that case, but a negative good, which cannot be the subject of a threatening, but rather of a promise; for evil only can be threatened, and not good, negative or positive. Separation of body and soul would have been a mitigation of punishment, and would have rendered man not capable of suffering so much as in body and soul united; therefore could not be threatened as a punishment, it being no part or kind of punishment, but the contrary. And, under that constitution under which the threatening was made, there was no provision for a reunion if a separation once took place; nor was it, indeed, possible there should be a reunion, if a separation was threatened as a punishment, and had the threatening been executed. Is it not hence evident, to a certainty, that separation of soul and body could not have taken place had man been punished for disobedience, according to the threatening; and, therefore, this was not included in the threatening, but, on the contrary, was necessarily excluded?

If any should say, as some, indeed, have said, that we learn what was intended by the threatening by the sentence that

was pronounced on man after he had transgressed, which was nothing worse than temporal death, the reply will be, That it is a great mistake to suppose that the body of man, being doomed to return to the dust, and the appointment of a separation between soul and body, is pronouncing a sentence upon him answerable to the threatening, as there is not the least evidence or appearance of this, but the contrary, in the account which is given of it, all taken together. When man had sinned, God appeared, and called him before him, and brought him to a confession of his sin. And then, instead of inflicting the threatened penalty upon him, he declared his design to reprieve him from the punishment threatened, and to exercise pardoning mercy, and promised a redemption by which Satan should be defeated in his design, in tempting man to rebel, in the following words to the serpent: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." God, having thus promised relief and redemption by the seed of the woman, proceeds to declare what shall take place in consequence of man's apostasy and the introduction of a Savior, viz.: That the ground should be cursed for his sake, and bring forth thorns and thistles, so that in the sweat of his face and in sorrow he should obtain and eat his bread, till his body should return to the ground from whence it was taken. That is, this should be an evil, sorrowful world to him, and he should leave this state and pass into the invisible world by a separation of soul and body, by the latter returning to its original dust.

This new constitution and appointment is introduced in consequence of the apostasy of man, and the promised redemption by Christ, wisely ordered to answer important ends in the new state of probation into which man was now brought, and, at the same time, to be a constant admonition to man that he was a sinner, and had hereby incurred the displeasure of his Maker, and of his desert of endless destruction, and the certainty of its coming upon him, unless he be interested in the benefits of redemption. And it was necessary it should take place, as the best way in which man should pass out of this state of probation into the invisible state, so as to continue that state invisible, where both the redeemed and those who die in their sins are lodged and remain until the general resurrection, when the body and soul shall be reunited, not to be separated again. And as this separation of soul and body, in which the latter becomes a ghastly, loathsome spectacle, and returns to corruption, and is a certain introduction to endless misery, the second death, to all who have no inter-

est in the Redeemer, it is a striking, visible emblem of endless destruction, and is connected with it to all who die ungodly; it has, therefore, obtained the name of death, though it be not death in the original sense of the word, eternal destruction being the only proper and real death of a moral agent, sinning against God. Therefore, this is called the second death, after separation of soul and body had obtained the name of death, and with reference to that.

And, as the body's returning to dust is no part of the death threatened, and is not the real and true death of a rational creature, it is frequently represented in Scripture not to be real death; but persons are represented as escaping death, and not dying, who are the subjects of this separation of soul and body, and do die in this sense. Thus, in the fore-mentioned chapters of the prophecy of Ezekiel, it is repeatedly said, that the penitent, obedient sinner shall not die. His body must return to dust, as do the bodies of the wicked, yet he should not die. Therefore, this is not death. It is not the death threatened to the wicked, nor the death which the righteous escape; therefore, not death in the original and most proper sense of the word.

Solomon says, "Righteousness delivereth from death. In the way of righteousness is life, and in the pathway thereof there is no death." But the bodies of the righteous return to dust. Therefore, this is not death. Our Savior speaks the same language, and says, "Whosoever believeth in me shall never die; shall not die, but live forever." Believing in him does not prevent their bodies returning to dust; therefore, this is not death; it is not the death threatened for sin, and is not the proper wages of it, and is not the death from which Christ came to deliver men; for there would have been no separation of soul and body, had he not undertaken to redeem man. He delivers from the second death, the only real death of a rational creature; which was, therefore, threatened to disobedience, and will take place, in its full meaning, after the day of judgment, of which the death of the body is but a shadow.

This leads to observe, as a further evidence that the separation of soul and body is no part of the curse threatened in the divine law, that when this curse or threatened punishment shall be executed on those who die in their sins, and are not redeemed, soul and body shall be united, and they shall be miserable forever, both in soul and body, in union. The proper and full execution of the threatening does not take place, but is suspended by reason of the redemption, which brings man into a state of probation, until that is finished. During this time the wicked, who by the death of the body go out of this world into the invisible state, are represented in

Scripture to be in prison, as criminals, waiting for the pronouncing and execution of the sentence against them, at the day of judgment; and then the threatening will be executed. We must therefore look there, to see what the curse of the law is, and what is meant by death when threatened as the proper punishment of sin; and this will assure us it is the second death, even that infinite evil included in the last sentence, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire."

Thus evident and certain it appears to be, that the law and constitution under which man was made knew not of separation of soul and body, nor did admit of it, and that the death with which he was threatened, if he failed of perfect obedience to every divine command, was endless punishment, in his whole person, soul and body; and that this separation of soul and body was introduced and took place, under a new dispensation of grace by a Redeemer, as peculiar to that, and to answer important ends respecting it, and when that is over and completed, this separation shall cease, and all mankind will be united to their bodies again, in which the redeemed shall be happy forever, and the wicked suffer the penalty of the law, in everlasting misery, in soul and body united. In short, the dissolution of the body could not take place, unless man had sinned, nor then, if the threatening had been executed without remedy, and unless a new dispensation of grace had been introduced, and man had been reprieved, and put into a new state of probation, under a Redeemer. Both these must take place, the sin and rebellion of man, and redemption by a Mediator, in order to separation of soul and body being proper, necessary, or possible, consistent with the divine law. They, therefore, must have been greatly mistaken, who have thought and asserted that this was all that was threatened in the divine law, or as the penalty of eating of the forbidden fruit. And they have made as real a mistake who have supposed that turning the body to dust is included in the threatening, or any part of it, since the contrary is evidently true, viz., that the threatening necessarily excludes it.

3. From what has been said on this subject, it may be inferred with the greatest certainty, that death in the original threatening does not mean annihilation, or an end to existence, as some have supposed. For this would be an infinitely less evil than sin deserves, which has been proved cannot be the penalty threatened in the divine law, because a good and perfect law must threaten a punishment equal to the crime in transgressing it. Besides, it has been shown that death and dying is never used in this sense, when it denotes

the punishment or proper wages of sin. And the second death, which evidently means the death threatened to Adam, is expressly said to consist in positive, sensible punishment or pain, which is perpetual and endless, where they rest not day or night, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up forever and ever.

4. It appears from what has been said, as well as from other considerations, that what is called spiritual death, a going into a course of total sinfulness and rebellion, is not the death threatened, when God said to man, "Thou shalt surely die."

This is evident, in that it cannot be the evil which sin deserves, or the proper punishment of it. A man may be wholly a rebel and totally sinful, or contrary to the law of God in all his exercises and conduct, and yet not be totally miserable. Of this we have evidence enough before our eyes. But rebellion deserves complete and endless misery, and must be therefore threatened, as has been proved. Besides, if going into a course of total rebellion were necessarily attended with complete and endless pain and misery, the punishment or the evil threatened is the attendant, natural evil, pain, and misery, and not the sin and rebellion itself.

This leads to observe, that sin and rebellion, or transgression of the divine law, cannot be the proper matter of a threatening, as a punishment of transgression, and the evil to be inflicted for it. For this is the evil or crime for which punishment is threatened, and not the punishment itself. This is the crime threatened with a punishment, and not the punishment threatened. Moral evil, or sin and rebellion, is always criminal in every instance and degree of it; and this deserves punishment, and this only can be punished. The punishment, therefore, cannot be sin itself, or moral evil; for to suppose this, is to confound the crime and punishment, as one and the same thing, and to threaten a crime with the commission of a crime. The proper and only punishment of sin, or moral evil, is natural evil, or pain and suffering; and this alone can be the proper matter of a threatening.

If sinning and rebellion be a punishment, then the first act of sin of which the man was guilty was a punishment, as really as any after acts; but this could not be a punishment, unless man was punished for his antecedent innocence, and therefore could not be threatened as a punishment. Besides, to threaten any one, that if he transgressed once, he should be left to his pleasure to go on in sin, and do nothing but sin, would be really no threatening, or a very improper one, and no more than to say, if he did sin, he should sin, and go on

to do that which should be most agreeable to him, and so long as he should choose to do so, and no longer. Punishment is suffering some evil, and which is an evil in his sight on whom it is inflicted, and in which he is passive. Therefore man cannot be properly punished by that in which he is not a patient, and really suffers nothing; but is altogether active in it, and chooses it as a good, in itself considered, which is true of every degree of sin. Therefore, in this view of it, it cannot be threatened as a punishment, for it really is none, as it has not the nature of a punishment.

God is said in Scripture, in several instances, to give men up to gratify their lusts and to strong delusion, and to walk in their own ways, (Ps. lxxxi. 12. Rom. i. 26. 2 Thess. ii. 11,) in consequence of their having chosen to rebel against him. But this is not threatened as a punishment, nor said to be such, and, for reasons just mentioned, we may be sure they are not to be considered as such, but only as instances of God's just and wise conduct, to answer important ends in his moral government. By the sins they commit who are thus abandoned to sin, they are prepared for punishment, and go on to it, but they are not the punishment itself; this consists in the destruction, the natural evil which they suffer for the sins which they are suffered and given up to commit. It is thus expressed by St. Paul: "For this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." And when he speaks of the heathen being given up by God to vile affections, and says that in this way "they received in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet," he is not to be understood to mean, that the exercise of these lusts, or their sinning as they did, was the recompense or punishment for their former sins; but this recompense consisted in the shame and disgrace, pain and misery, which were the proper, meet, and constituted attendants and consequence of their vile practices. Nor does he say that this natural evil or unhappiness, which in this life attended or followed their ways of sin, was the proper and adequate punishment of their crimes. For he goes on to observe, that they knew, or were under advantages to know, that the sins of which they were guilty deserved death, by which is meant neither temporal nor spiritual death; but eternal destruction, the second death, the death threatened, as the proper and full punishment of sin, when moral government was first instituted, and man was put under law. His words are: "Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the

same, but have pleasure in them that do them." (Rom. i. 32.) He proceeds in the next chapter to speak of that punishment of the sinner, which he here says is death, according to the revealed, known judgment of God. We are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth, against them which commit such things. "And thinkest thou, O man, who doest these things, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds. To them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, honor, and immortality — eternal life. But unto them that are contentious and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil." In these words he clearly, and in the most decisive manner, declares what that death is of which sinners are worthy, according to the judgment of God, and which will be inflicted on the finally impenitent. It consists in suffering the wrath of God, which shall be poured on the heads of the wicked after the day of judgment. And this indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, is set in opposition to eternal life, which the redeemed shall enjoy; therefore, must be without end. This death, therefore, is not temporal, nor spiritual death, nor annihilation, but endless existence in misery, suffering that evil which is the wages of sin, and is infinitely worse than non-existence.

If all natural evil, that is, unhappiness, pain, and suffering, could be separated from sin, and the sinner could have all the enjoyment and happiness he desires and seeks, in the way of sin, it would be no sensible punishment, and really no punishment at all to him; but, in his view, it would be a real good, perfectly agreeable to his desire and choice to be allowed to go on in sin, and the contrary would be the object of his greatest aversion, and the greatest evil to him. Therefore, there can be no propriety or reason in threatening him to give him up to walk in his own ways and do nothing but sin. This, indeed, could not be a threatening to him, but would be considered by him as a precious promise of good.

It will, perhaps, be said, that though living in sin be not an evil in the view of the sinner, but a desirable good, yet to innocent man, and in the perfect exercise of holiness, to whom this threatening was pronounced if he transgressed, sin appeared to be the greatest evil; and, therefore, nothing worse to him could be threatened than spiritual death, which consists wholly in sin.

Upon this it may be observed, that we cannot reasonably infer,

from this that spiritual death or sinning was threatened as the punishment of sin; because, for the reasons that have been given, there is an impropriety in such a threatening, as it is only a threatening that if he did sin, he should continue to sin if he chose it, and be left wholly at liberty to do as he pleased. And this is really no threatening, for it is no punishment to do and to have what we choose. But this is all that would be threatened in this case, that if he once chose to sin he should be suffered to sin hereafter without being counteracted or interrupted. Besides, the first sin was as great an evil to innocent, holy man, as any after sin, and the most dreadful, as it was connected with all after sin, and introduced it. There is the same reason, therefore, why the first transgression should be considered and threatened as a punishment which is given, that any after sin should be so considered and threatened. It will be said this could not be, as it was improper and impossible. But it may be said with as much reason that it was improper and really impossible to threaten any after sin, or any degree of it, as a punishment of the first sin, which appears from what has been said.

When the apostle Paul says, "sin revived, and I died," he does not mean what is called a spiritual death, for this consists in sin, or is sin itself; but Paul distinguishes the death he died from sin, and speaks of it as the effect of sin. Sin by the law slew him, and sin wrought and produced death, i. e., brought him under the curse of the law. He died, that is, found himself dead, being under the threatening and curse of that law which was given to Adam, and denounced death upon the transgressor, even eternal destruction. Is not the death originally threatened clearly stated by this apostle?

It is granted that in a few passages of Scripture those who are wholly inclined to sin, and so under the dominion of sin, are said to be dead; and the word death is, perhaps, sometimes used to denote such a state. But when these words are used in this sense, they are evidently used not to express the punishment of sin, and have no reference to the original threatening, or any thing of that kind. To be dead, in this sense, is always mentioned as a crime, and not as a punishment of any crime.

5. On the whole, it appears from what has been said on this question, respecting the death threatened to the disobedience of man, that it means a being separated from all natural good and happiness, unto all natural evil or misery; continuing in endless, miserable existence, suffering the just punishment of sin against God. This is to die, in the highest and most proper sense, and is the only death with which a rational, moral agent

can be threatened or punished, so as fully and properly to express the true desert of sin, and answer the ends of moral government.

This is the original and proper meaning of the word death, and of dying, and no other idea was affixed to it when the threatening was denounced to man; and he was doubtless made to understand it when the law was made known to him, if he needed any particular instruction in order to know the meaning of the threatening. And when the separation of soul and body, which took place after man had sinned and was restored to a new state of probation, was called death, to distinguish the death here threatened from that, it is called the second death, which is suspended, and will not take place till redemption is finished, and soul and body are restored to their original union by the general resurrection.

Having inquired and found what was the penalty threatened to the transgressor of the law under which man was made, it is now to be considered, whether any promise of reward was given to him if he continued perfectly obedient.

What has been said to prove that the angels had a time of trial of their obedience, and a promise of eternal life if they continued obedient through the time of trial,* is equally applicable to man, and as full a proof that the latter was not only secure in happiness and the favor of God so long as he continued obedient, but had a time of trial appointed him, with a promise that upon his persevering in obedience to the end of that time, he should be confirmed in holiness and the favor of God. But there is a particular and decisive evidence of this with respect to man, which we have not in the instance of the angels. This is the tree of life which was planted in the midst of the garden, and what is said of it. The name of this tree is significant, and points out the design and use of it. It was called the tree of life, because by partaking of the fruit of it man was to have eternal life confirmed to him, of which this was the appointed pledge or seal. This is made certain by what is said respecting it after man had transgressed, viz., that man was not suffered to continue in the garden, but was driven out of it, "lest he should put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever." This cannot be understood without supposing that the fruit of this tree, and man's partaking of it, was the appointed sign and pledge of eternal life, or the seal of a promise that he should live forever. Man having sinned and forfeited the promise, it was not proper that he should partake of this constituted pledge of eternal life,

* Pages 171, 172, 173.

or continue in a situation in which there was a possibility of his eating of this fruit. Agreeable to this, and with allusion to it, Christ says, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the paradise of God," which is a promise of eternal life. (Rev. ii. 7.) This is still further confirmed by what St. Paul says of the law given to man in his primitive state, viz., that it was ordained unto life. (Rom. vii. 10.) And that he that doeth the things required in it shall live by them. (Rom. x. 5. Gal. iii. 12.) This must refer to the original law given to man when innocent, or before he sinned; for no such law could be ordained to life, or propose and promise life on this condition since sin took place, it being impossible that man, since the first apostasy, should obtain life in this way. This the apostle observes in the passages just quoted: "The commandment, which was ordained unto life, I found to be unto death. For as many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all the things written in the book of the law to do them." Therefore, the law given to man in his primitive state, which threatened death to the transgressor, and cursed him, promised eternal life to him upon perfect obedience. And as he sinned, and so failed of obtaining this life by obedience, the death and curse threatened to disobedience is come upon him.

We are not expressly told how long man was to continue in obedience before he might eat of the tree of life, and have eternal life made sure to him; nor why he might not, and did not, eat of the fruit of the tree directly, and put an end to his probation state, and have eternal life sealed to him. But we may be certain there was some wise appointment and regulation concerning this. And, perhaps, we are not left to mere conjecture about it. Is it not very probable, if not beyond a doubt, that this tree of life had no fruit on it when this transaction took place and the promise was made, or the fruit had not come to maturity, so as to be eaten; and that man was told that if he continued obedient till ripe fruit was on that tree he should then eat of it, as a token and pledge of eternal life being made sure to him? This fixed the time of his probation, in the wisest and best manner. Man could not tell the hour nor day in which he might eat of this tree and be confirmed; but he might see the fruit growing and ripening every day, which would be a constant and growing motive and encouragement to perseverance. Man sinned before the fruit of this tree was produced and ripe; and, therefore, was not allowed to live where it might be possible for him to take and eat of it when there should be ripe fruit on this tree.

Thus it appears that the law, or moral constitution under which man was placed, was of the nature of a covenant between his Creator and him; man's duty, or what God required of him, was stated, and the penalty of failing of his duty was fixed by the law with a promise of eternal life, on condition of his obedience through the time of trial which was appointed. And man consented to this law and constitution as good and excellent, and stood engaged to perform the condition, on which he should obtain the promised reward. This he must be supposed to do; for not to do it, when it was revealed to him by God, would be rebellion against his sovereign.

It has been observed that the moral law, which is essential to moral government, and by which man was bound as soon as he existed a moral agent, is epitomized by Christ, who says it requires nothing but love — to love God with all our heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. It hence appears, as well as from the reason of the case, that this law respects the heart, or will and affections. It is with the heart, in the exercise of perfect love, that this law is obeyed; and the smallest contrariety to this love, in the exercises of the heart, or the least defect in the degree and strength of it, is a violation of this law, and must bring the curse or penalty on the transgressor. If there be no degree of exercise of love in the heart, there is no obedience to this law; and where this love is exercised constantly in a perfect manner and degree, or without any defect, there is perfect obedience. This does, indeed, necessarily imply that this love is expressed in all proper ways, in external conduct, so far as it is in the power and under the government of the will; but the obedience consists wholly in the exercises of the heart or will, producing what is external, in proper expressions of love. And where there is no love exercised in the heart, there is no real obedience or holiness, whatever be the external appearance in words or conduct. The resolving the whole law into love by Christ, and St. Paul saying that love is the fulfilling of the law, and that without love he was nothing, whatever were his external conduct, sufficiently establish this point, if it were not capable of demonstration from the reason and nature of things.

This law being founded in reason, and as perfect and excellent as is the moral government of an infinitely wise and good Being, must be, in its own nature, unchangeable, so that it cannot be abrogated or set aside, or abated; nor can any moral agent be released from obligation to obey it constantly and perfectly. There may be particular positive precepts given on special occasions, and with reference to particular circumstances, which may not be always binding, but may be tem-

porary and cease to be in force when the end of them is answered, and the reason of their being given ceases. The law requiring love to God and to our neighbor will oblige man to obey all such positive temporary commands, while the reason of these injunctions continues; but when the reason of them ceases they become obsolete, and the obligation to obey them is at an end. Many of the laws given to Israel by Moses are instances and an illustration of this. But the law requiring love is reasonable and binding on all at all times, and cannot cease or be made void in any degree. The least disregard paid to it, even in thought or heart by a moral agent, for one moment, in any circumstance, must be wrong and criminal. And it would be infinitely wrong, were it possible, as it is not, for the Legislator and Governor of the world to express or show any disregard to this law, and not to support and maintain it at all times, and in every respect, by all his authority.

Therefore, the penalty of it must always be regarded as reasonable, important, and sacred, it being an essential part of the law, and necessary in order to guard, support, and enforce it, and clothe it with the authority of the supreme Legislator. A disposition not to execute the threatening, or to mitigate the punishment, and consequently the manifestation of such a disposition, would be infinitely unreasonable and wrong, as it would be dishonorable to a most reasonable and righteous law, worthy to be maintained and honored; and which must be regarded and supported, in order to exercise moral government in the best manner. In the most perfect and excellent government, the penalty of the law must be as much regarded and supported as the precept; because, to disregard, abate, or set aside the former, is equally showing disrespect to the latter, and really repealing it. A proper regard cannot be shown to the penalty without manifesting a disposition and determination to punish agreeably to the threatening, by inflicting infinite evil for transgression, and actually punishing so as to answer all the ends of the penalty, and fully support the threatening.

In what particular way and manner this law was communicated to man, with all the positive precepts which were given to him, we are not informed. It appears that God conversed familiarly with him; but whether he put on a bodily shape, and appeared like a man, or what was the appearance, or the way in which he communicated to Adam the commands and instructions which he revealed, cannot be certainly determined. However, we are certain this was done in the most wise and proper way; and so as that man had clear and decisive evidence that his Maker did converse with him, and understood all that

was said or revealed to him, respecting the moral government under which he was placed, the covenant made with him, and the state of probation into which he was put, and when it should be ended, etc.

Adam, when he first came into existence, though in a state of manhood and maturity, as to his faculties of body and mind, stood in need of instruction, and doubtless had the knowledge of many things communicated to him by immediate inspiration or otherways from his Maker, as he could have no other instructor. Among these the knowledge of language was one, and how to communicate ideas by words. He was not left to learn this art, and form a language without help, but had the immediate assistance of God.

In this transaction between God the Creator and Governor, and man the creature, in which the law, with the promises and threatenings of it, was declared and established in the form of a covenant between God and man, Adam was considered and treated as comprehending all mankind. He being by divine constitution the natural head and father of the whole race, they were all included and created in him as one whole which could not be separated; and, therefore, he is treated as the whole in this transaction. The covenant made with him was made with all mankind, and he was constituted the public and confederating head of the whole race of men, and acted in this capacity as being the whole, and his obedience was considered as the obedience of mankind; and as by this Adam was to obtain eternal life, had he performed it, this comprehended and insured the eternal life of all his posterity. And, on the contrary, his disobedience was the disobedience of the whole of all mankind, and the threatened penalty did not respect Adam personally, or as a single individual, but his whole posterity included in him and represented by him. Therefore, the transgression, being the transgression of the whole, brought the threatened punishment on all mankind.

This point will be more particularly considered, explained, and proved in a following chapter; but it seems proper to bring it into view in this place, in order to give a clear and full representation of the law and moral government under which man was originally placed. That Adam was considered and treated in this respect, as being, or comprehending, all mankind, is evident, in that almost every thing which is said to him, in the three first chapters of Genesis, has respect to the whole race of mankind, and not to Adam personally, and is spoken to them, or of them. The first time *man* is mentioned it evidently means mankind, and not any particular man. "And God said, Let us make man, and let *them* have

dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." (Gen. i. 26.) By man here must be meant mankind, which is denoted by the following words: "And let them have dominion over the whole earth;" that is, mankind — the whole human race. All mankind were created in creating the first man; for they were all included in him, and to be propagated from him, and arise and grow out of him, as the branches of a tree are included in the original stock, root, or seed. God, in creating the first herbs and trees, with the seed in themselves to propagate their kind, really created all the herbs and trees which shall exist to the end of the world. So he created all mankind in creating the first man; and in giving dominion to him, he gave dominion to all. They were all made like him in kind; and their state, condition, and circumstances were fixed as much as that of the race of plants and trees. All mankind were created in the image of God, and to them was given dominion over all the earth. "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it." This blessing and this command respected mankind, and not the first man personally, in distinction from the rest; for he alone was not to fill the earth and subdue it, but the human race. God is, therefore, represented as blessing *them* all, and speaking to them all, and not to a single person. It hence appears that the posterity of Adam were so connected with him, and included in him, that they might properly be considered as *one;* and that he was so far the head and representing father of the whole, that, in creating him, all mankind were created, and in blessing him, all were blessed; and what was said to him, and done for him, was said to, and done for, the human race; — that the law given, and covenant made with him, with the blessing and the curse, the promise and the threatening, was given to all, and made with all, having respect to all mankind, included in their father and head. And what he did as a moral agent was done for them as much as himself, so that they, even the whole human race, must share equally with him in his obedience, and the promised consequent blessing, or in his disobedience, and the curse. But the evidence and certainty of this is more fully established by what took place, and has been revealed since the apostasy of man. What God said to Adam, after he had sinned, was said to, and of all, mankind; and the calamity or evil to which he was doomed in this world, as the consequence of his transgression, equally falls upon his posterity. "And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast eaten," etc. "Cursed is the ground

for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." As this sentence, "unto dust shalt thou return," did not respect Adam only, but all his posterity, we are naturally, if not necessarily, led to understand the same language in the threatening as having respect to all mankind: "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." But this is reduced to a certainty by St. Paul: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. Through the offence of one many are dead. By the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation. By one man's disobedience many were made sinners." (Rom. v. 12.) Here Adam is asserted, in the most plain and strongest terms, to be constituted the public, covenanting head of mankind; so that sin, condemnation, and death came upon all his posterity by his disobedience. The threatening, therefore, respected all mankind, and consequently the promises did also. And all depended on Adam's conduct to determine whether his posterity should be holy and happy forever, or sinners and miserable. But this subject will be more particularly considered in the next chapter.

This covenant, or constitution, in which Adam was considered and treated as the father and public head of his future posterity, was more than mere law, and, in this respect, different from the covenant made with the angels. It is supposed they acted every one for himself, and that they all existed at once; and there was no such peculiar union between them, like that between the first man and his posterity, which rendered such a constitution with respect to the latter proper and wise — yea, necessary — in order to the exercise of the most perfect and excellent moral government.

Should any object to this, and say, that, as the posterity of Adam had no opportunity to consent to this constitution, it was not consistent with wisdom or righteousness to include them in it, and fix it for them, — and, as it was not the best and most likely way for them to obtain eternal happiness by making it depend on the conduct of the first man, it was not consistent with goodness, and really unjust, and injurious to mankind, — in answer to this it must be observed, —

1. The creature has no right to object to any law or constitution which God sees fit to make respecting him, but is obliged to acquiesce in what he orders. God has a right to prescribe the particular method in which he will govern his

creatures, and this belongs to him; and for a creature not to approve and consent to what God prescribes is rebellion against his Maker. Therefore, there was no need to wait to see if Adam's posterity would approve of such a constitution, before it could be with justice and propriety fixed for them. This, therefore, cannot be the ground of a reasonable objection. Indeed, if it can be proved to be an unjust or unwise constitution, we may be sure no such constitution was ever made by the Governor of man. This brings to observe, —

2. Such a constitution does not appear, and cannot be proved, not to be just and good. There was as great a prospect and probability that the first man would not sin, but persevere in obedience, as that any one of his posterity would; — yea, much greater, seeing he was created an adult, in the full exercise of all his rational faculties; whereas they must come into existence infants, and gradually rise to manhood, through the weak state of childhood and youth, in which they would be more exposed to fall by temptation. And the father of mankind had a strong motive to obedience which none can have who only act for themselves, as the interest of all his posterity was put into his hands, and he acted for them all. Before the consequence was known, had any one, capable of viewing all circumstances, been to judge, he would doubtless have concluded that such a constitution was the most eligible, and the best that could be formed for mankind, and most likely to secure their holiness and happiness. Now the event has proved to be evil, and, by this constitution, Adam and his posterity are fallen into a state of ruin, we may view it as bad and injurious to us, especially since we are become prejudiced against the dictates of wisdom, and enemies to the wise and good government of Jehovah. But this is not the least evidence that it is not wise and good. Mankind, while in a state of rebellion, are disposed to think and say, "The ways of the Lord are not equal." And they will find fault with any constitution which infinite wisdom and goodness can form. Witness their disapprobation of the Gospel, and opposition to it. It ill becomes those who choose to live in sin, and, when they have the offer of pardon and deliverance from sin, and of eternal life, will not accept of it, but spurn it from them, to find fault, and complain that they were originally placed under a constitution, by which they are fallen into that sin and ruin from which they cannot be persuaded to accept deliverance, but choose to live in sin as a privilege, and constantly approve of the original transgression, by obstinately persisting in that rebellion which their first father began when he sinned.

3. It must be observed, that if it could be proved — as it

cannot — that such a constitution was not the most favorable to every individual, it will not follow that it is not, on the whole, the wisest and best constitution that could be formed. If no injustice be done to any one by it, and it be best suited to answer the most wise and important ends, it is certainly the best possible constitution. If it were evident that mankind did not enjoy so great advantages to be holy and happy forever, under such a constitution as they would have under some other, it does not follow that any injustice is done to them; for they had no right to these advantages, and God was not obliged to grant them. If he were, there could be no state of trial, and eternal life must be made sure to them all, which God was able to do. But this would not be wise; it would not have been suited to answer the most important ends, and for the greatest general good. Therefore, if this constitution is suited to answer these ends, and is the best that could be for the general good, then it is the wisest and best that could be devised. There is certainly no evidence that it is not so; but abundant evidence of the contrary, which may more fully appear by what is further to be said on the subject, in attending to the consequences of this constitution, or the ends actually answered by it.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. From what has been brought into view in this chapter, we are led further to reflect on the goodness of God, and our obligation to gratitude. The goodness of God appears in his forming angels with such high and noble capacities, and under advantages to be proportionably happy in the exercise of their powers, under the good and excellent moral government under which they were placed. God's goodness appears in the moral constitution formed for angels, which was, as has been observed, more favorable than mere law, as they had the promise of a reward of eternal life, in consequence of their obedience during a temporary trial. The infinite goodness and munificence of God is expressed in this, and will be forever celebrated by them who are confirmed in holiness, and have actually received this reward. And herein is to be seen the goodness of God towards them who fell into sin and endless ruin. Their rebellion, and their being treated according to their desert, and falling under the threatened punishment, did not render the goodness of God to them in their original formation, and in placing them under so good a constitution, in any respect or degree the less; but was and continues to be as great and perspicuous as it would be if they had con-

tinued in this goodness and had obtained eternal life. And were their hearts right, as they ought to be, they would never cease to exercise gratitude, and be thankful for the goodness of God to them, and to acknowledge that the infinite evil which is come upon them is the just consequence of their abuse of God's goodness to them.

And the goodness of God to man was great and wonderful, in forming him with a capacity to be a moral agent, and under moral government, and to enjoy endless life in the favor of God. And the constitution and form of moral government which has been considered, was an expression of infinite goodness, and could not have been formed by any being but one infinitely good. The law requires nothing but what is necessary for the good of man. The highest happiness consisted in obedience to this law. The time of trial was to be short, and man was under every desirable advantage, and had every conceivable motive to persevere in obedience. The reward promised was infinitely great, infinitely more than the longest obedience could merit or deserve. And the sanction or penalty threatened was necessary in order to its being a good law, and was an instance of goodness, as it was a guard to the law, and tended to secure obedience, as it rendered disobedience infinitely dreadful, in the consequence of it; and so was an unspeakably powerful motive to obedience.

The appointment of a public head, and Adam to act for the whole, as he was, in a sense, the whole of mankind, they being all included in him, was a wise and good constitution, even the best and the most in favor of mankind of any that can be conceived, — unspeakably more favorable to man than if every one of the human race were to act for himself, and be in a state of trial as they should successively rise into existence. There was a possibility that Adam would transgress; it was highly probable he would not. And, as has been observed, he had every desirable and possible motive to obedience, and a very powerful one, which could not have existed, had he not acted as a public head for all his posterity.

All this, as has been observed, was in our favor, and goodness to us. This is the happy state in which mankind were placed under moral government; the best, the happiest situation which could be devised by infinite wisdom and goodness. And it may be demanded, What could have been done that was not done for mankind, in placing them in such circumstances, and under such a good law and constitution, consistent with being placed in a state of probation?

The goodness of God ought to be celebrated by us, and to excite our constant, fervent gratitude and praise. For, as has

been before observed, this goodness is not the less, nor are our obligations to gratitude and praise in the least diminished by the abuse of it, by which we have lost all the benefit of it, and are become most miserable.

2. The sin and eternal ruin of the angels who fell is suited to give conviction to all, of the vanity, weakness, and insufficiency of the highest and most excellent creatures, and of their absolute and constant dependence on God; and, consequently, that there is no creature in whom we may safely put any trust, however great and dignified.

This event taught the angels who did not sin this lesson more fully than otherwise they could have learned it. In this they saw their own insufficiency for themselves; that they were liable to ruin themselves every moment, and depended on God entirely for preservation from infinite evil; and that they were wholly indebted to him for this favor, which must be sovereign goodness to which they had no claim, and which God was under no obligation to grant. This they will see more clearly, and acknowledge with greater sensibility, forever, than they could have done if none of them had sinned and fallen into endless ruin. And by it God will be more loved, praised, and glorified, and they will be unspeakably more holy and happy throughout their endless existence.

God, in his wisdom, ordered it so, that the highest and most excellent part of the creation should become morally corrupt, and infinitely worse than nothing, by sinking into irrecoverable and endless ruin and misery, to show that the creature, in its best state, is nothing but vanity, considered in itself, independent of the power, goodness, and all-sufficiency of God; which could not be discovered to creatures to the best advantage in any other way; which discovery is of the utmost importance, and absolutely necessary to the highest good of the universe. This will remain an everlasting lesson, by which all holy creatures will be taught humility and gratitude, and God will receive a revenue of praise and glory forever, which could not have existed had not this event taken place.

3. By the view we have had of the divine law and moral government, we may learn what is the rule of our duty now, and, consequently, what is sin in us, viz., every deviation of heart from the rule of duty, by omission of what it requires, or doing what it forbids.

The particular covenant made with man in his original state, by which the head and father of the human race was considered as including all mankind, and was constituted to act for the whole, being violated, ceased to exist any longer, except in the consequences of the violation of it. But the

law pointing out and requiring duty, and threatening the transgressor, is still the rule of our duty, and binding on us: and in the threatening we are told what every transgression of ours deserves, and learn what is the curse under which we are, as sinners. For this law, as has been shown, is unchangeable in its nature, and must be binding on every moral agent. Transgressing it, though ever so often repeated, does not in the least absolve us from obligation to obey it; and however great is our aversion from what it requires, and however strong and fixed it be, this does not in the least excuse us in our disobedience, and remove or abate our obligation to obedience; but the stronger and more fixed our hearts are in opposition to what is required, and the more and longer such opposition is indulged, the more criminal we are. There is no other law given to us, which requires less than this original law, or that is not virtually contained in it or enforced by it. To love God with all our heart, soul, strength, and mind, and our neighbor as ourselves, is always our duty, and all opposition to it, and every omission of this duty, in the least degree, is sin. We must, therefore, look into this perfect law and rule of duty, and no where else, in order to know what is our duty, and what is sin; and by this alone can we obtain the knowledge of, and ascertain our own moral character.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE APOSTASY OF MAN, AND THE EVIL CONSEQUENCE TO HIM.

MAN, who was placed in a happy and honorable situation, did not continue in it; but by transgressing the divine command, and violating the holy covenant, plunged into a state of infinite guilt and wretchedness, under the curse and threatened penalty of the law of God.

Moses gives a particular history of this first apostasy of man in the third chapter of the book of Genesis. He does not tell us how long man continued innocent and obedient, after he was created, or give us a history of what passed, and of all the particular events and transactions which took place in a state of innocency, such a history being of no use and importance to us, while we continue in the present state. The whole will doubtless be revealed to all mankind at the day of judgment.

The *Serpent* is said to be the tempter, by whom Eve was deceived, and led to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, and then gave it to Adam, and he ate of it also. It is said, "The serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made." He appeared to have more sagacity than any other of the brute creation. Probably he had an erect and very beautiful form, and had nothing of the appearance and form of serpents since the fall of man. He appeared near the forbidden tree, or on it, perhaps eating of the fruit of it. It seems probable that Eve, seeing him there, and eating of the fruit of the tree, was surprised, upon which the serpent spoke, "Hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" Eve replied, that God had given them full liberty to eat of every tree in the garden, except that one; but had forbidden them to touch that, upon the severest penalty. The serpent said, "Ye shall not surely die. For God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." It is most probable that the serpent told the woman that, by eating of the fruit of that tree, he had obtained the use of reason, and the faculty of speech, which she saw him now to exercise; and therefore said, that, from his own experience, he could assure her, that if she would eat of this fruit, she should be so far from dying, that she should arrive to a much higher degree of perfection and knowledge. The first motion in her mind disposing her to regard and believe the serpent, rather than God, who had said, she should surely die, if she ate of that tree, was wrong and sinful; so that she really fell from her innocence, before she actually took of the fruit and ate. Her doing the latter was completing her apostasy, by a full exertion of her will in open rebellion. And the first motion of Adam's heart, which implied the least degree of inclination to hearken to the woman, and eat of the forbidden fruit, was a sinful one, and he was a rebel in heart, before he actually ate.

Nothing is spoken of as the tempter but the serpent, because nothing else was visible but the serpent speaking and reasoning, or rather deceiving and lying. But the story itself, when properly considered, will necessarily lead us to conceive of some superior, invisible agent, speaking and acting in and by the serpent, making him the instrument by which he effected his design. And as it could not be a good spirit which by the serpent acted this part, it must be an evil one; which is confirmed by what God said to the serpent, after the apostasy of man, which will be considered more particularly in its place. But this is reduced to a certainty in succeeding

divine revelation, where the devil and his angels are brought into view. And Christ evidently alludes to this instance of ruining mankind by deceit and lying, when he says, "The devil was a murderer from the beginning, and he is a liar, and the father of it." And the devil is repeatedly called the dragon, and the serpent, "that old serpent called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world," plainly alluding to the serpent which in the beginning deceived and seduced our first parents. (Rev. xii. 9–14, 15; xx. 2.) The devil, in order to carry on his design, made use of the serpent as his instrument, he being a creature best suited to answer his purpose. And God saw fit to suffer him to do it.

By this act of disobedience, our first parents violated the covenant which God had made with them, and forfeited all the good promised to obedience, and brought upon themselves the penalty threatened. It was not, indeed, completely executed upon them immediately. They fell under the divine displeasure and wrath, which was sufficiently great to destroy them forever, and which, if fully executed on them, must make them miserable, without end. They were condemned, and fell into a state of complete eternal ruin, being totally and forever undone and lost, without any help or hope. Thus they died immediately on sinning; though the full execution of the punishment did not take place immediately; yet as they were condemned and cursed, and utterly undone, and had nothing in their reach or view to prevent infinite evil coming upon them, the evil threatened in a true sense fell upon them, and they died in the day on which they transgressed. The sentence of death, and the penalty threatened in the law under which the angels were, fell upon those who sinned immediately; but it will not be completely executed till the day of judgment, nor will it ever be, because it is endless punishment to which they are condemned. It will be in execution without end, and so, strictly speaking, will never be fully executed. And yet the execution is according to the threatening. So it is in the case of man; he fell under the threatening immediately on his sinning, though the full and complete execution of it do not take place for many ages.

St. Paul says, "When the commandment or law came, sin revived, and I died;" that is, he found himself dead. He found himself under the curse of the law, which was contained in the original threatening, "In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." If Paul found himself dead, agreeable to the threatening of the law, then Adam did really die in the same sense, or the same death; and sin, even the

first act of disobedience, wrought this death in him. The evil which the law threatened, "Thou shalt surely die," in this sense, came upon him. He fell under the curse. This sentence fell upon him, and he was a dead man. Paul calls this death, or dying; and by this tells us what dying means in the threatening, and that Adam did die on that day in which he ate the forbidden fruit.

But if this were not so, and Adam did not die the death threatened on the day he sinned, this may be consistent with the execution of the threatening, according to the true intent of it. The threatening, "In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die," expresses two things, viz., the *certainty* of the punishment, as infallibly connected with transgression; and that the threatened penalty should follow on *one* or the *first* act of rebellion. We find much the same language used to express one or both of these; and not that the threatening should be immediately executed, or on the day in which the crime was committed. "The righteousness of the righteous shall not deliver him *in the day* of his transgression. As for the wickedness of the wicked, he shall not fall thereby *in the day* that he turneth from his wickedness; neither shall the righteous be able to live *in the day that he* sinneth; but for his iniquity that he hath committed, *he shall die* for it." (Eze. xxxiii. 12, 13.) This does not express the *time when* death should be executed or take place, but the *certainty* of the punishment. "For it shall be that *on the day* that thou goest out, and passest over the brook Kidron, *thou shalt know for certain, that thou shalt surely die.*" (1 Kings ii. 37.) This does not mean that he should die on the same day in which he should pass over Kidron, but that he should certainly be put to death for this offence without any further trial.

This apostasy of our first parents was a total apostasy; that is, by giving themselves up to this sin, an inclination to sin took the dominion in their hearts, and they wholly lost all their moral rectitude and holiness, or the moral image of God, in which they were created. This is not expressly asserted in the history of their sin, but it may be inferred from the nature of the case. By this transgression they forfeited all favor from their Maker, and fell under his displeasure, and were cursed according to the law and constitution under which they were when they sinned; and it was inconsistent, therefore, to show them any favor, especially such a favor as preserving them from total apostasy, or their being continued in the exercise of love to God, while they were under that constitution, and antecedent to the revelation of the dispensation of grace. Moreover, the first act of sin carried in it an inclination to uni-

versal sinfulness, and opposition to holiness in general, or to all and every degree of holiness; and, according to the natural course of things, would issue in total depravity, in the exclusion of all moral good, and the complete possession and reign of moral evil in their hearts. This consisted in their ceasing to love God, and loving themselves only — which self-love, or selfishness, was in every degree of it opposed to the law under which they were, and the fruitful source of all sin — which will more fully appear, when this subject will come more particularly into view in its proper place. There was nothing, therefore, that could prevent their total apostasy, or becoming wholly sinful and opposed to the law of God and all holiness, unless God had miraculously interposed, contrary to the law and constitution under which they sinned, to prevent it, and exercised mere sovereign favor, which, as has been observed, would be inconsistent with the constitution under which they sinned.

The above reasoning, to prove that the apostasy of man was total, appears to be confirmed by the apostasy of the angels who sinned. It is presumed all will grant that their first apostasy was not partial, but total. If the angels fell totally in their first rebellion, why not man also? It is true that, under another and a new dispensation of grace through a Mediator, holiness is introduced and maintained in the heart of the believer, in a small and low degree, while there is also a degree of sinful exercise; and both these, sin and holiness, continue through life; and particular acts of sin, of which believers are guilty, do not bring on total depravity, and wholly extinguish every degree of divine love; but this may with propriety be called a miracle, being contrary to the course of nature and the constitution of things which originally took place, and is the effect of the new constitution, by which the original order or course of nature is counteracted by the introduction of a gracious dispensation, and the nature and natural course of sin is interrupted and opposed by special divine interposition. But this is so far from an evidence that our first parents could go into an overt act of rebellion, consistent with retaining any degree of love to God, that it is a proof of the contrary, and that man by the first apostasy sunk into total depravity, and became wholly a rebel, and altogether opposed to the divine law.

It has been observed, and it is thought proved, in the foregoing chapter, that all mankind were created and comprehended in the first man, as much as were all the trees and plants, in the first trees and plants which were made, with the seed in themselves, to produce a succession of trees and plants after their kind to the end of the world. Therefore, in what God said to Adam, and his transactions with him in giving

him law, and forming a covenant with him, he was considered and treated as comprehending all mankind; and he was the real and constituted head of the whole race, so that his obedience or transgression should affect all mankind as it affected him, and was to be considered as the obedience or disobedience of all. It is proposed now to attempt to explain this point more fully, and show how far, and in what respects, all Adam's posterity are comprehended in the first transgression and affected by it.

I. By the constitution and covenant with Adam, his first disobedience was the disobedience of all mankind. That is, the sin and consequent ruin of all the human race was by this constitution infallibly connected with the first sin of the head and father of the race. By the divine constitution, the appointment of God, if the head and father of mankind sinned, the whole race of men, all his posterity, should sin; and, in this sense, it should be the sin of the whole. Accordingly, when the head became a sinner, and moral corruption took possession of the heart, a sure foundation was laid, by the constitution under which man was, for the same sin and moral corruption to take place and spread through all the human race; just as by divine appointment, or a law of nature, the sap of the root or original stock of a tree passes into the numerous limbs, twigs, and the fruit of the tree, as they successively grow out of it. If the sap or nature of the root or stock be bad, sour, or poisonous, the same is communicated to the whole; and every branch, and all the fruit and seed of the whole tree, is corrupt, sour, or poisonous, and of all the trees which spring from that, or are produced by the seed of it. Thus, if any tree was, when first created, of a poisonous nature, and produced such fruit, all that race of trees, or all that should spring from it, would, of course, be of the same nature. And if a tree or plant, which was created at first good and wholesome, did degenerate and become corrupt and poisonous, all that should proceed from that would, of course, be equally corrupt.

The disobedience of Adam decided the character of all his natural posterity, and rendered it certain, according to a divine, revealed constitution, that they should be born and rise into existence as moral agents, in disobedience and rebellion; and that the same moral corruption which then took place in his heart, should spread through the whole race of mankind. In this sense, the first sin carried in it the sin of all mankind, and contained the seed, and was the foundation, of all the moral corruption of the human race, as by this they were all constituted sinners.

II. As the first sin was, in the sense just explained, the com-

mon sin of all mankind, as the disobedience of them all was infallibly connected with it, and by it all the human race were constituted or made sinners; so as this first sin brought condemnation or the penalty of the law on Adam, it fell equally on all mankind. For as the sin of Adam inferred and implied the disobedience of all, the consequent condemnation of all was equally implied and involved in the condemnation of Adam; or the condemnation and penalty which fell on Adam, the father and head of mankind, really came upon all his posterity. As the sin was common to all, so was the curse. And it is here particularly to be observed, that as Adam first disobeyed, and condemnation and the curse came upon him for his disobedience and in consequence of it, so these take place just in the same order in his posterity, their sin, or the moral corruption which is common to all mankind, first takes place, as the ground and reason of their condemnation and liableness to the threatened penalty.

The evidence that this was the original constitution under which mankind were placed has been in some measure given in the foregoing chapter. But there is more clear and certain evidence that things have actually taken place in this manner, and according to such a constitution; and that the sin of all the posterity of Adam, and the consequent condemnation and curse, were thus connected with the first sin of their common father and head, and come upon all mankind as the certain and appointed consequence of the original apostasy of man; the former being implied and involved in the latter. This is now to be brought into view, and carefully considered.

1. The pain, sorrow, and train of evils in this world, which issue in the death of the body, to which all mankind are sentenced, and which actually came upon them all, in consequence of the original transgression, are a standing evidence, and full demonstration, that the sin and condemnation of all the posterity of Adam were infallibly connected with that first sin, and involved in it.

Though these evils were denounced to the first parents of mankind on their disobedience, and they only are addressed in the sentence, yet it is evident, from fact, that all their posterity were included in them, and fell under the same sentence, and were doomed to the same evils. This is not only an evidence that Adam was considered as including his posterity as their common head, so that what was said to him and of him was said to and of all mankind, but also renders it certain, that all his children were considered as sinners, in consequence of the apostasy of their first father, and that there was a certain connection between the first sin and the sin

and guilt of all mankind. For surely it would not be proper or just to sentence all mankind to these evils, when considered as perfectly innocent. There is, therefore, no possible way to account for this, consistent with the righteousness and equity of the divine government, but by supposing and granting that all the posterity of Adam were constituted and considered to be sinners, in consequence of his sinning, or by his first offence, there being a certain constituted connection between his first transgression and the sinning of all the human race.

Separation of soul and body, and the numerous particular natural evils which now take place among mankind in this life, could have had no existence, if the original threatening had been executed without mitigation, or had not the redemption taken place, by which mankind are put into a new state of probation, as has been before observed. Nevertheless, had not man sinned, these evils which issue in the death of the body could not have taken place, as redemption also could not. Therefore, these evils are introduced and inflicted on man in consequence of sin, and as a standing testimony of God's displeasure with him, and, consequently, cannot be inflicted on any but sinners. We are, therefore, sure that as the death of the body, with other attendant evils, are inflicted on all mankind, they are all considered and treated as sinners; and, consequently, that they are really sinners, and that their being such had a certain connection with the first sin, upon which they were condemned to these evils.

Adam is sentenced to the death of the body, and all the train of preceding evils, because he had sinned and offended his Maker, and this is expressly declared to be the ground of the sentence. And as this sentence was extended to all his posterity, and they were included in it, as much as Adam himself, they were considered and treated by this as being sinners, whenever they should exist; which could not be, unless there were a certain established connection between the sin of the first man and the sinfulness of all mankind. If it were possible that any of Adam's natural posterity should be innocent, this sentence could not be extended to them, but they must have been excepted. Therefore, as all are included in the sentence, not one of mankind can possibly be innocent, but the sinfulness and guilt of all are infallibly connected with the sin of Adam, and included in it, by an established constitution.

Many particular instances of the death of men, who have been cut off in divine providence, are represented to be expressions of God's displeasure with them for their sins, such as the drowning of the old world, the destruction of the in-

habitants of Sodom, etc., and innumerable other instances. How much more must the sentence of death upon all mankind be an expression of God's displeasure with them for their sinfulness and guilt!

2. That the sin, and the consequent guilt and condemnation of all the human race, were by divine constitution connected with Adam's sinning, is very particularly and expressly asserted by St. Paul.

"Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. Through the offence of one, many died. For the judgment was by one, to condemnation. By one man's offence, death reigned by one. By the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation. By one man's disobedience, many were made sinners." (Rom. v. 12, etc.)

Here sin, condemnation, and death are expressly said to be introduced into the world, upon all mankind, by one offence, one act of disobedience of one man, that is, Adam. When it is said that sin entered into the world by one, the meaning cannot be merely that one man sinned first, or that Adam committed the first sin, sinned before any of his posterity did sin; for this would be to assert nothing to the purpose. But by sin entering into the world is meant its taking place among mankind, and spreading or extending to all the posterity of Adam. Death entered into the world as sin did, as the consequence of it, by one man; and this passed or came upon all men, just as sin did. This is expressly asserted in the words immediately following, "For that all have sinned." By one man, sin entered into the world of mankind, as the common sin of all, and extended to every one of his posterity; and by this sin death entered also, and came upon all mankind, in that by this one offence all became sinners, there being an established connection between the sin of this one man and the sinning of all. That this is the truth, and what is asserted in those words, is made certain beyond dispute, by the repetition of the same assertion, in other and more express words, in the nineteenth verse. "By one man's disobedience, many were made sinners." Here the disobedience of Adam is said, in this sense, to be the disobedience of all his posterity: that their sinning was connected with his disobedience, or implied and involved in it; so that by his sinning they were all made sinners, or constituted sinners, as the Greek word properly signifies. That is, by a fixed, divine constitution, if Adam sinned, all his posterity were to become sinners; so that, by his disobedience, he fixed this character upon all mankind.

Condemnation and death, or judgment to condemnation, came upon all men, considered as sinners, or as a consequence of sin, as it came upon Adam. It is represented in this light in this passage. Death entered into the world by sin, and came upon all men, because, or inasmuch as all men were sinners, being made sinners, by the disobedience of Adam their head, by virtue of the divine constitution and covenant made with him, they all fell under condemnation to death, considered in this character, or as sinners. "By one man's offence, death reigned." All mankind being constituted offenders, or sinners by one offence of Adam, death took place, and held dominion and reigned over all. Again he says, verse twenty-first, "As sin hath reigned unto death." Death is asserted to be the consequence of the reign of sin in the world, or among mankind.

It has been observed, that by *death*, which is mentioned six times in this passage, is evidently meant eternal destruction, or the second death, as it is put in opposition to eternal life, and is the wages of sin, unless death mentioned in the fourteenth verse be an exception. But if it be, and it were granted that the death of the body is intended whenever death is mentioned in this paragraph; yet this would not evade or weaken the evidence and proof it contains, that the posterity of Adam are constituted sinners by his first sin, so as by it to fall under condemnation, and become justly exposed to the second death. For if a moral agent be in such a sense a sinner as to deserve any evil, he must deserve infinite evil, that is, endless punishment; for this, as has been proved, is the just wages of sin, and what every sin deserves. Therefore, if any evil, even that of the death of the body, be inflicted on mankind, in consequence of Adam's first act of disobedience, it carries in it a certain evidence, that they become sinners by that sin of his, there being an established connection between his sin and their being sinners, and that they deserve all the evil which the first sin deserved, and was threatened to the first act of disobedience, which was endless misery, the just wages of sin. In this view, the death of the body, to which all mankind are subjected, is a standing evidence that they are sinners, and, consequently, that they deserve endless punishment. For if they were not sinners, they could not be sentenced to this evil; and if they are sinners, and deserve this evil, they deserve infinite evil, which is the just desert of every sin. And as this death comes on all mankind in consequence of one act of disobedience of the first man, the head and father of all, it is a certain evidence that by his sin all his posterity are constituted and become sinners, and were con-

sidered as such, as soon as Adam sinned; otherwise his sin could not have brought this death upon all mankind, or upon any but the first sinner. And their being condemned to this death necessarily implied their personal sin in consequence of Adam's sinning, and just desert of the second death, as has been shown.

Hence it appears, that as long as this passage of Scripture is to be found in the Bible, we have good evidence that the sin and ruin of all mankind was implied, and certainly involved in the first act of disobedience of Adam.

3. This is also demonstrably certain, in that the posterity of Adam are all considered and treated as sinners, and deserving and exposed to endless ruin, in the method which has been opened and prosecuted for the recovery and salvation of man, by Jesus Christ. In the revelation of this salvation, and all that has been done to effect it, it is supposed that all mankind are lost in sin; that every one of the natural posterity of Adam who has been born has been a sinner; and that every one that shall be born and exist to the end of the world will exist a sinner, and in a state of condemnation and ruin. The gospel is represented as providing relief for all who believe, and the only way in which mankind can be saved, all being condemned and infallibly lost forever, who are not saved by Christ. There could be no reason for this, unless it were certain that all mankind would rise into existence sinners, and so be involved in condemnation and ruin, and stand in absolute need of the revealed Savior. But this could not be, unless this was implied in the apostasy of the father of mankind, and upon this was fixed and made certain.* How could a Savior from sin and destruction be provided and revealed for mankind immediately upon the sin of Adam, if this sin did not involve the sin and ruin of all? for the innocent could have no need of such a Savior. And with what propriety could the gospel be ordered to be preached to all nations, and to every one of the human race, to the end of the world, if it were not certain that every one was in a state of sin and ruin? This can be well accounted for, if the sin and ruin of Adam's posterity were connected with his first sin, and involved in it by virtue of the covenant and constitution made with the father of mankind; and the whole is consistent and easy to

* It is granted that all mankind might have been in a state of apostasy, had not this been the consequence of the sin of Adam, and connected with this, and made certain by it; but that they should be considered and treated as in such a state, and a Savior be provided for them, and ordered to be preached and offered to them, when nothing had taken place with which this was connected, and by which it was rendered certain, appears to be highly improper and inconsistent.

be understood. But no consistent, rational, satisfactory account can be given of this, on any other supposition.

4. Agreeable to this, mankind are represented in the Scripture to be universally depraved and morally corrupt; and this appears to be true from fact and experience. It is needless to adduce all the passages of Scripture in which this is asserted. St. Paul asserts this in such express and strong terms, when he is attending particularly to this point, that it will be established sufficiently for the present purpose, by appealing to his words. "We have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin; as it is written, There is none righteous, no, not one. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. That every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God." (Rom. iii. 9, etc.) This witness is supported, and appears to be true, from the character mankind have given of themselves, by their general conduct in all ages, as there never has appeared to be one perfectly upright, sinless person; and, in general, all nations and generations, of every age, have been exceeding corrupt and sinful; and that while many of them have had great light and advantage to be wise and virtuous, and when great and special means have been used with them in the best manner suited to make them so. By a great variety of experiments which have been made, it appears that mankind are so sunk into sin, and strongly inclined to evil, that no external applications, means, motives, and advantages are sufficient to reclaim them. And children, as soon as they are capable of manifesting any moral disposition or inclination, universally discover that which is contrary to the law of God.

If what the Scripture asserts on this head wanted any support from fact, this character which mankind have themselves drawn by their practice would be a sufficient one.

When St. Paul had asserted and proved in the words just quoted, that all mankind are become wholly corrupt and sinful, that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God," he proceeds to account for this, and show the ground and origin of the universal sinfulness of the posterity of Adam, in the paragraph which has been considered. "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. By one man's disobedience, many were made sinners." (Rom. v. 12, etc.) And there is the greatest reason to believe, and rest satisfied in this account, not only as it is given by divine inspiration, but as it is the only rational, consistent, and satisfactory account of this interesting affair that can be given.

That such a constitution is just and wise, and that mankind have no reason to object to it as injurious to them, is evident from what has been observed upon it in the foregoing chapter.* But that this may appear yet more evident, and all objections be obviated, a particular explanation of this matter, and vindication of the divine conduct herein, will be now attempted.

It is carefully to be observed, that sin does not take place in the posterity of Adam in consequence of his sin, or that they are not constituted sinners by his disobedience, as a punishment, or the penalty of the law coming upon them for his sin. It is not to be supposed that the offence of Adam is imputed to them to their condemnation, while they are considered as in themselves, in their own persons, innocent; or that they are guilty of the sin of their first father, antecedent to their own sinfulness. But all that is asserted as what the Scripture teaches on this head is, that, by a divine constitution, there is a certain connection between the first sin of Adam and the sinfulness of his posterity; so that as he sinned and fell under condemnation, they, in consequence of this, became sinful and condemned. Therefore, when Adam had sinned, by this the character and state of all his posterity were fixed, and they were, by virtue of the covenant made with Adam, constituted or made sinners like him; and, therefore, were considered as such before they had actual existence. It was made certain, and known and declared to be so, that all mankind should sin as Adam had done, and fully consent to his transgression, and join in the rebellion which he began; and by this bring upon themselves the guilt of their father's sin, by consenting to it, joining with him in it, and making it their own sin.

This cannot be objected to as an unjust appointment, or a constitution injurious to mankind, without equally objecting to God's willing and ordering things so as to make it certain that any of his creatures should sin. If it was his will that Adam should sin, and he constituted and ordered things so that it was certain he would sin, and he had a right to do this; then it was right and just to will and determine that all the posterity of Adam should sin, and to form a constitution which established a certain connection of the latter with the former. The disobedience of Adam was connected with something which preceded it, and of which it was the consequence; and it was determined and fixed by God, as has been proved, and which all must grant who hold that God did permit Adam to sin. But none will say or think that this was a punishment inflicted on Adam, thus to determine, and form, and fix a constitution which made his sinning certain; or that this was injurious to

* Page 201, etc.

Adam, or in the least degree improper or unwise. And if this was just, and wise, and good, then it was equally so to form a constitution which connected the sin of all mankind with the first sin of the father of the human race. Or, if he might and did permit Adam to sin, consistent with justice, wisdom, and goodness, he might, consistent with all these, permit every one of his posterity to sin, and, therefore, determine to do it. And if God had a right to order things so that all mankind should sin, independent of their connection with Adam and his sin, and this be no more unjust or injurious to them than to order things so that Adam and myriads of angels should sin, then certainly no wrong is done to them by ordering that this should depend upon, and take place in consequence of, this sin of Adam. No objection can be made to this which is not equally an objection to God's ordering things so that sin should take place, and has taken place in any instance, among angels or men.

The following propositions must be granted as axioms of indubitable truth, and may serve to give light to the point under consideration.

1. Every creature, capable of moral agency and holiness, is entirely dependent on God, not only for his continuance in existence, but for all his moral exercises, and especially for his moral excellence, or holiness. This is a greater and higher gift than mere existence; and when it is given, the continuance of it is entirely dependent on the will of God. The most excellent creature, in the exercise of perfect holiness, is, in his own nature, changeable, and may become sinful; and nothing can secure him from this but the will and agency of the infinite, unchangeable Being.

2. God is under no obligation to preserve the moral agents which he creates from sinning. If this proposition were not self-evident, the actual existence of sin is a demonstration of the truth of it.

3. God may, therefore, for wise reasons, will and determine not to prevent the sin and consequent ruin of his creatures; which is really willing that sin should take place. The truth of this proposition is also demonstrated by the sin which has actually taken place; for this could not have been, unless God, all things considered, willed it should be; otherwise, it must have taken place contrary to his will, or while he was not willing it should exist, which is infinitely impossible.

4. If God may and has actually exercised his will and choice about the existence of sin, and determined in favor of its actually taking place, and this be consistent with his wisdom, holiness, and goodness, — as it certainly is, — then it is

consistent with his glorious moral character to dispose, order, and do every thing which is necessary to be ordered and done independent of the creature, and previous to their actually sinning, in order to the certain existence of this event. This has been observed in a former chapter, where it has been also shown that the former — viz., that God's willing the existence of sin — does necessarily imply the latter, and that these are not really two distinct things, but one and the same.*

From all this it appears that God, being under no obligation to preserve any of his rational creatures from sinning, may, consistent with his righteousness, wisdom, and holiness, order things so that any number of them shall become sinful, when this is most for his glory and the general good. Accordingly, it was agreeable to his will and purpose that vast numbers of the angels should fall into sin; and had this will and purpose reached all of them, they would have had no reason to complain of any injustice or wrong done to them; and, therefore, those who have not sinned must ascribe it to the sovereign, distinguishing, undeserved favor of God that they have been preserved innocent and holy, when so great a number of them went off into a state of rebellion. And he had a right to order it so that any number, or all of mankind, should become sinners, as they rose into existence, had there been no constitution connecting their sinning with the sin of Adam, and no injustice or injury would have been done to any. And, since God has seen fit to order and constitute things so that the universal sinfulness of man should take place in connection with the sin of Adam, and as the unfailing consequence of it, — which he might have ordered without doing them any wrong, had not Adam first sinned, or without any consideration of his sin or connection with it, — surely there is no ground or color of an objection to it as being injurious to them. If mankind had no claim to be exempted from sin, — had there been no connection between them and Adam, or had they no common head or father, — then, surely, they have no reason to complain that they are become sinners by a constitution appointing Adam to be their public head, and connecting their becoming sinners with his sinning.

It is a notorious and acknowledged fact, that all mankind are sinners; sinning is infallibly connected with their existence. There is certainly some unfailing constitution, or law, which constantly and effectually operates to produce this effect in all Adam's posterity. We are sure this is just, and no wrong is done to man that sin does thus infallibly take

* See chap. iv. pp. 104, 105, etc.

place in all by some steady, efficacious cause, though we were not able to tell by what means, or in what way, this universal corruption of man has been introduced and taken place. And shall we complain as being injured by this, because God has seen fit to favor us with a revelation informing us how, and in what way, this universal sinfulness of the human race has been introduced and taken place, — that "by one man sin entered into the world; and by one man's disobedience, many (even all his posterity) are made sinners"?

And to complain of this is not only to find fault with that which is just, by which no wrong is done to us, but to object to a most wise and good constitution. This constitution is perfectly agreeable to the natural relation in which Adam's posterity stood to their common head and parent; and all mankind were so comprehended and included in the first man, that it was natural, proper, and wise, to deal with him as including all his posterity, and to constitute him to act for them all, as being in him. And there further appears a natural propriety and fitness in such a constitution, if we consider the nature and tendency of sin, and the inclination, wish, and attempt of the sinner who rebels against God. Adam's first rebellion contained in it a desire and wish that all his posterity might sin as he did. This became agreeable to his heart as soon as sin entered into it; and so far as he had power and influence, it would certainly take place; to suppose the contrary is inconsistent and absurd. The corruption and rebellion of all Adam's children, therefore, must be the consequence of his sinning, unless his inclination, desire, and attempt were crossed and counteracted. And his sin had a mighty and almost irresistible tendency to lead all his posterity into the same rebellion. And who can say this would not be the consequence, without one exception, had things taken their natural course, without being opposed and prevented by divine interposition? Adam's sin had a natural tendency to corrupt the world of mankind, and, according to the natural course of things, would spread to every individual of his posterity; and this was agreeable to the inclination and choice of the father of mankind. The language of his transgression was, — "Let all my posterity sin as I do, and be as I am; let them rise into existence in my own image and likeness. So far as I have power to beget and produce them, they shall be rebels like myself." Therefore, according to the natural course of things, and the nature and tendency of sin, and agreeably to the inclination and choice of Adam, the first act of sin, by the common father and head of mankind, contained in it the infection and sin of all the human race, and must corrupt the

whole, and issue in the rebellion and ruin of every one, unless counteracted and prevented by divine interposition. Hence it appears that the divine constitution, connecting the sin and ruin of all mankind with the first sin of their common father, is so far from being arbitrary and unnatural, that it is an establishment agreeable to the natural course, tendency, and connection of things, and perfectly consonant to the nature of sin, and serves to make a display of this. And that a contrary constitution, which should prevent the spreading of the sin of Adam to his posterity, or corrupting any one of them, would be unnatural and improper, as it would counteract and prevent the natural tendency, and the nature, course, and connection of things; and, therefore, would not have been wise and good, — while the constitution which has taken place is agreeable to the nature of things, and both wise and good. It appears most wise and best that if any of mankind sinned, all should be sinners, and constituted so by the first sin, as this has laid a proper and ample foundation for the glorious work of redemption, for the character and works of the Redeemer, of whom Adam in this way was made a type,— the Redeemer and his works, and the consequent glory, being the grand design and end of all. But this will rise more clearly into view as we proceed.

It must be further observed, that there is no reasonable objection to this constitution, in that it not only establishes a connection between the sin of Adam and the sinning of his posterity, but that the latter should be born in sin, so as to begin to sin as soon as they begin to act as moral agents. For if a moral agent may begin to sin at any time, he may begin to sin as soon as he begins to exist with a capacity of sinning. And if God is not obliged to prevent his sinning at any time of his existence, he is under no obligation to prevent it the first moment of his existence. Therefore, he had a right to determine the sinfulness of all Adam's posterity as soon as they should exist, as a certain consequence of his disobedience. And there is no more ground of objection to this, than there is to Adam's posterity sinning at any time of their existence, in consequence of his sinning.

If a person can have no reason to complain of any one but himself, if he be inclined to sin, and actually disobeys the divine command at any time, at whatever distance from his beginning to exist, he will be equally without reason to complain that he is injured by any one but by himself, if he be inclined to sin as soon as he begins to exist, and though he never were otherwise inclined. If any one should say, if he had not sinned early, even from his beginning to act, he should not have sinned now; or if he had not been always inclined

to sin from his first existence, he should not have been inclined to sin since, with a view to exculpate himself, would this be any excuse? Was not his first inclination to sin his own inclination, and as really blamable as if it had not been the first, or so soon? And because he began to sin so soon, does this excuse his sinning afterwards, and continuing to sin?

It seems proper, if not necessary, that if moral corruption be derived from Adam to his children, by a fixed law or constitution, it should take place from the beginning of their existence. If by their being his children they become corrupt, they must of consequence be corrupt as soon as they exist or become his children. If it were not so, it would not appear from fact that they became sinful by being the posterity of Adam, or that their moral corruption was by divine constitution connected with his sin by their being his children.

Agreeably to this, the Scripture represents all mankind as sinful from the beginning of their existence. "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." (Gen. viii. 21.) That is, his infancy, from the beginning of his existence. David says of himself, "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me." (Ps. li. 5.) This must be as true of all mankind as of David. "The wicked are estranged from the womb; they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies." (Ps. lviii. 3.) Here it is asserted, at least, that as soon as they begin to act, they sin. And though it cannot be precisely determined how soon this is, yet it hence appears that they are by nature corrupt, and they begin to exist with that moral corruption which is the same thing that appears as soon as there is opportunity in visible action, in opposition to the rule of truth and duty — the divine law. The words immediately following these are: "Their poison is like the poison of a serpent." The serpent is generated a poisonous creature. Poison is in his nature from the beginning of his existence; and when he begins to bite, that is acted out with which he was born. There appears to be evident reference to this, in these words: The wicked are said to be estranged from the womb; to go astray, speaking lies, as soon as they be born. And in this respect their poison, their wickedness is like the poison of a serpent. Solomon says, "Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child." By folly and foolishness in his writings, he generally means sin, or moral corruption; and certainly this is meant here, because he says, "The rod of correction will drive it far from him." The rod of correction can drive no other foolishness away but that which is of a moral kind. The expression is very strong and emphatical, and asserts that sin has gotten fast hold, and is firmly fixed in the heart of a young

child, and that this is true of every child which is born. How could the early, native corruption of children be more fully expressed? The same is asserted by Christ, when he says to Nicodemus, "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh." (John iii. 6.) It is abundantly evident from the whole passage in which these words are found, that by flesh here is meant moral corruption or sin, in which sense this word is frequently used in the Scriptures, especially in the writings of St. Paul. According to this, man is born in a state of moral corruption.

A child, an infant, as soon as he exists, may have moral corruption or sin. As soon as he has any mental motion, which is of the nature of inclination, this motion, disposition, or inclination may be wrong, and have in it the foundation and seeds of every sin, being of the same nature with the sinful motions and inclinations of the hearts of adult persons. These motions, though invisible and unperceived by us, do really, and in the sight of the omniscient Being, fix the actual moral character of the child, which discovers itself to men as it has opportunity, and there is capacity to express it in actions and words. This is confirmed by observation and experience. Children commonly, before they can speak, discover that selfishness, that wilfulness and obstinacy which is the root and source of all the sin which takes place among mankind. This, therefore, is of the same nature with moral evil in general, and was in the heart or mind when it first existed, and has grown up to a greater degree of strength as the mind has been enlarged, and appears, and is acted out, as the capacity increases, and opportunity and occasion are offered.

This sin, which takes place in the posterity of Adam, is not properly distinguished into original and actual sin, because it is all really actual, and there is, strictly speaking, no other sin but actual sin.* As soon as sin exists in a child of Adam, though an infant, it consists in motion or inclination, of the same nature and kind with sin in adult persons; all the difference is, the former is not so strong, and has not opportunity to be acted out, as the latter is. Sin, or an evil inclination, took place and existed in the heart of Adam before he determined to eat, and did eat, of the fruit which was forbidden. The

* What has been meant by this distinction may be agreeable to the truth, if by actual sin be meant the expression and acting out of the depravity or sinful disposition of the heart, in distinction from the sin of the heart, while not thus expressed. But the latter is as really actual sin as the former; therefore, there is no ground for calling one actual sin and the other not. Original sin is that total moral depravity which takes place in the hearts of all the children of Adam, in consequence of his apostasy, which consists in exercise or act, as really as any sin can do, and therefore cannot be distinguished from actual sin

very first motion in his heart, tending that way, was a sinful motion, though it was not perfected or completed till it produced the overt act. Who can say that this motion or inclination, which may be called lust, was stronger, or had more activity in it, than the evil motion which may exist in the heart of an infant; which may be sufficient to produce the most horrid mental and external acts of sin, when capacity and opportunity are given? St. James says, "Every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed. Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin." He does not mean that lust is not sin, for this is contrary to all reason, and cannot be true. And if we should suppose this to be asserted or implied, we should make this apostle contradict St. Paul, who says, "I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." Here he speaks of lust and sin as synonymous, by which he means one and the same thing. St. James, when he distinguishes lust from sin, intends by the latter what is called an overt act of sin, or sin when it is finished or completed in overt acts, agreeably to the following expression: "Sin, when it is finished." It is begun in the first and least motion of lust, or evil inclination and motion in the heart, and finished by being acted out in an overt act of the will. Both are actual sin, yet there is a distinction which may be made.

The existence of sin in the heart of a child, as soon as it is capable of any thing of a moral nature, can be as well accounted for, and as easily, as the sin of an adult person, or as the first existence of sin in the heart of Adam — the former being as consistent with the divine perfections, and the nature of man, as the latter. What has been said in the fourth chapter on the origin and cause of moral evil, may serve to illustrate this. And it takes place in the hearts of all the posterity of Adam, by virtue of the divine constitution, which has been considered and explained above.

On the whole, it is presumed that none but those who assert that the sin of man does take place, contrary to the will and purpose of God, and that it is not, all things considered, agreeably to his will that it should exist, can have any objection to the doctrine of original sin, as it has been stated above, which asserts the universal sinfulness of Adam's posterity to be connected with his first sin by a just, wise, and good constitution, made by God, when he created man. And of these, it is hoped, there are but few, since they must, by such assertion, contradict the truth plainly delivered in the Holy Scriptures, and deny the supremacy and absolute independence and infinite felicity of the most high God, as has been observed in the fore-mentioned chapter.

In order to set this important Scripture doctrine in a yet more full and clear light, the following things must be observed.

I. Mankind are born totally corrupt or sinful, in consequence of the apostasy of Adam. That is, they have naturally, as the children of Adam, no degree or kind of moral rectitude, and their hearts are full of moral evil. That the first apostasy was total, and that man became immediately wholly sinful, having no degree of moral rectitude, has been shown to be, at least, probable, if not certain; and, therefore, when he begat a son in his own likeness, he must come into existence wholly sinful. But that this is in fact true of all mankind, is expressly and repeatedly asserted in divine revelation. It was early declared that "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." (Gen. vi. 5.) The total corruption and depravity of mankind cannot be asserted in stronger and more decisive language than this. With reference to this assertion, it is said, "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." (Gen. viii. 21.) Agreeably to this, Solomon says, "The heart of the sons of men (that is, of all mankind) is full of evil." (Ec. ix. 3.) If it be full of evil, there can be no good in it. Again, it is said, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." (Jer. xvii. 9.) St. Paul asserts the total depravity of man, and that there is nothing in him naturally which is morally good and right, in very express and strong terms, repeated over and over again. He quotes the following words from the Old Testament, and expressly applies them to all mankind, both Jews and Gentiles: "There is none righteous, no, not one. There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one. There is no fear of God before their eyes." (Rom. iii. 10, etc.) This truth is implicitly asserted in many passages of Scripture. Only a few will be mentioned, since it is so clearly asserted in what has been quoted. When Christ says, "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh," that is, nothing but flesh, he really asserts that man, as he is born, in his natural state, is destitute of all moral goodness. For by flesh is meant that which is opposed to the Holy Spirit, or holiness, and is put for moral corruption, which is abundantly evident by the writings of St. Paul. Christ says, "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." All under the gospel are invited to come. "Whosoever will, let him come." Yet Christ says, "No man can

come unto me, except the Father, which sent me, draw him." All this put together proves that all mankind are wholly opposed to the character of Christ, which they could not be, if they had the least degree of moral rectitude or inclination to that which is right. Our Lord further says, "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink, in my name, because you belong to Christ, verily, I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward." (Mark ix. 41.) If he who exercises so much regard to Christ, as to give a cup of water for his sake, to one of his disciples, shall be saved; then men have not by nature the least inclination to embrace him, but must be his enemies, which, indeed, is abundantly declared, both by Christ and his apostles. "He that is not with me, is against me. Ye shall be hated of all men, for my name's sake. If the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you." By the world is meant mankind in general. To hate Christ, implies a mind not only destitute of all right disposition, but under the dominion of a strong evil propensity. St. Paul says, "The carnal mind is enmity against God. In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." The carnal mind and the flesh are the same, and stand opposed to the mind renewed by the Spirit of God in regeneration. It is said, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual, judgeth all things." As the natural man is opposed to the spiritual man, that is, a true Christian, it must mean man in his natural state in which he is born, or the world of mankind; which is confirmed by our Savior's saying the same which is here said of the natural man of mankind, as distinguished from his disciples. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you." (John xiv. 16, 17.) This represents man as not having the least degree of true taste and discerning of mind with respect to things of a moral, spiritual nature, which is the same with being destitute of all moral rectitude or holiness. Nothing but total depravity can render men wholly blind to spiritual things, and so as to be opposed to them, and refuse to receive them. This is confirmed by what Christ says, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." (John. iii. 3.) He has no true discerning and understanding respecting it, but is wholly in the dark. Nothing but viciousness or depravity of mind can thus blind them, and a being destitute of every

degree of conformity to the law of God. This is asserted by St. John, "Every one that loveth, is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God." (1 John iv. 7, 8.) "Love is the fulfilling of the law," which requires nothing but *love*. It is necessary to have this love, in order to see and know God. And, consequently, this is necessary in order to see the Spirit of God, for he is God; and in order to know the things of the Spirit of God, and see the kingdom of God. And he who has this love does know God, and receives the things of the Spirit. But all who are not born of God, and saved by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, are wholly without every degree of this kind of love; for every one that loveth, is born of God. Therefore, all who are not born of God are wholly without every degree of conformity to the law of God, or of real holiness; consequently, are wholly depraved or sinful.

This fact, the total depravity of mankind, is confirmed by experience and observation. Mankind have given this character of themselves, in all ages of the world, not only that they are sinners, but that there is none that doeth good, no, not one, unless he be renewed by divine grace, and is made a new creature, by being created in Christ Jesus, unto good works.*

II. It is of importance to observe, that the total moral depravity and sinfulness of mankind, which by divine constitution takes place in consequence of the sin of their common father, is as much their own sin, and they are consequently as answerable and blamable for it, as if this their sinfulness had taken place in any other or different way that is conceivable or possible.

Indeed, it is a plain contradiction to say, or suppose, that any person's moral depravity or sin is not his own sin, and that all the blame and ill desert of it does not lie upon him; for if it be not his sin, and he is not answerable for it, it is not sin or moral depravity, but must be of a different and contrary nature, and consistent with innocence and moral perfection; and, consequently, cannot subject the person to any blame or desert of evil.

Therefore, to talk, or think, of the total or partial moral depravity of mankind, as not being wholly their own depravity or sin, and they not wholly accountable for it, and as if they

* That those appearances and things which are found in mankind in general, which have been by some considered as true virtue and real goodness, and produced as an argument that mankind are not wholly depraved, are not true virtue, is proved in President Edwards's Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue.

are not odious and ill-deserving in proportion to the degree of their moral corruption or sinfulness, is most absurd, and tends only to blind and delude.

If the natural capacity and powers of mankind were debased and sunk, and become much less, and more feeble, independent of any moral depravity or sinfulness of theirs, this would not be their sin, nor could they be answerable or blamed for it. And if, in consequence of their being the children of Adam, and of his sin, they had lost their rational powers, and all natural capacity, necessary to constitute them moral agents, this could not render them sinful or blamable in the least degree; and, by the supposition, they would be utterly incapable of either. The constituted consequence and effect of the sin of Adam, as it respects his posterity, is their total moral depravity or sinfulness, and not the removal or debasing their natural powers of mind in the least degree, any further than the corruption and sinfulness of their hearts has influence to prevent the proper use of their understanding and natural powers of mind with which they are endowed; and they are, by this moral depravity, perverted and improved to the purpose of sin and rebellion against God. Therefore, nothing is necessary in order to restore man to the perfect possession of his natural powers, and the proper exercise and use of them, but the removal of the moral corruption of his heart, and restoration to the perfect exercise of holiness. This moral corruption is, in every instance and degree of it, wholly his own corruption and sin, in whose heart it takes place, and he is blamable and answerable for it all, be it more or less, and it is impossible it should be otherwise, as has been observed and proved. But as this matter is liable to be misunderstood, and many difficulties respecting it have much embarrassed the minds of not a few, it is proper to give it a more particular attention.

1. The sinfulness of mankind being connected with the sin of Adam, as the constituted consequence of it, does not, in any respect, or in the least degree, make it less their own sin, or render them the less answerable and blameworthy for it.

The previous certainty that they will all sin, however, and in whatever way this becomes certain, whether by the divine decree, or constitution, or whatever, cannot render it less their own sin, or them less guilty than if there were no certainty that they would sin antecedent to their actually sinning. This has been considered and proved in a former chapter, and cannot be consistently denied by any who admit the foreknowledge of God, and believe in divine revelation. If the previous certainty that men will act wrong and sin renders their con-

duct not wrong and sinful, which is, indeed, a contradiction, then, according to the Bible, neither Pharaoh, nor the Israelites, nor Judas, nor the Jews in crucifying Christ, were guilty of any sin; and others innumerable, whose actions were predicted in holy writ. Yea, according to this, there is, there can be, no sin in the universe, since all the actions of creatures were foreknown, and therefore certain, from eternity. It was certain that Adam would sin, before he was a sinner. This did not render his transgression no sin, or not his own sin, or in the least exculpate him for what he did; so far from this, that it necessarily implied that he would be a sinner, and that he should be wholly answerable for that which was his own sin. And if the sinfulness of all the posterity of Adam was certainly connected with his sinning, this does not make them sinners before they actually are sinners; and when they actually become sinners, they themselves are the sinners, it is their own sin, and they are as blamable and guilty as if Adam had never sinned, and each one were the first sinner that ever existed. The children of Adam are not answerable for his sin, and it is not their sin any further than they approve of it, by sinning as he did. In this way only they become guilty of his sin, viz., by approving of what he did, and joining with him in rebellion. And it being previously certain, by divine constitution, that all mankind would thus sin and join with their common head in rebellion, renders it no less their own sin and crime than if this certainty had taken place on any other ground, or in any other way; or than if there had been no certainty that they would thus all sin, were this possible.

2. The moral corruption or sin of mankind is not the less their own sin and crime because they begin to sin so early, and are morally depraved as soon as they exist, capable of any thing of a moral nature. It is evident from Scripture and from fact, as has been shown, that this is true of all the children of Adam. They are sinful as soon as they are capable subjects of any thing of a moral kind, and their first moral exercises are wrong and sinful. But, nevertheless, it is their own depravity, and all their moral exercises are as much their own, and this corruption and these exercises are as really criminal as they could be did they not take place so soon, but in any supposable after time. The time in which a person begins to have moral exercises, right or wrong, whether earlier or later, does not alter the nature of those exercises. If his exercises be wrong and selfish from the beginning of his existence, they are, in their own nature, as really wrong and sinful as if he had been holy a thousand years, and after that had fallen into a course

of the same wrong and sinful exercises and conduct. It is not necessary, in order to a creature's being sinful, that he should first be virtuous, or free from moral corruption. The first sin of Adam would have been as really his own sin, and his own crime, had he sinned sooner than he did; yea, if that had been the first act of his, and he had never had one virtuous exercise. His previous holy exercises might be the means of rendering his sin which he afterwards committed more criminal than otherwise it would have been; but had there been no such holy exercises previous to his sin, and his first exercises had been contrary to holiness, they would have been as much his own exercises, and as really criminal as was his first sin which he committed after he had been holy for a time. The plain, incontestable reason has been given for this, viz., that all sin consists in the nature and quality of the exercises which take place in a moral agent, and not in any thing which goes before, or follows after them, and which is not of the same kind.

If a person finds himself now a sinner, and that from the heart he approves of, and chooses rebellion against God and his laws, he is not the less a sinner because he has been of the same disposition many years, and has always sinned since he has been conscious of any of his own exercises; yea, has, in fact, had the same disposition from the beginning of his existence. His having sinned before, and done nothing else but sin since he began to act, is no excuse for his sinning now, and going on to sin, nor does it make his present sinful exercises less his own sin, nor any of the precedent ones, than if he never had such exercises more than at one time of his life. Yea, according to the common sense of mankind, he is the more criminal, and his character is the worse and more odious, for his being always given to wickedness, and to do evil, from a child; so that it is natural, or in his very nature, to do evil. It has been often said of persons, in order to represent them very criminal, and set their character in a bad and odious light, "Their conduct has been always bad and mischievous, their character has been bad from children, they sprang from very wicked families, they are vicious by nature, and mischievousness runs in their very blood," etc.

King David represents himself in this light, and speaks of his native corruption as his own, and as an aggravation of all his sins, and the odiousness of his own character, in that remarkable penitential psalm of his, "Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." (Ps. li.)

It is not necessary to determine when or how soon the children of Adam became moral agents, or what is necessary

to constitute them such, in order to decide the point now under consideration; since it is only asserted that the moral corruption of mankind is not the less their own sin and fault, because it takes place as soon as they are capable of moral exercise, be that when it may. Many have supposed that none of mankind are capable of sin, or moral agency, before they can distinguish between right and wrong, and know what the law of God requires, and what it forbids. But this wants proof, which never has been yet produced. And it appears to be contrary to divine revelation; for that speaks of sins committed ignorantly, and supposes a person may sin and be guilty in those exercises, and that conduct, in which he has no knowledge or consciousness that he is doing wrong. Hence it appears that persons may be moral agents, and sin without knowing what the law of God is, or of what nature their exercises are, and while they have no consciousness that they are wrong. And if so, then as soon as children are capable of the least motion and exercise of the heart which is contrary to the law of God, such motions and exercises are sin in them, and their sin, though they are ignorant of it; and of such sinful inclinations and exercises they may be capable as soon as they exist the children of Adam. It is certain no one can know it not to be so; and this is agreeable to the representation the Scripture gives of the matter, which puts it beyond all doubt. This has been particularly considered, page 222, etc.

3. The corruption of mankind is not the less their own moral depravity and sin, and they are not the less culpable and guilty, because it is so deeply fixed in their hearts, and they are totally corrupt and sinful. This observation might be thought quite needless, and as only saying that a greater degree of sinfulness is not less than a small degree, or that ten or a thousand degrees of moral corruption are not less than one degree, or that sin is not the less sinful because it is so great. I say this observation would be needless, and but trifling, were it not too common to believe and assert the contrary, — though not in plain and express terms, — however unreasonable and absurd.

If one degree of sinfulness, or opposition of heart to the law of God in any person, be wholly his own sin, and he is justly accountable for it, and the blame and guilt of it lies upon him, then, if he has ten, or a thousand degrees of evil inclination and opposition to the law of God, this must be all still his own sin, and he proportionably more criminal and blameworthy. If inclination to oppose the law of God be wrong and criminal, then it must be criminal in proportion to

the strength of such inclination. And if this be the constant reigning inclination and choice of his heart, so as wholly to exclude every degree of opposite inclination and choice, he is wholly sinful, and criminal in proportion to the strength and constancy of his evil disposition by which his heart is obstinately fixed and bent to do evil. This is the clear dictate of reason, and the contrary is most absurd, and supposes that the more strongly the heart is inclined to oppose God and his law, the less criminal the man is; and that when the heart is wholly and constantly fixed in opposition to the law of God, this opposition of heart to God becomes wholly innocent, so that a man cannot be justly condemned for it; whereas, if he had less opposition to God, and a very small degree of it, it would be very odious and sinful! That the greatest possible degree of moral corruption does not excuse, but increase, the odiousness and guilt of the man so depraved, is not only demonstrable by reason, but is the dictate of common sense and feelings of mankind. If a person appears wholly and constantly inclined to falsehood, and to injure his neighbors, and if no means and arguments used with him, or motives set before him to desist from his evil conduct, have the least impression or effect upon him to reclaim him, but he obstinately persists in his evil practices, we consider him not as innocent and blameless, because his moral depravity is so deeply fixed that he is incurable by any possible means, but as more odious and criminal in proportion to the degree and obstinacy of his incurable and unalterable inclination to do evil.

It has been thought, and urged, by many, that fallen man cannot be wholly blamable for his moral depravity, because he has lost his power to do that which is good, and is wholly unable to change and renew his depraved heart. But what has been before observed must be here kept in mind — that man has not lost any of his natural powers of understanding and will, etc., by becoming sinful. He has lost his inclination, or is wholly without any inclination, to serve and obey his Maker, and entirely opposed to it. In this his sinfulness consists, and in this lies his blame and guilt, and in nothing else; and the stronger and more fixed the opposition to the law of God is, and the farther he is from any inclination to obey, the more blamable and inexcusable he is, as has been observed and proved. So that, when it is considered what must be meant by man's losing his power, and having no ability to do right, if there be any real meaning and any thing be meant that is agreeable to the truth, the objection and difficulty vanishes entirely, and it appears that man is under no inability to obey the law of God, but what consists in his

inclination to disobey. And it is easy to see that if inclination to disobey God, be it ever so strong, will excuse disobedience, and render it blameless, then there cannot possibly be any such thing as sin and blame in the universe, unless creatures may commit sin contrary to all their inclination and choice.

It is certain that every degree of inclination contrary to duty, which is and must be sinful, necessarily implies and involves an equal degree of difficulty and inability to obey. For, indeed, such inclination of the heart to disobey, and the difficulty or inability to obey, are precisely one and the same. This kind of difficulty, or inability, therefore, always is great according to the strength and fixedness of the inclination to disobey; and it becomes total and absolute when the heart is totally corrupt, and wholly opposed to obedience. But this inability to obey, being the same in kind and degree with opposition of heart to obedience, does not excuse disobedience, or in the least remove the blame of it, unless opposition of heart to obedience renders disobedience no crime, which none, it is presumed, will assert or believe.

This leads to observe that the Holy Scriptures speak frequently of this kind of inability, or want of power to do good, and always represent it as inexcusable and blamable. Our Savior said, "No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him:" and yet apparently blamed the Jews for rejecting and not coming to him, and said to them, "Ye will not come to me, that you might have life." From whence it appears that the *cannot* — the inability mankind are under to come to him — is precisely the same thing with their unwillingness, or opposition of heart, to come to him, as the matter has been stated above. Nothing but the opposition of the heart, or will of man, to coming to Christ, is, or can be, in the way of his coming. So long as this continues, and his heart is wholly opposed to Christ, he cannot come to him; it is impossible, and will continue so, until his unwillingness, his opposition to coming to Christ, be removed by a change and renovation of his heart by divine grace, and he made willing in the day of God's power. And yet this inability and impossibility to come to Christ, consisting wholly in the opposition of his will or heart to Christ, is the man's own sin, and he is criminal in proportion to the degree of his inability, or the strength and fixedness of the opposition of his heart to Christ.

This kind of inability, therefore, is so far from being an excuse for not coming to Christ, that it is in its own nature criminal, being nothing but sin, — a strong, fixed opposition

of heart to that which is most reasonable and right. No man can act contrary to his present inclination and choice. But whoever imagined that this rendered his inclination and choice innocent and blameless, however wrong and unreasonable it might be?

St. Paul says, "The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." None can think the apostle means to excuse man's enmity against God, because it renders him unable to obey the law of God, and cannot be subject to it. The contrary is strongly expressed, viz., that this enmity against God is exceeding criminal, in that it is directly opposed to God and his law, and involves in its nature an utter inability to obey the law of God, — yea, an absolute impossibility.

On the whole, it is hoped that by what has been said above on the apostasy of man, it will appear that the doctrine of original sin has been stated and explained agreeably to the Holy Scripture, and that it does not imply any thing unreasonable and absurd, or injurious to mankind, but is the result of a constitution which is perfectly agreeable to the nature of things — reasonable, wise, and good; — that the children of Adam are not guilty of his sin, are not punished, and do not suffer for that, any further than they implicitly or expressly approve of his transgression, by sinning as he did; — that their total moral corruption and sinfulness is as much their own sin, and as criminal in them, as it could be if it were not in consequence of the sin of the first father of the human race, or if Adam had not first sinned; — that they are under no inability to obey the law of God, which does not consist in their sinfulness and opposition of heart to the will of God; and are, therefore, wholly inexcusable, and may justly suffer the wages of sin, which is the second death.

III. This subject of the introduction of sin into the world, and the total moral corruption of all the natural posterity of Adam, cannot be properly finished without observing, and more particularly considering, what is the nature of *sin*, and wherein it consists.

The most express and concise definition of sin, which, perhaps, we have in the Bible, is in the following words: "Sin is the transgression of the law." Or, as it might, perhaps, more properly be rendered, Sin is a violation of the law, or a deviation from law. Sin supposes a law — "for where no law is, there is no transgression." And every motion or exercise of the heart of a moral agent, which is not perfectly conformed to the law of God, which requires all to love God with all their heart, soul, mind, and strength, and to love their neighbor as them-

selves, is sin, as it is a deviation from this law. As the law requires love, and nothing but love, it may be determined with great certainty that sin consists in that which is contrary to that love which the law requires, be it what it may. There can be no neutral moral exercises, which are neither conformable to the law of God, nor contrary to it; therefore, every exercise of the heart of a moral agent, which is not agreeable to the law of God, is contrary and opposed to it. It must be also observed and kept in mind, that sin, as does holiness, consists in the motions or exercises of the heart or will, and in nothing else. Where there is no exercise of heart, nothing of the nature of moral inclination, will, or choice, there can be neither sin nor holiness. Nothing external, or out of the heart or will, and which has no connection with that, can be of the nature of morality, either virtue or sin. External motions or exertions, in words and actions, are virtuous or sinful only as they are connected with the heart, and are the expressions, fruits, or effects of inclination, design and choice; and all the virtue or sin consists wholly in the latter. This observation, the truth of which none can dispute, is made in order to direct us where to look for sin, even into the heart, and nowhere else, when we are inquiring after the nature of it, and wherein it consists.

Therefore, if we would find what sin is, and what is that in which it consists, we must look for these exercises of heart, that disposition, inclination, or choice, in which there is no love to God and our neighbor, and which are contrary to loving God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. And if we can find, and on sure ground determine, what these are, we shall know what is the nature of sin, and wherein it essentially consists.

Love to God, and love to our fellow-creatures, is of the same nature and kind, and differs only as it is exercised towards different objects. It consists most essentially in benevolence or good will to being in general. In this is necessarily included all virtuous love, or all the love which the law of God requires; such as love of complacency in moral beauty and excellence, and love of gratitude to benevolent beings, etc. Love to God, who is infinitely the greatest, and the sum of all being, consists primarily and essentially in good will or friendship of heart towards him, in acquiescing and rejoicing in his existence, glory, and infinite felicity, and in seeking the promotion of his interest and honor, etc. And this implies all the virtuous love required in the divine law. And where there is no degree of this kind — disinterested affection — there is no virtuous love to God or man. If this were not so evident from the nature of things, it is capable of being proved from Scripture many

ways. The apostle John says, "God is love;" and then proceeds immediately to say, "In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." This is love of pure, disinterested benevolence, to creatures infinitely odious and guilty. This is the love meant when he said, "God is love;" for this is introduced to illustrate that assertion. Hence it follows with certainty, that disinterested benevolence is primary and essential in the divine moral character. Consequently, this is the love which is required of creatures in the divine law; for the law of God is a transcript of his own moral perfection; and so far as creatures are conformed to this, they are like God in his moral character, and partakers of the divine nature, and exercise the same kind of love and holiness which forms the moral character of God. St. Paul gives a particular description of the love in which holiness consists, (1 Cor. xiii.;) and he says, "It is kind;" that is, it is benevolent, and good will to others; consequently, to being in general, and to God, the first and sum of all being. He also says, "It seeketh not her own;" by which assertion he sets it in direct opposition to self-love, for in the exercise of this a man seeketh his own and nothing else, and he makes it wholly a disinterested affection; for if holy love seeketh not her own, it seeketh the good of being in general, as her only object, and cannot have the least degree of selfishness in its nature, but is directly opposed to it.

That the love to our fellow-creatures, required in the law of God, is love of benevolence, which is disinterested, is certain, as it is a love which will extend to those who have no moral excellence, even those of the worst moral character, and to our greatest enemies, towards whom a virtuous love either of complacence or gratitude cannot be exercised. And it follows from this, also, that the love to God which is required is love of disinterested benevolence; for, as has been observed, the love to God and to our neighbor, which the law of God requires, is of the same nature and kind, and the one implies and involves the other. And this is the further evident and certain from the apostle's considering the love of Christians as of the same nature and kind with this disinterested love of God, in this passage; and from his exhorting them to imitate God, in this his disinterested benevolence, by loving as he does. "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us."

It being thus evident that the love required in the divine law, in which holiness consists, is disinterested benevolence, which is primary and most essential in all virtuous love, and

in which all is included; it appears from what has been observed, that sin consists in that affection and those exercises which are directly opposed to disinterested benevolence to being in general, and all those affections and exercises which are implied in true benevolence or good will to others. And this must be self-love, or selfish affection and exercises; for this, and this only, is or can be opposed to disinterested regard and good will to other beings, and to all those exercises which are implied in true benevolence. If a person has no other exercises but self-love, or the love of his own self, and those moral inclinations and affections which are implied in this, he does by the supposition regard himself only, and has respect to nothing but his own supposed good or interest, and cannot exercise the least degree of disinterested affection to any other being. And as that heart whose exercises may be all resolved into self-love, being implied in it, and flowing from it, does not, and cannot exercise any true benevolence to other beings, but is wholly opposed to it; so every degree of self-love, be there more or less, is in its own nature opposed to the love required in the divine law; and, therefore, is in its nature, and in every degree of it, sin, being contrary to true holiness. And if a person be not wholly selfish, but exercises some degree of disinterested regard and good will to other beings, yet every degree of self-love which he exercises is as opposite to disinterested affection as if he had no benevolence, and therefore as sinful. The nature of self-love is not changed from sin to holiness, nor does it become an innocent affection, by the exercise of a degree of opposite disinterested affection, or by being diminished as to the degree of it, so as to be exerted with less strength and vigor, and in a measure counteracted by opposite affection. Still every exertion of self-love is as really sin, as if it were exercised in a higher degree, and were not restrained and counteracted by opposite, disinterested love. No one does or can suppose that benevolent affection changes its nature, and becomes wrong and sinful by being exercised in a low degree, and counteracted and kept very much under by selfishness. But this might be as reasonably supposed, as that selfishness does become innocent and virtuous, when exercised in a small degree, and under the restraints of benevolence to being in general. Yea, if the latter be true or possible, the former must be so too.

Hence it is evident that sin consists in self-love, and those affections and exercises which are implied in this, and naturally flow from it as their root. This is, in its own nature, opposite to all virtuous, holy affection, to all truth and reason, and is of a criminal nature, in every degree of it, wherever it is

found; and where there is nothing of this, there is nothing criminal or wrong. Self-love pays a supreme and sole regard to an infinitely small and inconsiderable part of existence, and the feeling and language of all the exercises of it is, "I am, and there is none else. There is no other being worthy of any regard but myself." Self-love regards nothing but self, as such, and subordinates every being and every thing to this; and opposes every thing which, in the view of the selfish person, opposes him and his selfish interest. He who is under the government of this affection takes all to himself, and gives nothing to any other being, as if he was the greatest, the best, and only worthy and important being in the universe.

Self-love is the root of all pride, or, rather, is pride itself, as there is no distinction to be made of which there can be any conception. Pride is self-love exercised in self-esteem, and desire to exalt self, etc. Self-love is blindness and delusion itself, as it is a contradiction to all truth, and is the source of all the blindness and delusions with respect to things temporal and spiritual, which have or can ever take place. This sets man against God and his fellow-creatures, and against himself, that is, against his true interest, and renders him really miserable, and prepares him to be completely miserable forever, unless it be removed. In short, there can be no kind or degree of moral depravity which has appeared among men, or of which there can be any conception, which does not consist in self-love, in the various exercises and fruits of it. And where there is no selfishness there is no sin, there can be no deviation from the law of God.

Therefore, when the apostle Paul speaks of the nature of sin, and that in which he found it to consist when he came to the knowledge of it, he comprehends it all in selfishness, or coveting, which is the same. He says, "I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not *covet*." He refers to the tenth command in the decalogue, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, etc., nor any thing that is thy neighbor's." Coveting that to ourselves which belongs to others, is an exercise of self-love. In this the apostle represents sin to consist; even in the inmost latent exercises of this selfishness in the heart, being the root and fountain of all sin. Agreeably to this, the same apostle, when he describes the great degree of vice and wickedness which shall take place in the last days, sets self-love at the head, as the source and root of the whole. "This know, also, that, in the last days, perilous times shall come; for men shall be lovers of their own selves; covetous, boasters, proud, etc." (2 Tim. iii. 1–5.) Any one who will attentively read

over this catalogue of iniquity, will see that every vice here mentioned is implied in the self-love which is first introduced, and is only a different modification of that which men will practise because they are lovers of their own selves; and, consequently, act out this self-love in a variety of forms, which, therefore, are called by these different names.

It therefore appears that, as holiness is in the Holy Scripture reduced to one simple principle, *love*, and made to consist wholly in this, by which is evidently meant disinterested good will to being in general, capable of happiness, with all that affection necessarily included in this; so sin is there represented as consisting in the simple principle or exercise of *self-love*, which, in its own nature, comprehends all sin, every exercise and affection which is a deviation from the divine law, and is directly and wholly opposed to that love which this law requires.*

It has been said, that every degree of self-love cannot be sin, but must be lawful and right, since it is reasonable that we should have some regard, at least, for ourselves, and desire and seek our own interest and happiness, not inconsistent with that of others; and, were there no self-love, men could not be influenced by promises and threatening, and there would be no propriety in these, of which the Bible is full. Besides, the command to love our neighbor supposes and enjoins self-love. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Here the love of our own selves is mentioned as the stated measure by which our love to others is to be regulated. If we are forbid to exercise any degree of self-love, the command is inconsistent, and comes to nothing.

Upon this, it may be observed, that a person may have and exercise a proper regard for himself, and desire and seek his own interest and happiness, without the least degree of the self-love which is opposed to disinterested benevolence, or which is not implied in it. The person who exercises disinterested good will to being in general must have a proper and

* Our Lord says, all which the law requires is love; therefore, holiness consisted wholly in this. (Matt. xxii. 37–40.) And St. Paul says, "He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." (Rom. xiii.) And, as has been observed, he represents sin as consisting in the coveting what belongs to others, which is forbidden in the tenth command, which is self-love. The love required gives all to being in general, and reserves and desires nothing to self, as self, or as an object distinct from universal being. The self-love forbidden covets and seeks all to self, as such, as distinguished from being in general, and opposite to it. It gives nothing to any other being, but, so far as its grasp can reach, takes and holds all good to self, as such, and as opposed to every other being, and seeks to subordinate every other being and thing to his own self, will, and interest. The former is required as that in which all holiness consists. The latter is forbidden, as the root and essence of all sin.

proportionable regard to himself, as he belongs to being in general, and is included in it as a necessary part of it. It is impossible he should love being in general, or universal being, and not love himself, because he is included in universal being. And the more he has of a disinterested, universal benevolence, and the stronger his exercises of it are, the more regard will he have to his own being, and the more fervently will he desire and seek his own interest and happiness. But here it must be observed, that he will not desire and seek it as his own, or because it is his own interest, considered as distinct and detached from the interest of the whole, or of being in general, but as included in it. Thus disinterested benevolence to being in general loves our neighbor as ourselves; in which there is nothing selfish, but ourselves are loved as included in the general object of disinterested love. The least degree of selfish love necessarily destroys all due proportion, and sets up a selfish interest detached from that of others, and injurious to the whole. It is, in the very nature of it, an enemy to the harmony and happiness of the whole, and breaks in upon it, and tends to spread confusion and evil through the whole, in opposition to universal benevolence; and is inconsistent with our loving our neighbor as ourselves; but, by the supposition, loves self and nothing else. Hence it appears that the command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," excludes and forbids all self-love, or selfishness, and enjoins that disinterested love to the whole which necessarily includes a proper and proportionable love and regard to our own existence and interest, as implied in that of the whole. And, in this view of the matter, it appears that he who has disinterested benevolence to the whole may be influenced by promises and threatenings, and is as proper a subject of them, and more so, than the most selfish person in the world.*

Thus it appears from Scripture, and the reason and nature of things, that the sin which entered into the world by one man, the father of the human race, and has spread to all his children, by which they are totally corrupted, and involved in guilt and ruin, consists wholly in self-love. Nothing but that which has the nature of selfishness is sin; and this is, in its own nature, and in every degree, a transgression of the law of God, and contrary to true holiness. It is useful and important that we should have this scriptural idea of holiness and sin, as it will put us under advantage to know how far we ourselves are sinful, or what is sin in us, as well as to judge of the moral corruption of mankind.

* This subject is more particularly considered in "An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness," to which the reader is referred.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. In the part the devil acted in seducing man, and leading him off into rebellion against God, may be seen the nature and tendency of sin, and what is the disposition or inclination of the sinner. When Satan became a rebel against his Maker, his inclination and desire was to disappoint and dethrone him, if possible, and to spread rebellion through the universe; and he wished to have every creature that existed, or ever should exist, to join with him, and do as he had done. And his sinning had a mighty tendency to this, and did accomplish it, so far as his influence reached and had its natural effect. He actually drew off into rebellion with him myriads of angels. And had it been in his power, and had not God prevented it, he would have drawn them all off from obedience to God. He wished to extinguish all holiness from the universe. He acted out this disposition, this enmity against God and man, and all holiness, in seducing man, and spreading sin and ruin through this world.

Sin in man is of the same nature and kind with the sin of the devil, by which man is inclined to do as he does, and in which man has joined with him, to desire and pursue the same thing which he seeks; and it tends to produce the same effects, the sin and ruin of the whole universe. Therefore, our Savior says to the Jews, "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." (John viii. 41.) That is, ye are of the same disposition with the devil, and desire and pursue the same things. "He that committeth sin is of the devil." (1 John iii. 8.) Here we are to look to see the nature and tendency of sin, when acted out, and the inclination and choice of the sinner; and to learn our own character as sinners, in which we imitate the devil, and exercise the same desires and lusts of self-love and pride, in which his first rebellion consisted, and in which consists his obstinate perseverance in disobedience, and all his attempts against God and man. This, if properly considered, will lead us to view ourselves, and the character of mankind, in a much worse light than that in which men generally view themselves, and will serve to discover the infinite evil of all sin, as tending, and desiring and attempting, to spread unbounded mischief, and infinite natural evil through the universe. The consequence is, that the sinner deserves to be punished with infinite evil, or everlasting destruction.

Doubtless, one reason why it was so ordered that one, the first act of sin, should spread total corruption and ruin over

all the countless myriads of the human race, was to discover to all intelligent creatures the evil nature and tendency of sin. This constitution, as has been observed, was only ordaining that sin should, in this respect, have its natural course, and spread, agreeable to the inclination and desire of the first transgressor, through all his posterity. And hereby the evil there is in every act of sin is held up to the view of men and angels, discovering to all that it deserves the endless punishment threatened in the divine law.

Let no one then condemn Satan for his rebellion and persisting in sinning, while he justifies himself, or even thinks better of himself, who is doing the same thing, and rendering himself like the devil, and joining with him, and justifying him, by every act of sin of which he is guilty. Nor let any of the children of Adam object to the constitution which connects their sin with his, nor complain of the sin of their common father, while they are disposed to excuse and justify themselves in that conduct by which they consent to his sinning as he did, and imitate him, and desire to spread sin and ruin as far as he has done, and would do it, were it in their power, and which they are attempting to do, even in making the objection. Rather let all condemn, and humble themselves in the sight of the Lord, for their joining with Satan in rebellion, and imitating and justifying Adam in his transgression, and doing what they could to spread and perpetuate disobedience. And let all adore and give glory to almighty power, infinite wisdom and goodness to that glorious Being, who does in any degree counteract sin and the sinner, and in any instance prevent the just and natural consequences of it, and turn all to his own glory, and the greatest good of his kingdom.

2. From the history of the apostasy of man, and the way in which sin entered into the world, we are warned of the folly and danger of disregarding divine revelation, and giving the least heed to any assertions or suggestions which are contrary to the revealed will of God, or which are not warranted by that.

The first suggestion which Satan made was contrary to that which God had declared, and by giving heed to that, sin was introduced, and has brought sin and ruin on all mankind. And this same deceiver and father of lies has at all times since, and does now, in various ways, attempt to lead men to disregard what God has said in his word, and believe those things which are not warranted by it, but are really contrary to those divine oracles. And so far as he succeeds, he gets

the advantage of men, and in this way they fall into his snare, and are led captive by him. This is the continued source of all the sinful practices in the world, and of all the delusions and false religions which take place among mankind.

With what care and circumspection does it become us to examine every doctrine and practice which is proposed or suggested to us as right and true, and to reject with resolution and abhorrence every thing of this kind, which is not agreeable to the oracles of God! Upon this law and testimony we ought to keep our eye, with constant, painful care and study, to understand it, and a readiness immediately to reject every thing which is not warranted by that, as dangerous delusion, from whatever quarter, or by whomsoever it may be proposed, and however plausible and tempting it may be.

3. The particular suggestion of Satan, contrary to revealed truth, by which he tempted our mother Eve to transgress, is worthy to be considered as a warning to us. "The serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die." By hearkening to this lie of Satan, she fell into sin and ruin. We may be sure the devil has been ever since urging this same lie upon men, as the great and principal delusion by which he holds them secure in his snare, and tempts them to go on boldly in rebellion. Those who are persuaded to believe this lie, which Satan tries by all means and ways in his power to propagate, are fallen into his snare, and in their attempts to promote it, they are his instruments and servants; and he influences them to the utmost of his power to make their bands strong, and to heighten their confidence, that they shall have peace, and no evil shall come upon them, though they walk after the imagination of their own hearts. And they have his assistance in searching and studying the Scriptures to find passages, and to pervert them, so as to strengthen themselves and others in this dangerous delusion, by which their hearts are steeled against any impression by the many awful threatenings in the word of God.

And where he cannot persuade men to believe there is no future punishment for impenitent sinners, he does all he can to keep them stupid and thoughtless, with respect to it, and make them feel and act as if they were exposed to no such punishment, and to flatter themselves with peace and safety, until sudden destruction cometh upon them. This is one special mean of holding men in security and ease in sin, in the Christian world. And Satan has great advantage against mankind, in promoting this delusion, because it is agreeable to their hearts, and it is the nature of sin to be pleased with it,

and to make men stupid and unbelieving with respect to the reality and dreadfulness of future punishment, and the danger in which they are of falling into it.

Let all beware of this delusion, by which sin first entered into the world, and which has been the means of thousands and millions falling into that endless punishment, which they have not believed, or not realized, that it would ever come. "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished." "Woe unto the wicked, it shall be ill with him, for the reward of his hands shall be given him; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power."

Let the ministers of the gospel — the watchmen on the walls of Jerusalem — not be silent, but cry aloud, and warn the wicked, to whom God has said, "Ye shall surely die," and sound an alarm to all the secure in their sins, if by any means they may be awakened from their deadly sleep, and delivered from their delusions, and fly from the wrath to come before it shall be too late.

4. This subject leads us to see and reflect upon the infinitely guilty, miserable, and lost state into which mankind are fallen by sin. They begin to sin as soon as they are capable of moral exercise; and by one sinful exercise, were they guilty of no more, they undo themselves forever, if not delivered by mere sovereign grace. All their exercises are wrong and sinful, — by which they are growing more and more guilty and ill deserving; and all the light they have, and the favors they enjoy, being abused, render them unspeakably criminal. They are so wholly inclined to sin, and with such strength and obstinacy of heart fixed in enmity against God and his law, that they stand ready to oppose all means, and every method, that can be taken and used to recover them from sin and reclaim them, and, if left to themselves, will only wax worse and worse, until they plunge into endless ruin and intolerable misery. They are continually provoking God to cast them into everlasting destruction, — on whose sovereign mercy they depend every moment to save them from dropping into hell, and by whose forfeited grace and almighty power, alone, they can be recovered to repentance, and from sin and infinite evil. And at the same time they are flattering themselves in their evil ways, involved in the darkness and delusion of sin, loving darkness and hating the light, and cannot be told in what an infinitely evil and dangerous case they are, — that is, cannot be made to believe it, though they be told, — and are ready to hate their best and only friends, and look upon them as their enemies, while they love their enemies, who are doing

all they can to destroy them forever. But who can describe, or fully conceive, the sinful, miserable, ruined condition into which mankind are fallen, and in which we all naturally are, and shall be forever, unless delivered by infinite, sovereign grace?

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE REDEMPTION OF MAN.

I. We depend wholly on divine revelation for all we know concerning the redemption of man. By this, only, we learn that it is possible that man may be recovered from a state of sin and ruin, and that God has determined to redeem man, and is prosecuting this design; and by this, only, we can know what is implied in this, and what is the way and manner in which it is effected.

Man might justly be left to endless destruction, without any remedy, having fallen under the curse of the divine law, which is righteous and good. And that he could be saved consistent with this law, and the maintenance and honor of divine government, could not be known by any creature. And if it were known that it was possible for man to be delivered and saved, consistent with the honor of the divine law and government, it could not be known that God would see fit to do it, until he revealed his will and design in this matter. God was infinitely far from being under any obligations to show favor to man; it depended upon his sovereign will to determine whether man should be redeemed, or not; and, if he were redeemed, it must be by the most free, unreserved, sovereign mercy. Therefore, that God would show any mercy to sinners, could not be known by men or angels,—or that this was possible, consistent with the holy law of God, and with wisdom and righteousness. This was hid in God from all creatures, until he was pleased to reveal his design. This, indeed, was done immediately upon the apostasy of man; and this important and glorious purpose of God has been opening more and more from that time to this, which has been suited to excite and increase the attention and wonder of men and angels, through all ages.

In this revelation is comprehended what God has made known by declarations, promises, and predictions, in the Holy Scriptures, and by his providence in ordering the events

recorded in the historical part of Scripture, and accomplishing many things which he has promised, or predicted, by which the declarations, promises, and prophecies are opened and explained, and light is thrown upon this grand design; while the Word of God, and his providence in governing the world and ordering all events, do most exactly agree and illustrate each other.

And the providence of God—as it respects the natural world considered by itself, unconnected with his word in the Holy Scriptures—in preserving mankind, and giving them ease and health, and so many comforts and good things in this life, carries a language in it, and is a kind and degree of revelation of the disposition and will of God, declaring not only the being of God and his universal and particular providence and care of all his creatures, but, also, that he is good and kind to man in a sense and degree which is inconsistent with his being cast off without hope, and is a standing evidence, to all who have proper discerning, that God is propitious to the human race, and that there is some way in which he may be reconciled and show mercy to sinners. This seems to be the sentiment expressed by St. Paul in the following words: "Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless, he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." (Acts xiv. 16, 17.)

The witness, or testimony, of which the apostle here speaks, —which was given to mankind in general by God, in his doing them good, and which was constantly held up in divine providence,—was not merely of his existence, but of his kind care of man, and his readiness to be reconciled to him, without particularly pointing out the way and method in which this could be effected. This was a sufficient ground to excite their hope, and induce them to seek after him, and make all possible inquiries and search after the way in which they might obtain mercy, and to find what was necessary in order to their being saved. And God has so ordered the situation and bounds of mankind, both under the Mosaic and Christian dispensation, that all who would take proper notice of this witness in divine providence, and improve it as they ought, and might do, might come to the knowledge of the truth. They who lived before the incarnation of Christ could not fail of coming to the knowledge of the revelation given to the Israelites; and all mankind who have lived since might have come to the knowledge of the truth revealed by Christ and his apostles. This is asserted by St. Paul. "And hath made of

one blood all nations of men to dwell in all the face of the earth; and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him." (Acts xvii. 26, 27.)

Many, who pay no regard to a written revelation, have supposed that the dictates of reason, without any particular revelation from God, did assure them that he must pardon and receive to favor every penitent sinner, as it would be inconsistent with his goodness not to do it; therefore, mankind want no other revelation from God to give them a certainty of this. But they have never been able to give any satisfactory evidence of this to those who properly attend to the matter; and what they call reason, appears to be presumption, when examined by impartial, enlightened reason. There is nothing within the reach of the reason and knowledge of creatures that can afford the least evidence that God will pardon the penitent sinner, merely because he repents; or that this could be done consistent with the most perfect moral government; but the contrary appears most reasonable, viz., that the repentance of the criminal is not sufficient to give him any claim to forgiveness. And it is very evident and certain that such an opinion is inconsistent with real repentance; and that while a sinner thinks that his repentance will give a claim to forgiveness and favor, he is a stranger to true repentance, and never will repent until he gives it up. Nor can he have the least evidence that any of mankind will ever repent if left to themselves, and are not the subjects of those divine influences to which they have no claim, and which they have no reason to conclude God will grant. But this matter will be made more evident as we proceed on the subject of redemption.

II. *Redemption* does not extend to all sinful, fallen creatures, but many are left to suffer the just consequence of their rebellion in everlasting punishment. No mercy has been extended to the fallen angels, of whom there are vast numbers. "For God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and hath reserved them in everlasting chains of darkness, unto the judgment of the great day," (2 Peter ii. 4; Jude 6,) when they are to receive their final sentence to eternal punishment. (Matt. xxv. 41. Rev. xx. 10.) And it is expressly and repeatedly declared in divine revelation that a part of mankind shall also be punished forever — to which they shall be sentenced, together with the fallen angels, at the judgment of the great day. (Matt. xxv. 41, 46. Rev. xx. 10, 15. 2 Thess. i. 8, 9.)

This distinction, made between the fallen angels and man-

kind, and in favor of the latter, is not because man might not have been justly left to eternal ruin, or because he was less unworthy of mercy, and not so ill deserving as the apostate angels, but for reasons in the view of infinite wisdom, which may, at least the most of them, be wholly out of our sight at present. As light and knowledge shall increase in the church, the wisdom of God in this dispensation of sovereign grace will be more and more seen, and there will be an increasing discovery of this to angels and the redeemed in the eternal kingdom of God.

We are also certain that infinite wisdom saw it best that redemption should not extend to all mankind, so that every one of the human race should be actually saved, though we were not able to see the reason of this, and the contrary should appear to us to be most wise and best, — for we are infinitely far from being competent judges in this case, — and there is the highest reason that we should acquiesce and be satisfied with the declaration and conduct of the infinitely wise and benevolent Being, who is able, and to whom it belonged to determine whether all the human race should be saved or not. For we are sure that it is determined perfectly right, and that all mankind could not be actually redeemed, consistent with the good of the whole, or consistent with wisdom and goodness.

It also belongs to the supreme, infinitely wise and benevolent Being to determine what number and proportion of mankind shall be saved, and fix upon every individual person, since all this depends upon him, and he has a right to do as he pleases, and he only knows what is most wise and best. "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor?"

We are not in express words of revelation informed what proportion of mankind shall be saved, whether the greater or less part of them, on the whole. But, perhaps, more is revealed with respect to this than has been supposed, and which is contrary to what has been generally thought to be asserted in the Scriptures. It has been thought by many that when Christ says, "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. Many are called, but few chosen. Fear not little flock," he declares that but few, a very small part of mankind, shall be saved. But when we attend to these words of Christ, we shall find that they are spoken of the then present time, and nothing is asserted concerning that which shall take place in future ages; and, therefore, have no relation to the point before us, and determine nothing about it. When this question was put to him, "Lord,

are there few that shall be saved?" he did not think proper to answer it then, by expressly affirming or denying; but only said, that many should not be saved, and improved this truth to excite all to secure their own salvation without delay; which is consistent with there being many more saved than lost.

When we attend to the many predictions of the flourishing, greatness, and extent of the church and kingdom of Christ in the last days, so as to fill the whole world, when "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High," and are assured that this state of prosperity shall continue at least a thousand years, we shall find no reason to conclude that but few of mankind will be saved, in comparison with those who shall perish, but see ground to believe that the number of the former will far exceed that of the latter.* But were there nothing revealed, by which we could determine any thing with respect to this, we might well rest satisfied that God, who is infinitely wise and good, has fixed the number of those who shall be saved, and of those who shall not be saved, so as exactly to answer the best end, and promote the greatest general good; and may be as certain that many of mankind will perish forever, as we can be that the Bible is a revelation from God, since this is there so expressly, abundantly, and in such a variety of ways, declared and established.

III. The redemption of man is the greatest instance of the exercise and manifestation of the benevolence, or the love and goodness of God, that ever took place, or that ever will. It is the greatest possible exercise and display of divine benevolence, in which there is the best and most ample ground and scope for the highest increasing and endless discovery of the love and goodness of the infinitely benevolent Being.

The benevolence of the Deity is exercised, and appears in all his works; but in the work of redemption is the fullest, most perfect, and bright display of the divine love, as all the works of God have reference to this as their result and end, in which his design in all is manifested. This is every where set in this light in the Holy Scripture. "God *so loved* the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John iii. 16.) "God is *love*. In this was manifested the love of God towards us, that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live

* The reader may see this more fully considered in Dr. Bellamy's discourse, on the Millennium. Some attention is also paid to this point, and the reasons are suggested, why redemption does not include the salvation of all men, in "An Inquiry concerning the Future State of those who die in their Sins." See vol. ii. p. 471, etc.

through him. Herein is *love*, not that we have loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Behold, what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God!" (1 John iii. 1; iv. 8, 9, 10.)

Thus the sacred oracles celebrate the work of redemption as the highest and most remarkable instance of divine love, and direct us there, to behold it acted out in the highest degree, and to the greatest advantage, to be seen and admired by creatures, as an inexhaustible and endless object of gratitude and praise.

The reason and propriety of this representation in divine revelation, and that the work of redemption is infinitely the greatest instance and display of divine benevolence, will in some measure appear, if the following things be well considered.

1. Benevolence exercised in the bestowment of favor is greater or less, according to the greater or less unworthiness and ill desert of those who are the objects of the benevolence. If those on whom good is bestowed be worthy or deserving, the granting that good or benefit is really paying a debt, and is an act of justice. And though benevolence may be exercised in doing this, as it is contrary to benevolence not to give what is deserved; yet the goodness exercised in this case is not so apparently disinterested, nor does it require so great a degree of goodness, as it does to bestow favors on the unworthy and ill deserving. The latter is free grace, sovereign, disinterested goodness, the former may not be so. And the more unworthy and ill deserving they are to whom favor is shown, the greater is the degree of benevolence exercised in granting the favor. For it requires a greater degree of benevolence to show kindness to those who deserve no good, but evil, than to be kind to those who have no ill desert; and the degree of benevolence exercised in granting favor, is in proportion to the degree of ill desert of those who are the subjects of it.

In this respect, the divine benevolence appears to be unbounded and wonderful in the redemption of man. Man, by rebellion against his Maker, is become infinitely unworthy and ill deserving, as he is infinitely criminal. And he does not only sin in one, or a few instances, but is wholly a rebel, and become a total enemy to God. Mankind have taken up arms against Heaven, and they are universally and constantly acting out their opposition and enmity against God, with great strength, obstinacy, and violence. "Every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is only evil continually. The heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their

heart, while they live. There is none that doeth good, no, not one. They are all gone out of the way. Their throat is an open sepulchre. The poison of asps is under their lips. Their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet are swift to shed blood. There is no fear of God before their eyes." They will not be reclaimed from their rebellion and enmity against God by any methods that can be taken to bring them to submit and return to obedience, short of taking away their rebellious heart by almighty power immediately exerted, and creating them anew. But the more favor is shown to them, and the greater the kindness is which they receive, the more will they rebel and act against their greatest benefactor, abusing, despising, and trampling upon all his goodness to them; they being "desperately wicked," and wholly irreclaimable by any means, provoking their Maker to destroy them, to the utmost of their power. This was all seen by the omniscient Jehovah. And no benevolence short of infinite could be disposed to spare and show favor to such infinitely criminal, ill-deserving, odious, and God-provoking, obstinate enemies as men were. Therefore, the redemption of such creatures calls for the strongest exercise, and gives the brightest display of divine, infinite benevolence or goodness. St. Paul sets it in this light, in the following words: "Scarcely for a righteous man will one die; yet, peradventure, for a good man some would even dare to die. But God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, and when we were enemies, Christ died for us." (Rom. v. 7, 8, 10.)

2. The greater the evil is from which any one is delivered by undeserved goodness, the greater and the more perspicuous is the benevolence which is exercised in such deliverance, and the more gratitude to the benefactor is due from him who is delivered. In the case before us there is the most ample room for the exercise and display of benevolence, in this respect. Man was fallen into a state of infinite misery and wretchedness, under the curse of the divine law, which implies separation from all good and happiness, and the suffering all the evil of which he is capable, without end. This man must have suffered forever, without the least mitigation or relief, had not redemption taken place. By his apostasy, man was become a vassal to Satan, and his heart was wholly under the power of moral depravity, from which nothing could deliver him but the mighty arm of Omnipotence. From this complicated, infinitely evil state, every one is completely delivered, who shares in redemption by Christ. Nothing short of the exertion of infinite, omnipotent, all-sufficient benevolence, is sufficient to rescue man from this infinitely guilty, miserable state.

3. The exercise and expression of benevolence is strong and great in proportion to the degree of positive good and happiness which is bestowed.

Deliverance from evil is a benefit, and may be called a negative good; and this benefit is great in proportion to the degree of evil from which deliverance is granted. And the degree of benevolence expressed in such deliverance is great, in proportion to the greatness of the evil from which the miserable subject is delivered. This has been considered under the foregoing particular. What is now brought into view is the degree of positive good which is bestowed by benevolence. A less degree of benevolence may procure and give a small benefit, which is insufficient to prompt to bestow a much greater benefit. Therefore, the greater the benefit is which is given, the greater is the exercise and manifestation of that goodness which wills and procures it. In the redemption of man, the positive good procured and bestowed is infinitely great, being great and increasing in degree, and in duration endless. It is everlasting life, in the most happy and honorable circumstances possible. Nothing short of the infinite love of the omnipotent, all-sufficient *Jehovah*, can give such infinite good to infinitely ill-deserving rebels. In this view, infinite benevolence is exercised and most conspicuously displayed in the redemption of man. Inspired with the view and sense of this, St. John exclaims, "Behold, what manner of *love* the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God! Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him." In the redemption of man an unbounded field is opened, in which divine benevolence is displayed to the best advantage, and God "fulfils all the good pleasure of his goodness," in bestowing infinite happiness and glory on the redeemed; unspeakably greater than man could have enjoyed, had he not sinned, and rendered himself infinitely unworthy of the least favor, and infinitely more "to the praise of his rich and glorious grace."

4. The greater the difficulties and obstacles are which must be removed or surmounted, in order to bestow a favor, and the greater the expense, cost, and trouble which are necessary, in order to procure it, the greater and more strong is the exercise of goodness in procuring and bestowing the benefit. This is so evident, that no proof or illustration is necessary.

There were difficulties and impediments which must be removed, and such infinite expense and sufferings were neces-

sary, in order to redeem man, which could not be effected by any thing short of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness. Man had fallen under the curse of the righteous and perfect law of God. It was inconsistent with rectoral righteousness and infinite goodness to set aside or disregard this law, in favor of rebellious man, so as to pardon and receive him to favor, without paying any regard to the execution of the curse threatened, in any sense or degree. It was of infinite importance that the law and moral government should be maintained, and the curse threatened properly and fully executed. This put man out of the reach of divine, infinite goodness, unless some expedient could be found, some way be devised, in which the law of God might be regarded and maintained, and the penalty of it executed, consistent with pardoning and showing favor to man. This rendered it necessary that God himself, in the second person of the adorable Trinity, should assume human nature into a personal union, so as to form one person, who is both God and man; and that this person should, in the human nature, be made under the law, and support and honor it by obeying the precepts, and suffering the curse of it, in the room and stead of man. In this way only could man be delivered from the curse of the law, and obtain complete redemption, consistent with divine truth, rectoral righteousness, wisdom, and goodness. Had not all this been necessary in order to redeem man, and might he be saved consistent with the divine law, without such a Mediator doing and suffering all this, the love and grace exercised in redeeming and saving him would have been infinitely less, and as nothing, compared with that benevolence which is expressed in the incarnation, humiliation, death, and sufferings of the Son of God, which are necessarily implied in this redemption. God the Father giving his Son, and the Son of God giving himself, to suffer an ignominious, cruel death, and be made a curse, that sinners, his enemies, might be redeemed from the curse, and have eternal life, is an infinitely greater gift, and higher exercise and expression of disinterested love or benevolence, than merely to save man from eternal destruction, and give him endless life, could the latter be done without the former.

This is the light in which the Holy Scripture sets this matter. There this is represented as the greatest, most remarkable, and glorious instance and display of divine benevolence, that God has given his Son to die, and Christ has given himself unto death as a ransom to deliver sinners from hell, and procure eternal life for them. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth

in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John iii. 16.) "God commendeth (displays in the most amiable and brightest light) his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." (Rom. v. 8.) "Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us. In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love. Not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be a propitiation for our sins." (1 John iii. 16; iv. 9, 10.)

5. There is something yet further necessary in order to the salvation of men. Though by the atonement which Christ has made by his death a way is open for the pardon and salvation of sinners, consistent with rectoral righteousness, and the honor of the divine law; yet man is so obstinate in his rebellion, and such an enemy to God, that he cannot be persuaded to embrace the gospel, but will dislike and oppose Christ and the way of salvation by him, unless his heart be renewed by the omnipotent influences of the Holy Spirit. Christ has therefore obtained, by his obedience and sufferings, the Holy Spirit to be given unto men to recover them from their total depravity, and form their hearts to true holiness. This is an infinite gift. It is no less than God giving himself to men, in the third person of the adorable Trinity, uniting himself to them, and dwelling in them, as the principle and author of all their holiness and happiness forever. Did man need no such gift and grace, the divine goodness and beneficence in his redemption would be unspeakably less, and would not be so gloriously displayed as now they are. In order to redeem man, God not only delivers him from infinite woe, and gives him infinite happiness and glory, when man in himself is infinitely odious, guilty, and ill deserving, but, in order to this, gives himself repeatedly, and in different ways. He gave himself to die on the cross, a ransom for man, to be a propitiation for their sins. The father gave the Son, and the Son gave himself. He gives himself also in the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, in renewing and sanctifying the redeemed, and dwelling in them forever. The Mediator said, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth." (John xiv. 16, 17.) And God, in a trinity of persons, gives himself to the redeemed as their infinite, everlasting portion and happiness. Thus divine benevolence is exhausted, and gives all away. Infinite goodness can give no more. God gives himself and all he has for the redemption of man. This is, in the highest degree, an "unspeakable gift."

6. This benevolence and goodness appears greater, and is more illustrious in the salvation of man, in that all is given freely, without money and without price, as man is infinitely unworthy of it; and, as such, receives this redemption as a free gift, the whole being offered and given to every one who is willing to receive it. Men obtain an interest in this salvation, not by works of righteousness which they do, not by any worthiness in them, or by any thing they offer as the price of the divine favor, but by believing in the Mediator, receiving the record which God has given concerning his Son, and accepting salvation as it is freely offered and given, trusting wholly in Christ, and receiving all from him as a free gift to such who are not only wholly without any desert of the least favor, but are infinitely odious and ill deserving. This is to be saved by faith, by which the free grace of God in the salvation of sinners is exercised and displayed to the highest degree, as is abundantly represented in divine revelation. St. Paul insists much upon this. He, having proved from Scripture that all men are sinners, consequently infinitely ill deserving, says, "Therefore, by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight; for by the law is the knowledge of sin. But now the righteousness of God, without the law, is manifested, even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that believe; being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath set forth a propitiation, through faith in his blood. Now, to him that worketh (that is, in order to offer his works as the price of God's favor) is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, (that is, has nothing to recommend him, and acknowledges he has done nothing by which he deserves the divine favor, more than any other man,) but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness. Therefore, it is of faith, that it might be by grace." (Rom. iii. 20, etc.; iv. 4, 5, 16.) "By grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." (Eph. ii. 8.)

The above particulars, put together and taken into one view, serve to illustrate the observation that the redemption of man is the highest instance of the exercise of the love of God, in which divine, infinite benevolence has an object equal to itself, and is acted out and displayed to the highest degree and best advantage, to be seen and celebrated by the redeemed and all holy creatures, with increasing views and happiness forever and ever. In the redemption of man, the infinitely benevolent Jehovah "fulfils all the good pleasure of his goodness,

(2 Thess. i. 11,) and mercy is built up forever. (Ps. lxxxix. 2.) In this work God shows his glory by causing all his goodness to be displayed before the redeemed, while his name is proclaimed and celebrated. "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin." (Ex. xxxiii. 18, 19; xxxiv. 6, 7.) This goodness, this love of God, is in Scripture celebrated as great love. "But God, who is rich in mercy, for the great love wherewith he loved us, etc.; love which passeth knowledge." (Eph. ii. 4; iii. 19.) It is called the riches, the exceeding riches of his grace. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace. And hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places, in Christ Jesus; that, in the ages to come, he might show the exceeding riches of his grace, in his kindness towards us through Jesus Christ." (Eph. i. 7; ii. 6, 7.)

The love of God is exercised in the redemption of man in its infinite strength, in overcoming difficulties and obstacles infinitely great, which were in the way of the exercise of it towards man, and opposed it; in delivering from infinite evil, and giving him infinite good. This benevolence is infinite mercy and compassion to the infinitely miserable. It is exceeding rich, free, and sovereign grace, which gives such deliverance, such salvation, not only to the undeserving, but infinitely guilty, vile, and ill deserving.

IV. This design and work — the redemption of man — has been gradually introduced and opened from the first apostasy to the coming of Christ, and from that time down to this day; and will be carried on until it shall be completed at the end of the world and the day of judgment.

Every thing, and all events, which took place in the world, from the beginning of it, during four thousand years, were preparatory to the coming and incarnation of the Redeemer; while other ends, respecting redemption, were in view and answered. And since that event, and the resurrection and exaltation of Christ to the throne of his kingdom, what has taken place is to be considered as the first fruits of redemption, and preparatory to much greater things which are yet to take place in the accomplishment of this great work, which will not be completed till the day of judgment. This has been represented by our Savior in a number of similitudes, such as the following: "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field — which, indeed, is the least of all seeds — but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree; so that the birds of the air

come and lodge in the branches thereof. He spoke another parable: "The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened." (Matt. xiii. 31, 32, 33.) "And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground, and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear; but when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come." (Mark iv. 26–29.)

V. The work of redemption is the greatest and most glorious work of God, and, indeed, the sum and end of all his works.

This is abundantly evident from divine revelation; which revelation itself originated from this design, and has been formed and given to man, in order to promote and accomplish it. It is of no importance or worth, any further than it answers ends which respect the redemption of man. This asserts that the new creation — by which is meant the work of redemption, or the church of the redeemed, which is the New Jerusalem with the inhabitants — is so superior to the old creation or the natural world, and so much the end of it, that the first creation shall be swallowed up and forgotten in the existence and glory of the latter. "Behold, I create new heavens, and a new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. But be you glad and rejoice forever, in that which I create; for behold, I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy." (Isa. lxv. 17, 18.) This is most expressly asserted in the following words: "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by Him, *and for Him.*"

All the created universe, containing every creature and thing, visible and invisible, greater and less, are here said to be created for Christ — considered as God, Man, and Mediator — the Redeemer of man; for in that character and capacity he is considered, described, and spoken of in these words, and the context, as being "the head of the body, the church, who have redemption through his blood." For him, as the Redeemer of the church, and for the sake of the work of redemption; for Christ, the Son of God, and his redeemed church, were all things made; and to this end they are all subordinated in the works of creation and providence. He is, therefore, "appointed the heir of all things," (Heb. i. 2,) and made head over all things to the church; all things being put under his feet. (Eph. i. 22.)

It is hence most certain, that all the works of God have reference to the work of redemption as their end, being all subordinated to this, in order to promote and perfect it, and really belong to it, as parts and appendages of it. All things are created for the sake of Christ and his church, and, therefore, they are all used and improved for this end in the course of divine providence; which consists in ordering and disposing all events, and using all things so as completely to answer the end for which they were made.

And that the work of redemption is the greatest and most glorious of all the works of God, and the end of all, will be evident, if we consider what it is, and the things which it comprises. To this belong the character and works of the Mediator. There could have been no such character as this, and no such works as he has done, had there been no redemption of man. And his character, and his works, are infinitely greater and more glorious than any could have been, had not redemption taken place. There is an unspeakably greater and more illustrious display of the divine character and perfections in "God manifest in the flesh," than could have been in any other way. And to redeem the church by giving himself a ransom for it, even his life on the accursed cross, to recover man from the power of sin and Satan; to sanctify the church and make it a perfectly holy and most beautiful society, is, beyond all comparison, a greater work of power, wisdom, and goodness, than creating and upholding all worlds, or the government of all possible moral worlds, exclusive of this. Therefore, in this work is the proper and full display of the divine perfections, which is the highest end of all God's works.

And by the redemption of the church and the eternal kingdom of Christ the greatest possible happiness of the creation is effected, as an eternal monument of the infinite power, wisdom, and goodness of God. All intelligent creatures, who are friends to God, will be, beyond expression, more holy and happy than they could have been, had there been no such person and character as that of the Redeemer, and no redemption. Though holy angels be not redeemed, yet they behold the works of redemption and the Redeemer with holy love, admiration, and joy, and see and enjoy unspeakably more of God than otherwise they could have done, and are happy in their activity to promote it. "Into this the angels desire to look." (1 Peter i. 12.) "To the intent that now unto principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known, by the church, the manifold wisdom of God." (Eph. iii. 10.) "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?" (Heb. i. 14.) By this they have a

song to sing, which otherwise they never could have known: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men." (Luke ii. 14.)

Thus we have abundant evidence from Scripture, and from the reason and nature of it, that the work of redemption is not a secondary purpose, detached from the original plan of divine operations, but is itself the first and original design and end of all the works of God, to which all things in creation and providence, in the divine purpose, have respect and are subordinated. "Jesus Christ, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, was himself foreordained before the foundation of the world." (1 Pet. i. 20.) And all the favor, good, and happiness bestowed on the church, was, by the divine purpose and decree, "given to them, in Christ Jesus, before the world began," (2 Tim. i. 9;) they being "chosen in him, before the foundation of the world, according to the eternal purpose, which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Eph. i. 4; iii. 11.)

IMPROVEMENT.

1. We learn, particularly from the third observation, what an ample foundation is laid in the work of redemption, for the highest and endless gratitude of the redeemed.

As in the work of redemption is the highest exercise and most perfect and glorious display of divine, infinite benevolence, in delivering from infinite, deserved evil, and bestowing infinite, undeserved good and happiness, by such infinite labor, cost, and sufferings of the Son of God, the redeemed are laid under infinite and endless obligations, suited to excite the highest exercise of that gratitude which consists in a proper view, sense, and admiration of this benevolence and goodness of God, and in feeling and expressing their obligations to him in eternal thanksgiving and praise. And in this a great part of the beauty, glory, and happiness of the redeemed church will consist. In order to raise creatures to the highest happiness, there must not only be objects in the best manner suited to excite the exercises of benevolent and complacential love, but they must be in circumstances suited to call forth the warmest and most sweet exercises of grateful love to him, who by his sovereign goodness has laid them under the greatest obligations. The work of redemption is in the highest degree suited to this; and the redeemed will be forever immensely more happy in the exercise of this sweet happifying love, than any creatures could have been had not the redemption of man taken place. This will be the sweet,

animating subject of the new song which none but the redeemed can learn, and which they will sing with increasing delight forever. "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth forever. Let the redeemed of the Lord say so." (Ps. cvii. 1, 2.) They will say so forever with unceasing, growing pleasure. In this, in a great measure, the happiness of heaven will consist.

2. We also learn, from the fourth particular and what has been said to illustrate it, that they have made a great mistake who have thought that the divine goodness and grace do not appear so great in the pardon and salvation of sinners for Christ's sake, — it being obtained and procured by his suffering in their stead, and hereby making atonement for their sins, — as it would had pardon and salvation been granted without any such consideration as that of the atonement and merits of Christ.

It appears, from what has been said above, that the salvation of sinners by the obedience and sufferings of Christ is so far from rendering the benevolence and grace of God less in saving them, that it enhances and magnifies the divine goodness to an amazing degree. Could sinners have been saved without such a Mediator and such atonement as he has made, consistent with the honor of divine government and the greatest good of the universe, their pardon and salvation would have required and manifested very little benevolence compared with that which is exercised and appears in their salvation, — when it could not be effected consistent with wisdom and righteousness, without the humiliation, obedience, and sufferings of the Son of God, — as has been observed and shown above. How contrary to all reason and truth, how very absurd, is it to assert or suppose that divine grace, in the salvation of men, is greatly lessened and obscured by the Son of God suffering the curse in their stead, and making atonement for them, that they might be delivered and saved consistent with rectitude and wisdom!

A number of the subjects of a certain king rebelled against him, were apprehended, and justly condemned to die for their crime. The circumstances of the case were such that they could not be pardoned consistent with the proper support of government, and the good of the kingdom, unless the king's only son, who was the most honorable and excellent person in the kingdom, and whom he loved as himself, should willingly take their place, and die in their stead. The son consented, and chose to do it, in order to obtain pardon for them. The king himself made the proposal, and was well pleased with his son's readiness to die for them, and freely gave him up to

the most ignominious and painful death that he might, consistent with propriety and wisdom, pardon those rebels, who deserved themselves to die.

An equal number of the subjects of another king were condemned to a deserved death for rebellion. But the case was such that they might be pardoned and restored to favor, consistent with the support of government and the highest good and happiness of his kingdom, without any one dying in their stead. He, therefore, gave them a free and full pardon, and restored them to the enjoyment of life and liberty in his kingdom.

Shall it now be asked, "Which of these kings exercised and expressed the most, the highest, degree of benevolence or grace towards the rebels, in pardoning and saving them from deserved death?" It is presumed no rational creature, who will properly attend to the case, can possibly hesitate a moment, but must pronounce the former to have exerted and discovered unspeakably more benevolence and goodness than the latter, and that the latter is inconsiderable, and as nothing, compared with the former.

How, then, can any one, in the instance before us, — which is, in all respects, infinitely more grand, clear, and striking, — say, or imagine, there would have been more grace manifested in the pardon and salvation of sinners, if this could have taken place without an atonement by the Son of God dying for them, and no such sufferings had been necessary? How can any man suppose this without contradicting the reason of man, and the clearest dictates and feelings of common sense?

3. How great is their guilt who slight and oppose the great and wonderful works of God in the redemption of man! — who neglect this great salvation, and abuse this highest and most astonishing instance of the goodness of God! All are under this awfully aggravated guilt who do not thankfully embrace this salvation which is freely offered to all. And this is the great and chief aggravation of all the sins of men under the gospel, — that they express, or imply, a rejection of Jesus Christ, who has procured and offers salvation to them, and a refusal to believe on him. Therefore, he says, when the Holy Spirit reproves mankind of sin, he discovers that it all consists in unbelief, and is an expression of that, and because they believe not on him. (John xvi. 8, 9.) Every sin is a sin of unbelief, as it opposes the Savior, and is a rejection of him, and in this the great and chief criminality of it does consist. Had there been no Savior for man, and no redemption, he would be justly punished forever for his sin against God, as

his rebellion deserved this infinitely great evil. But the sins of man in this case would have been as nothing compared with what their sins now are who live under the gospel, and oppose, slight, and abuse all that astonishing benevolence and grace of God and the Redeemer, which is exercised and expressed in the work of redemption. The rebellion and obstinacy of a creature is aggravated, and rendered more criminal, by every instance and degree of benevolence and kindness exercised towards him by his Creator, as every instance of his goodness increases the obligation of the creature to love and obey him, and that in proportion to the greatness and degree of that goodness. Hence it follows that man is laid under the greatest obligations to love and obedience by redemption, and the benevolence of God exercised therein, — which is by far the greatest and most remarkable and affecting instance of love that has been shown to creatures, or of which we can have any conception. Consequently, an obstinate refusal to embrace this salvation, and abuse of all this goodness, is the greatest and most aggravated crime that men can commit, and swallows up all other supposable crimes as nothing in comparison with this.

And this discovers the great and total depravity of man, and the exceeding wickedness of the human heart, in that it has so much enmity against God and his laws, and is so hard and obstinate as not to be won by such love and kindness, but is disposed to slight God the more for all his love, and to abuse and trample upon Christ, and all the grace discovered in the gospel. Scripture and experience join to teach us that man can do this, and that all have done it who have had opportunity; and that all would persevere in this most aggravated wickedness, whatever methods were taken to reclaim them, did not God, by his immediate, almighty power, interpose, and take away the rebellious heart, and give a new, obedient heart.

4. From this subject, and particularly from the foregoing remark, we are led to reflect upon the ignorance and insensibility of persons who live under the gospel of their greatest crime and guilt. They, in general, will acknowledge that they are sinners; some are led to this acknowledgment from their living and being educated where it is granted and inculcated that all men are sinners, and this confession is constantly made in public; and where particular practices, of which they know they are guilty, are considered and condemned as wrong and sinful. Others are convinced in their consciences that they are guilty of many actions which are forbidden in the

Bible, and that they live in the neglect of many duties which are there commanded, and that therefore they are criminal. But few have any conviction of the evil nature of sin in general; and especially of the greatest sin, and which is the chief aggravation of all their sins, viz., their opposition to Jesus Christ, and constant abuse of the grace revealed in the gospel. Most men who live in gospel light are so far from feeling themselves guilty of any crime by not embracing the Savior, that they have not the least idea of this, and stand ready to oppose it, and to exculpate themselves, when they are charged with it, and the magnitude of the crime is laid before them. And they cannot be brought to a proper conviction of their crime and guilt in this, by any arguments and light which may be set before them, or by all possible means that may be used with them. This leads to another inference.

5. Hence, we see the reason why our great Prophet and Teacher has represented it as the work of the Holy Spirit to convince men of this sin, and cause them to be thoroughly reproved for it. He says, "And when he (the Holy Spirit) is come, he will reprove the world of sin, because they believe not on me." (John xvi. 8, 9.) Nothing short of the almighty agency of the Holy Spirit, renewing the heart, and forming it to true discerning in spiritual things, can produce this conviction and efficacious reproof. The criminal darkness and delusion which is essential to the reign of sin in the heart cannot be removed by any agent but the Holy Spirit giving a new heart which admits the true light, and sees and confesses the exceeding sinfulness of the human heart, this being the fountain and seat of all sin; and especially the great sin of all sins, the chief of all crimes, the sin of unbelief, in rejecting and abusing Jesus Christ, and the love and grace exhibited in him. When men have such an heart given them, they will submit to the divine reproof; confess this sin, and feel and own that they are wholly without any excuse for not believing on Christ; — that in this they have been monsters of wickedness, which has been expressed in all the sins they have committed; and thus they will humble themselves in the sight of God, and fly to the Redeemer for refuge, for pardon and redemption.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERSON AND CHARACTER OF THE REDEEMER.

WELL may we, with fear and trembling, enter upon this high and important subject, the person and character of the Redeemer of men. This person is so great and wonderful, that he passes knowledge; and so does his character, consequently, which is singular, and infinitely distinguished from all others, being excellent and glorious beyond conception. And yet there is no salvation for men, without a degree of true knowledge of his person and character; and such knowledge is connected with eternal life. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." (John xvii. 3.)

He who knows Jesus Christ, the Son of God, knows God. He, therefore, said to one of his disciples, "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me? He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father." (John xiv. 9.) The knowledge of Jesus Christ is the sum of all Christian knowledge, and includes the whole of true divinity. Hence St. Paul says to Christians at Corinth, "I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ crucified." (1 Cor. ii. 2.) And again, "Yea, and I count all things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, that I may know him." (Phil. iii. 8, 10.) The apostle Peter exhorts Christians to strive to make advances, and to increase in the knowledge of this person. "Grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." (2 Pet. iii. 18.) This is an endless theme, an inexhaustible subject, which the redeemed will study and explore forever, and will grow and increase in the knowledge of this boundless, glorious, and most entertaining object, with unspeakable and ever fresh delight and joy, without any end. Happy are they who, with St. Paul, have the true revelation of Jesus Christ: it will lead them on in the only path of wisdom, to endless stores of knowledge and happiness, when they shall be where he is, and behold his glory; dwelling in the New Jerusalem, whereof the Son of God, the Lamb, shall shine forever with increasing lustre, and be the light thereof. But they who have not the true knowledge of Christ, are exposed to run into error and fatal delusions respecting this person, and while they profess to acknowledge and honor him, really deny and reject him. This was the case with the Jews, when the Son of

God was in the flesh, on earth. "For they that dwelt at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, which were read every Sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him." (Acts xiii. 27.) This proved fatal to them, of which our Lord warned them, when he told them, "If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." (John viii. 24.) And there soon arose in the Christian church those who denied the Lord that bought them, even our Lord Jesus Christ. (2 Pet. ii. 1. Jude 4.) And as ignorance of the person of Jesus Christ, and mistakes respecting his real character, were so dangerous and fatal to Jews and professing Christians in that day, they have been equally so in every age since, down to this day; and will be as mischievous to us, if we are so criminal and unhappy as to imbibe them, or any other, as contrary to the truth.

Professing Christians have differed, perhaps, in nothing so much as they have about the person and character of Jesus Christ. The opinions which have been imbibed and professed are so many and various that it would take volumes, and be an almost endless task, particularly to mention and describe them; which, therefore, will not be undertaken here. All that will be attempted, is to ascertain the truth as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, concerning this high and important point, and great mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh.

The variety of different sentiments and gross errors into which men have run on this point, to their own destruction, have not been owing to any darkness or defect in divine revelation respecting this. We may be certain that the person and character of the Redeemer is there so fully, and with so much perspicuity, ascertained and fixed, that every honest, unprejudiced person, who is willing to know and embrace the truth, and will properly study the Bible, will come to the knowledge of the truth, and form right conceptions of Jesus Christ, in every important article respecting him. All the mistakes and errors, therefore, which have been embraced on this point, have originated from the evil biases, prejudices, and inattention of sinful man, together with the influence which Satan, "who deceives the whole world," has been suffered to exert on the minds of men. The depraved minds of men love darkness rather than the light; yea, hate the truth, and are more ready to embrace error and delusion, than the pure truth, with relation to the Redeemer. And Satan, the great enemy of Christ and of men, is unwearied in his attempts to blind and deceive them, especially respecting the

Savior, and lead them to embrace damnable errors concerning him, and such as are very dishonorable to him, and rob him of all his glory, as the Redeemer of sinners. This will fully account for the various and multiplied errors which have been at one time and another invented and propagated in the Christian world, consistent with the utmost clearness and perfection of divine revelation on this head.

Ever since the gospel has been preached to the world to this day, the person and character of Christ, Christ crucified, has been to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Gentiles foolishness. To all the unbelieving and disobedient he has been, and is now, and will continue to be, "a stone of stumbling and rock of offence." While to them who believe he is precious, the only sure foundation and chief corner-stone, on whom they build all their hopes. These true friends to Christ do know him, having some degree of true acquaintance with his person and character. But their knowledge is very imperfect, and, it is to be feared, in most, if not all of them, is attended with great darkness, and more or less mistakes and wrong conceptions of him. This, however, is no matter of discouragement to attend to this subject with great care, diligence, and circumspection; but rather a weighty motive to it, and to attempt to confirm the truth, and throw all the light upon it which may have been obtained, by a long and careful study of the Holy Scriptures; leaving it with them who shall come after with more clear heads, better hearts, and a more unprejudiced and engaged study of the Bible, to detect the mistakes which may now be made, and remove present darkness, by bringing forth more abundant light from the divine oracles on this important subject.

It is not designed to attempt a particular refutation of any of the many different opinions which have been advanced concerning the person of the Redeemer, or to answer all the objections which have been made to that representation which shall now be given as warranted by the Scriptures of truth, since stating the truth, and supporting it by divine revelation, is the shortest and most effectual way to discover and confute the opposite errors, and silence all the objections which have been made to it.

The following things appear to be revealed in the Holy Scriptures, concerning this wonderful person, and, therefore, may be safely believed and asserted.

I. That Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of men, is truly God, or a divine person. This has been so much insisted upon, and abundantly proved from Scripture, by so many writers, that it is needless to attend here to all the evidence there is of

this truth in Scripture. It will be sufficient briefly to note the following particulars: —

1. This is expressly asserted of him, and he is often called God in the Scripture. The following passages are instances of this: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." This is the Word which took flesh, or the human nature, into a personal union with himself. "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father." (John i. 1, 14.) The Word, which is asserted to be God, is the second person in the Trinity. "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost." (1 John v. 7.) Therefore, "his name is called the Word of God." (Rev. xix. 13.) "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders; and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God. (Isa. ix. 6.) "And this is the name whereby he shall be called, the Lord [Jehovah] our righteousness." (Jer. xxiii. 6.) "Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a Son, and they shall call his name Emanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us." (Matt. i. 23. Isa. vii. 14.) "And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God." (John xx. 28.) "Whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever." (Rom. ix. 5.) "Looking for that blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Savior Jesus Christ." (Tit. ii. 13.) The words in the original might, with propriety, be rendered, our great God and Savior. Mr. Fleming, in support of this interpretation, observes, that we never read of the Father's appearance. (Doddridge's note on the place.) "Through the righteousness of our God and Savior Jesus Christ." (2 Pet. i. 1.) "But unto the Son, he saith, Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever." (Heb. i. 8.) "Great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifest in the flesh." (1 Tim. iii. 16.)

2. What is in one part of the Bible said of Jehovah, and ascribed to him, as the only true God, this being the name which is appropriated to him in distinction from all other beings, is, in other passages, ascribed to the Redeemer of man, Jesus Christ, and applied to him.

"Mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord [Jehovah] of hosts." (Isa. vi. 5.) This Jehovah, Lord of hosts, is said by St. John to be Jesus Christ, as he applies this passage to him: "These things said Isaiah, when he saw his [Christ's] glory, and spake of him." (John xii. 41.)

"Thus saith the Lord, the King of Israel, and his Re-

deemer the Lord of hosts, I am the first, and I am the last, and besides me there is no God." (Isa. xliv. 6.) Here Jehovah takes this character to himself, as peculiar to him. The first, and the last. But Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the true Israel, the church, who redeems his people from the curse of the law, by his blood, takes this same character to himself, and, therefore, must himself be Jehovah, besides whom there is no God. "I [Jesus Christ] am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." (Rev. xxii. 13.) This same person takes this to himself repeatedly in the first chapter of this book, "saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and last." (Verse 11.) "I am the first and the last. I am he that liveth, and was dead, and, behold, I am alive forevermore." (Verse 17.) "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." (Verse 8.) "I, even I, am the Lord, and besides me there is no Savior." (Isa. xliii. 11.) This title and character which Jehovah takes to himself, exclusive of all others, the Savior of Israel, his church and people, is constantly given to Jesus Christ in the New Testament. He is called Jesus, which signifies a Savior, because he saves his people from their sins. (Matt. i. 21.) "Christ is the head of the church, and he is the Savior of the body," that is, the church. (Eph. v. 23.) He is called "our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." (2 Pet. i. 11; ii. 20; iii. 2, 18.) This title is given to him in other places, too many to be particularly recited; and this is needless, since one instance of his being called, by way of eminence, the Savior, is sufficient to prove the point now in view. It may be proper and useful, however, under this head, to observe, that as this title, the Savior, is claimed as peculiar to Jehovah, the only true God, in the passage just quoted from Isaiah; and, since Jesus Christ is called God, and asserted to be God, in many instances, which have been mentioned above, we are hence warranted to apply the expression God our Savior, which is so often used, to Jesus the only Savior and Redeemer of his church. Among other instances of this, the following may be particularly noted: "And Mary said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior: for unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Savior, which is Christ the Lord." (Luke i. 46, 47; ii. 11.) "According to the commandment of God our Savior. That they may adorn the doctrine of God our Savior in all things. Our great God and Savior Jesus Christ. But after the kindness and love of God and our Savior appeared. (Tit. i. 3; ii. 10, 13; iii. 4.) Through the righteousness of our God and Sa-

vior Jesus Christ." (2 Pet. i. 1.) In our translation it is God and our Savior, but this is not so agreeable to the original as that now given. "Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory, with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Savior, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen. (Jude 24, 25.)

That Jesus Christ is the person here intended by the only wise God our Savior, is further evident, because this same thing is expressly ascribed to him by St. Paul. "That he [Christ] might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy, and without blemish." (Eph. v. 27.)

Again: Jehovah, the Lord of hosts, is called the husband of the church, and claims this relation. "Thy maker is thine husband, the Lord of hosts is his name." (Isa. liv. 5.) "Thou shalt no more be termed forsaken, etc., for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married; and, as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee." (Isa. lxii. 4, 5.) This same character and relation is ascribed to Jesus Christ. He is the bridegroom, the husband of the church. John Baptist, speaking of Christ, says, "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom." (John iii. 29.) St. Paul says to the Corinthian church, "I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you a chaste virgin to Christ." (2 Cor. xi. 2.) St. John heard them rejoicing in heaven, and saying, "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife [the church] hath made herself ready." (Rev. xix. 7.) "And I saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, [which is the church,] coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And there came unto me one of the seven angels, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife." (Rev. xxi. 2, 9.) Thus it appears that Jehovah, the only true God, is the church's husband; and so is Jesus Christ. Therefore, Jesus Christ is Jehovah, or the only true God and Jesus Christ are the same; for the church hath not, and cannot have, two husbands. Nor are there two brides or wives who can each of them have a husband; for there is but one church, but one bride, who, as a chaste virgin, is espoused to one husband, Jesus Christ. "There is one body," that is, the church, of which Christ is the only head and husband. (Eph. iv. 4.) "My dove, my undefiled is but one." (Cant. vi. 9.)

"Sanctify the Lord [Jehovah] of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of

offence to both the houses of Israel." (Isa. viii. 13, 14.) This, which is spoken of *Jehovah*, is applied to Jesus Christ by St. Peter. "The stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner, and a stone of stumbling and rock of offence." (1 Pet. ii. 7, 8.) It is said, "The Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which shortly must be done." (Rev. xxii. 6.) And in the sixteenth verse Jesus Christ says, "I Jesus have sent mine Angel to testify unto you these things in the churches." Here the "Lord God of the holy prophets," which must be *Jehovah*, and Jesus Christ, are said to be the same thing. Therefore, Jesus Christ and the Lord God are one and the same.

Not half the instances of this kind, which might be adduced under this head, have been mentioned; but these are enough, it is presumed, to illustrate and make evident, to every attentive, impartial person, the truth of the particular observation, to prove which they have been cited.

3. That Jesus Christ is God, is evident from the divine attributes being ascribed to him, even those which are peculiar to the Deity.

Eternity, or existing without beginning, is ascribed to him. "But thou, Bethlehem," — "out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler of Israel, whose goings forth have been from old, from everlasting." (Mic. v. 2.) This is expressly applied to Christ. (Matt. ii. 6.) He is represented in that remarkable type of him, Melchisedec, to be without beginning of days, or end of time. (Heb. vii. 3.) He is "the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, which is, and which was, and which is to come," (Rev. i. 8, 17; xxii. 13,) — which words strongly express eternal existence, without beginning or end.

Immutability is ascribed to him, which is an attribute peculiar to God. Speaking to the Son of God, it is said, "Thou art the same,"—as opposed to all changeable existence. (Heb. i. 12.) This is expressed more strongly in the following words: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever." (Heb. xiii. 8.) Here, both his eternity, his existence from everlasting to everlasting, and his immutability, are expressed.

He is omnipotent. "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." (Matt. xxviii. 18.) He is "head over all things to the church." (Eph. i. 22.) He is "able to subdue all things unto himself." (Phil. iii. 21.) He is "the first and the last, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." (Rev. i. 8.)

"He upholds all things by the word of his power." (Heb. i. 3.) His creating and upholding all things, and other works which are ascribed to him, are, without controversy, the work of Omnipotence. But these will be more particularly considered under another head.

That he is omnipresent, he himself declared: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." "And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." (Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 20.) "And no man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." (John iii. 13.) Surely, these things cannot be said with truth of any one but Him whose presence fills heaven and earth. Omniscience is also one of his attributes. This Peter ascribes to him without reserve, and with the greatest confidence. "And Peter said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things." (John xxi. 17.) It is asserted, agreeably to this, that "He knew all men, and knew what was in man." (John ii. 24, 25.) And it is often said that he knew the secret thoughts of men. And he says, "And all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts, and will give unto every one of you according to his works." (Rev. ii. 23.) This is elsewhere spoken of as the attribute and prerogative of the omniscient God alone. Solomon, speaking to Jehovah, says, "Thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men." (2 Chron. ix. 30.) "The righteous God trieth the hearts and reins." (Ps. vii. 9.) "I, the Lord, search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways." (Jer. xvii. 10.) If Jesus Christ were not the only true God, it is impossible he should take to himself this attribute, prerogative, and work, which Jehovah, the God of Israel, claims to himself exclusively, and which is infinitely too much to be ascribed to any mere creature. Jesus Christ is declared to be incomprehensible, which is an attribute peculiar to Deity. He says of himself, "All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man [*no one* it is in the original] knoweth the Son but the Father." (Matt. xi. 27.) And it is said of him, "He had a name written that no man [no one] knew but he himself." (Rev. xix. 12.) Equality with God is ascribed unto him. St. Paul, speaking of his person, says, "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." (Phil. ii. 6.) Jesus said to the Jews, "I and my Father are one." (John x. 30.) The Jews understood him as hereby claiming to be God, and charged him with making himself God. (John x. 33.) Nor does Christ, in his answer to them, renounce this claim. Jesus said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

(John v. 17.) Upon this the Jews charged him with making himself equal with God. Nor does he deny this charge, or say that it is unjust, but goes on to say, in a yet stronger manner, "What things soever the Father doeth, those also doth the Son likewise. For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." Surely, this is making himself equal with God. He, moreover, says, "All things that the Father hath are mine." (John xvi. 15.) Thus he claims to be equal with the Father,—the owner and possessor of all things. This is consistent with his saying "The Father is greater than I," as he was man as well as God, and, agreeably to the economy of redemption, in the human nature was become a servant to obey and suffer, in order to effect the redemption of man. In this capacity and work he was sent, and to be justified and exalted by the Father. In this view his words have a plain meaning, consistent with his claim of equality with the Father as God. "If ye had loved me, ye would rejoice, because I said, I go unto the Father; for my Father is greater than I." (John xiv. 28.)

4. The divinity of Jesus Christ is asserted by ascribing to him those divine works which God alone can do.

He puts himself upon an equality with the Father in this respect, and says that he does whatsoever the Father doth. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. What things soever he doth, those also doth the Son likewise." (John v. 17, 19.) The works of creation and providence are ascribed to him. "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made." (John i. 3.) "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him, and for him." (Col. i. 16.) God hath made all things for himself. All things were made by Jesus Christ, and for him. Therefore, he is God. "And he is before all things, and by him all things consist." (Col. i. 17.) "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." (Heb. i. 3.) And he is addressed in the following words: "Thou, Lord, in the beginning, hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thine hands." (Ps. cii. 25. Heb. i. 10.) But these are the works of God—of Jehovah—and peculiar to him. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." "By the

word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." (Gen. i. 1. Ps. xxxiii. 6.)

Jesus Christ raiseth men from the dead, which is a work of omnipotence as great as that of creation. When he was on earth he raised man from the dead by his own powerful word. And he claims power and authority to raise all the dead of mankind, at the last day. He hath said, "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day. I am the resurrection and the life." (John v. 28, 29; vi. 40; xi. 25.)

Jesus Christ will judge the world, angels, devils, and all mankind. This is often asserted in the Scripture. All judgment is committed unto him. A work infinitely too great for a mere creature to perform; and, therefore, infinitely too great for him, and too high and honorable, were he not the most high God, possessed of infinite power, knowledge, wisdom, and rectitude.

But one thing more will be added under this head. Jesus Christ is Governor of the world; he has all things in his hand; upholds all things by the word of his power; is head over all things to the church, having all power in heaven and on earth. He executeth a particular providence; his care and power orders and effects every event, and extends to every creature and thing in the created universe, whether great or small. He alone, therefore, is able to take the book of the divine decrees, and open the seals thereof, by governing the world, and bringing to pass all things agreeably to the eternal purpose. None can do this but he who has omnipotence, infinite knowledge, wisdom, and goodness.

5. It is certain that Jesus Christ is the supreme God, in that he is the object of the divine worship, which would be idolatry if offered to any being but the only true God.

Nothing can be more evident and certain than that God is the only proper object of religious worship. Jesus Christ is, in the Holy Scriptures, asserted to be the object of such worship; therefore, he is God.

All the angels of heaven are commanded to worship him. "When he bringeth the first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." (Heb. i. 6.) John saw and heard him worshipped in heaven, and represented as the object of prayer and praise. "And when he had taken the

book, the four beasts, and the four and twenty elders, fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and open the seals thereof; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God, by thy blood. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders; and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying, with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. And every creature heard I saying, Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, forever and ever. And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth forever and ever," even Jesus Christ, who was dead, and is alive, and behold he liveth forever and ever. (Rev. i. 18; v. 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14.) Thus all in heaven and on earth "honor the Lamb, the Son, even as they honor the Father." (John v. 23.)

Agreeably to this, St. Paul says of Jesus Christ, "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and under the earth, — [or angels and men, both the living and the dead,] — and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the father." (Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11.)

These words express the involuntary subjection of his enemies, and the voluntary submission, adoration, and worship of his friends, which is given only to God. And that such subjection, submission, and worship, is here intended, which is due to God alone, and that Jesus Christ is this God, is evident both from this same apostle's quotation of these words in another place, and from the passage in the prophet Isaiah, from whence they are taken: "For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God." (Rom. xiv. 10, 11.) This homage is here said to be paid to Jesus Christ, as Judge of the world, and as God. And this bowing the knee and confession, is claimed by *Jehovah*, the God of Israel; and he says it shall be given to him, as the only true God, in the passage quoted from Isaiah: "I am God, and there is none else. I have sworn by myself; the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto *me* every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear." (Isa. xlv. 22, 23.)

Stephen, the first martyr, prayed to Jesus Christ, and committed his spirit, himself, to him, when he was expiring under the hand of his persecutors. "And they stoned Stephen, calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." (Acts vii. 59.) The word God is not in the original; and the words might be, with propriety, rendered, calling upon Jesus Christ, saying, Lord Jesus, etc. Such a solemn prayer to Jesus Christ, putting his whole trust in him, and committing his soul to him with his last breath, is an act of worship which would be gross idolatry if offered to any but God.

And as Stephen worshipped Jesus Christ, and called upon his name, making his last prayer to him when he was leaving the world, he was not singular and alone in this; but thus calling on the name of Christ was practised by all Christians, and, therefore, mentioned as expressive of their character, and an essential branch of it, and by which they are denominated and distinguished from others. St. Paul thus addresses them: "Unto the church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, both theirs and ours." (1 Cor. i. 2.) Ananias, speaking to the Lord Jesus Christ, says, "And here he [Saul] hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name." (Acts ix. 14.) That is, all Christians. And of Saul it is further said, "And straightway he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests?" (Acts ix. 20, 21.)

And when he was on earth he was worshipped, — by the wise men from the east, by a ruler of the synagogue, by a woman of Canaan, by a leper, by a man born blind, whom he had restored to sight, by all who were in the ship with him, by the women, when they saw him, after his resurrection, by the multitude of his disciples, when he appeared to them in Galilee, and by his disciples who saw him ascend from Mount Olivet into heaven. Yet in none of these instances did he forbid this worship to be paid to him, or show the least disapprobation of it; but the history of it leads us to suppose that such worship was proper, and that he accepted it with approbation, and was pleased with it. Whereas, when Cornelius the centurion offered to worship Peter, he forbid and reproved him, saying, "Stand up, I myself also am a man." (Acts x. 26.) And when St. John offered to worship the angel who spake to him, he received a rebuke from him. He said unto

him, "See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant. Worship God." (Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9.) Plainly declaring that God only is the proper object of such worship; which worship was paid to Jesus Christ, with his approbation, as has been observed; which he must have rejected and rebuked those who offered it, as Peter and the angel did, had he not been a divine person, that is, God. He himself rebuked the devil when he proposed to Christ to worship him; not because he was an evil being, but because he was not God, and such worship was to be given to God only. "Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." (Matt. iv. 10.) The word in the original, translated *serve*, is found in above twenty places in the New Testament, and always means religious service, — implying devotion and religious worship, — and is, in a number of places, translated, *to worship*.

The disciples of Christ and the Christian church, by thus worshipping him as their Lord and their God, obeyed the prophetic direction and command given in the forty-fifth Psalm. "So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty; for he is thy Lord, and worship thou him."

Jehovah had abundantly expressed his peculiar displeasure with idolatry, and done much to guard his people, and warn them against it and all approaches to it; and did often strictly forbid their worshipping any creature, idols, or any god besides himself. And he had often punished them for this sin, as peculiarly provoking to him. He had said, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God. Thou shalt worship no other god; for I the Lord, whose name is Jealous, am a jealous God. I am the Lord; that is my name; and my glory I will not give unto another, neither my praise to graven images." If Jesus Christ were not God, even this same God who has said these things, what a contradiction to these declarations and commands, and how inconsistent is it with them to set him so high, as worthy of equal honor with the Father; to call him God, and give him all the power in heaven and earth, and make him head over all things to the church, to represent him as praised, adored, and worshipped, by all the inhabitants in heaven, and to command all the angels in heaven, and the church in earth, to worship him! Were he not the true God, this would be the greatest imaginable, and even an irresistible temptation and encouragement to the most gross idolatry, to worship and trust in him who is not God, but a mere creature. We cannot reconcile the Old Testament with the New, or the

New Testament with itself, unless we believe and grant that Jesus Christ is the true God, for in both men are repeatedly forbidden to worship or pay religious homage to any but the only true God. And yet in both they are commanded to worship Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the King of Israel. And the latter teaches us that He who of old was worshipped by the seraphim, under the name and character of Jehovah, the Lord of hosts, was Jesus Christ. (Isa. vi. 1, 2. John xii. 37–41.) But if Jesus Christ be the true Son of God, God with us, God manifest in the flesh, as he is expressly declared to be, all the Bible can be reconciled with itself, and appears perfectly consistent on this head. While we there behold him who was in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God; who appeared and acted from the beginning of the world, and under the Old Testament dispensation, in the form of God; who took to himself the name Jehovah, and the attributes and character of the most high God, and claimed the worship and honors which belong to God alone; while we behold him laying aside his former appearance and glory, and making himself of no reputation, taking upon himself the form of a servant, instead of the form of God, in which he appeared before, being made in the likeness of man;—in this view, we shall see the whole Scripture to harmonize on this point, and be constrained to say with Thomas, "My Lord, and my God!" and join to honor him, even as the Father is honored; ascribing, with the heavenly hosts, praise, blessing, wisdom, power, dominion, and glory, unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, forever and ever.

And, indeed, if he be not the true God, and to be worshipped as God, who has created all things that ever were created, and upholds them all continually by his powerful word; who has all the power in the universe, and sustains and governs all creatures and things, being head over all things to the church,—it will be impossible to find any proper object of worship, or any God to be trusted and adored.

It may be further added, that the religious rite of baptism, instituted by Christ, is a solemn and important act of devotion and worship, in which the name of God is invoked, and the person baptized is dedicated to him with awful solemnity. This religious act of worship is commanded to be done in the name of Christ, in which he joined with the Father and the Holy Ghost. "Go, teach all nations, said Christ to his disciples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. xxviii. 19.) This, properly considered, will appear a demonstration of the

divinity of the Son of God, and that he is equally God with the Father, and cannot be accounted for on any other supposition. If Jesus Christ were not God, what a profanation of the sacred name would this be, and what a gross act of idolatry, to join his name with that of the only true God, as equal with him in such a solemn act of covenanting and religious worship!

The priests in Israel, Aaron and his sons, were appointed and directed to bless in the name of the Lord, and to say, "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee. The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace." This was an act of solemn, religious worship, invoking the name of *Jehovah*, and calling on him. (Num. vi. 23–26. 1 Chron. xxiii. 13.) St. Paul blesses Christians in the name of the same Lord, doubtless, even in the name into which they were baptized, saying, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen." (2 Cor. xiii. 14.) This is an act of devotion and worship, in which God is called upon to bless, or he asks this blessing from God. If Jesus Christ were not God, thus to bless in his name, and join him with the true God in this invocation and act of worship, would be real idolatry. And it is remarkable that as the name Jehovah, or Lord, is mentioned distinctly three times, in the blessing which Aaron and his sons were ordered to pronounce, denoting, as is reasonably supposed, the three, included in that name; so the apostle, blessing in the same name, mentions three, as included in this name, each of which is elsewhere expressly called God and Lord. And it is worthy of observation here, that as the baptism which Christ ordered to be administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is afterwards said to be administered in the name of the Lord, and in the name of Jesus Christ, because one of these supposes and comprehends all; so this apostle, who blessed in the name of these same three, does more commonly bless in the name of Jesus Christ. "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you;" because he is God, and the whole Trinity is implied in his name; and this is to bless in the name of the adorable Three, as really as when they are distinctly mentioned.

Much more may be produced from the Holy Scriptures to prove and confirm this truth, that Jesus Christ is God; but surely what has been now collected from the sacred oracles on this head is sufficient to establish this important doctrine in the mind of every honest, unprejudiced person, who is willing properly to attend to it, and to know the truth.

There have been, and now are, indeed, many professing

Christians, who do not believe, but deny and oppose this doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ. These appear to be led to renounce this doctrine, principally for two reasons. *First*, because they are disposed to reject every doctrine in Christianity which they cannot comprehend, and fully understand, with their boasted reason. They, therefore, deny the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as this of the divinity of Christ, and many other doctrines, which to them are incomprehensible, and which they, therefore, pronounce unreasonable. And would they be consistent, they must renounce Christianity itself, and even the belief of the being of a God, and of almost every thing else; for the existence of God is as incomprehensible as the divinity of Christ. And it is above our reason or conception, and contrary to reason as some would improve it, that any being should exist without any cause out of himself, and without beginning to exist, and unchangeable, etc. If the being of a God be admitted, which must be admitted, unless we renounce all reason, we must admit innumerable mysteries, which our minds cannot fathom and comprehend.

And what object is there in universal nature which can be fully comprehended by us? And what truth is there which respects God or the creature, which can be perfectly understood by us, and which is not attended with seeming contradictions, at least, in the view of some?

Secondly. Another reason of their rejecting the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, is, their not seeing any need of his being God, in order to be the Savior of men. They entertain such notions of God, the divine law and government, of the nature and demerit of sin, the state of fallen man, etc., that they cannot see any need of atonement for sin, which a creature cannot make, or of any thing to be done by the Redeemer of man, which a mere creature cannot do. Therefore, they are resolved not to admit a doctrine which, in their view, is so incomprehensible and absurd, and, at the same time, so perfectly useless. They, therefore, think they find many things in divine revelation inconsistent with this doctrine, and have attempted to explain away those passages of Scripture adduced to support it, and to put such a sense upon them as to make them assert no such thing. Their objections and manner of explaining the Scriptures, so as to make them consistent with their believing Jesus Christ to be a mere creature, will not be particularly considered here, as this has been done by many able divines. What has been now produced from the Scriptures, to prove that Jesus Christ is the true God, it is presumed, is sufficient to satisfy every humble, modest inquirer after the truth, that this doctrine is clearly revealed in the Bible, and in

such a manner, that the evidence of it is incontestable and must be admitted, if we admit the Scriptures to be the standard of truth. And this evidence will rise higher, if possible, as we proceed; and when we come to consider the importance and necessity of this doctrine, and that none but a divine person could be the Redeemer of man, consistent with other doctrines and truths of divine revelation, and do and suffer what was necessary to be done and suffered in order to redeem sinners; and that a person who is not God, would be infinitely unequal to this work.

But there is another truth equally important, and plainly revealed, with that which we have been considering, concerning this wonderful person.

II. The Redeemer of sinners is truly and really man. This person is both God and man. The *Word*, who was God, and created all things that are made, became and was made flesh, and dwelt among men. He was made in the likeness of men, and was found in fashion as a man, that is, was really man — "the Son of man." He is, therefore, denominated man, that man, the man Christ Jesus, etc. This necessarily implies that he had a real body and soul; for these are essential to human nature, so that none can be a real man who has not both these. The history of his conception, birth, life, death, and resurrection states this truth in a clear and unequivocal light. Therefore, there is need of nothing further to be said, to prove that Jesus Christ is really man. But it seems needful to observe and attend to the following things concerning this wonderful, incomprehensible person, God man, and the union of these two natures in this one person.

1. The human nature of Jesus Christ is not a distinct person, separate from the divine nature, or his Godhead. The human nature exists, and began to exist, in union with the sacred person in the Trinity, the Word, so that both natures are but one person. As the soul and body of a man, though different and distinct in their nature, or are two different natures, considered in themselves, yet in union with each other are but one person.

2. What is true and may be affirmed of either nature, divine and human, is true and may be affirmed of this person, Jesus Christ, the Redeemer. This same person is God, and he is man. This person was in heaven, and was visible on earth at the same time. "No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven." (John iii. 13.) This person who is God man, Immanuel, God with us, God manifest in the flesh, was put to death in the flesh, that is, in the human nature. He died

on the cross, and his blood was poured out there. This being the death, the blood of this person, it was the blood of God, because this person was God. (Acts xx. 28.) This person is omniscient and unchangeable in his divine nature; but the human nature of this person is not omniscient, nor unchangeable, but did increase in stature, knowledge, and wisdom. (Luke ii. 52.) As God, he is omnipotent and independent; as man, he is altogether dependent. Many other instances of this kind might be mentioned, but these are sufficient to illustrate the observation which has now been mentioned concerning this wonderful, complex person, including two natures perfectly distinct, and infinitely different one from the other.

This matter may be further explained and rendered more intelligible, perhaps, by considering the person of a man. Every man is a complex person, consisting of body and soul, of very distinct and different natures, and yet so united as to make one person. What is true of one of these two parts or natures of man, is not true of both. The body is mortal, the soul is not. The body has dimensions, and visible shape and countenance; the soul has nothing of these, and is not capable of them. And yet what is true of either of these different parts or natures, is true of the person consisting of these parts. The same person is mortal, as to his body; but is immortal, as to his mind. The person dies, but it is only in one of the constituent parts of his person, his body. Therefore, this same person may live when his body is dead. This person, consisting of body and soul, is intelligent, does think and reason. This is true of the person, because his mind is intelligent, thinks, and reasons, while his body is not capable of this, etc.

3. These two distinct and infinitely different natures, united in the person of Jesus Christ, are not transformed into each other, so that one becomes the other by this personal union, but remain as distinct and different, in this respect, as if there were no such personal union. The human nature is not God, and has not any of the attributes peculiar to divinity, any more than if it were not united to divinity. And the divine nature of Christ is no more a creature, and has no more the peculiar properties of a man, than if no such personal union of these natures had taken place. Therefore,—

4. This personal union of the divine nature, or of God in the second person of the Godhead, with the human nature, does not cause or suppose any change in the former; but, as God, this person is unchangeable. The human nature is assumed, or taken into a personal union with the second person of the Trinity, without any change in the divinity or divine nature; and all the change, or that is changeable, is in the human nature.

5. The personality of Jesus Christ is in his divine nature, and not in the human. Jesus Christ existed a distinct, divine person from eternity, the second person in the adorable Trinity. The human nature which this divine person, the Word, assumed into a personal union with himself, is not, and never was, a distinct person by itself, and personality cannot be ascribed to it, and does not belong to it, any otherwise than as united to the Logos, the Word of God. The Word assumed the human nature, not a human person, into a personal union with himself, by which this complex person exists, God man. Had the second person in the Trinity taken a human person into union with himself, and were this possible, Jesus Christ, God and man, would be two persons, not one. Hence, when Jesus Christ is spoken of as being a man, "the son of man, the man Christ Jesus," etc., these terms do not express the personality of the manhood, or of the human nature of Jesus Christ; but these personal terms are used with respect to the human nature, as united to a divine person, and not as a mere man. For the personal terms, *He*, *I*, and *Thou*, cannot, with propriety or truth, be used by, or of, the human nature, considered as distinct from the divine nature of Jesus Christ.

6. The mode or manner of the union of the two natures, divine and human, in one person, cannot be described nor conceived by us, it being entirely above our comprehension. This does not, however, render it in the least degree incredible; for, could it be comprehended, it would not be a real union, much less a union of the divine nature with the human. For, if we cannot comprehend, or have any clear conception of the personal union of our own souls with our bodies, how much more inconceivable must this high and singular union be to us, by which Deity and humanity are united, and become one person!

7. The human nature of Jesus Christ is, doubtless, unspeakably greater and more excellent than any other creature. This individual of the human race, being raised up to a personal union with him who is God, is the first and chief of all elect creatures, the greatest and most peculiar favorite; and is under the greatest advantages to advance in knowledge and holiness, being brought nearest to God of any creature, and receiving peculiar and more copious communications from him. It is with respect to his human nature that John the Baptist speaks, when he says of Jesus Christ, "God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto him." (John iii. 34.) As Jesus Christ increased in wisdom, in knowledge and holiness, in the human nature, when in this world, so he will, doubtless, in-

crease in this, and in degrees of existence without end; and make more rapid advances than any mere creature in proportion to the great favors, and the special advantages enjoyed in the near and peculiar union to the Deity, and the high and important station and offices to which the human nature is advanced. May we not, from this and other considerations which might be mentioned, safely conclude, that the human nature of Jesus Christ is greater in capacity, in knowledge and holiness, and has, or will have, without end, more or a greater degree of existence, worth, and happiness, not only than any mere creature, but more and greater than the whole redeemed church, and even all the elect angels, were the latter summed up together? The former, when put in the balance, may exceed it, to a degree beyond all our present conceptions.

8. The human nature of Jesus Christ began to exist when it was conceived in the virgin Mary, and not before. The Scripture history of his conception and birth, or the incarnation, and all that is said of it, naturally leads to this conclusion. The reader will have no other idea suggested to his mind, unless he has some particular end to answer by rejecting it, or puts a sense on some other passages of Scripture which is inconsistent with it. Such there have been in former ages, and such there are now in the Christian world, who are confident that the soul, or rational creature, which was united to a body in the incarnation, did not then begin to exist, but is the first creature that was made, etc. And they have thought that this sentiment is supported by a number of passages in the Bible. But the writers who have opposed them in this, it is thought, have made it evident that the passages which they allege assert no such thing, but are perfectly consistent with the human nature of Jesus Christ beginning to exist at his incarnation.

The doctrine of the preëxistence of the soul of Jesus Christ, or of that created nature which took a body in the womb of the virgin Mary, appears first to be invented and propagated by Arius, in the fourth century, and, since his time, by his followers. He denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, or that he is the true God equal with the Father, and asserted that he is a mere creature. And, in order to support his notion of the Redeemer, and make it consistent with many passages of Scripture which represent him as existing before his incarnation, and from the beginning, and speak of his creating the world, etc., which his opposers used to prove that he is a divine person, or the true God, he invented this scheme, and applied them to this preëxisting creature.

This creature, they suppose, was the first creature that was

made, and the greatest and most exalted of all creatures, and, in this sense, is "the first born of every creature, and the beginning of the creation of God." That he made the world, and had the government of it, at least in some degree, before his incarnation. That he is the Logos, or the Word, which became flesh, and dwelt among men, by taking a body in the womb of the virgin Mary, and being born of her. Thus this glorious creature, who was greater and more honorable than the angels, and placed far above them, in the highest and most dignified station, and made, in a sense, a God, and appeared in the form of God, being, nevertheless, but a mere creature, made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, etc.

There are others, especially of late, who, though they profess to believe that Jesus Christ is God, in a sense in which the Arians deny it, and that the human nature has a personal union with Deity, yet hold, with the Arians, that the created nature of the Redeemer, his body excepted, existed before his incarnation, and was the first creature that was created, etc. They think this to be asserted in several places of Scripture, and that many others cannot be well explained on any other supposition. It has been observed, that the divines who have opposed this scheme, have shown that all these passages of Scripture which have been adduced in favor of it import no such thing, but are perfectly consistent with the human nature of Christ beginning to exist at his incarnation. The labor of repeating what has been written to this purpose will not now be undertaken, as it may be found in most commentators on the Bible, and in their writings who have opposed the Arian scheme. It may be proper, however, to take notice of two expressions in Scripture, which the favorers of this notion have thought to be most express in their favor. Jesus Christ says of himself that he is, "the beginning of the creation of God." (Rev. iii. 14.) That is, say they, the first creature that was created by God. But these words do not, by the most natural construction, express any such idea. If he existed before the creation of any thing, and did himself begin and finish the creation of God, and is the Head and Lord of the creation, and head over all things to the church, all which we have seen the Scripture affirm of him, what words could more clearly, and in the most concise manner, express all this, than these, "The beginning of the creation of God"? Jesus Christ says of himself, repeatedly, in this Book of the Revelation, "I am the beginning and the end, the first and the last." By which is not meant that he began to exist, or was created the first of all; but directly the contrary, viz., that he

existed without beginning and without end, and is the author, the creator, or beginner of all things. (Rev. i. 8; xxi. 6; xxii. 13.) Jesus Christ is called, "the first born of every creature," or, as it might be more properly rendered, the first born of the whole creation. (Col. i. 15.) This, they plead, imports that he is the first creature that was made. But the Scripture no where expresses creation by being born; nor is this the natural import of the word. Therefore, these words do not appear to suggest that the Son of God, of whom the apostle is speaking, was created the first of all creatures. There is a more natural and easy sense, consistent with the human nature of Christ beginning to exist at his incarnation. The first born had the preëminence in the family, and was, in a peculiar sense, the heir. In ancient times, the first born was much distinguished from the rest of the family. He was, of course, after his father, the ruler, the king, and priest in the family. Agreeably to this, Jacob addresses his first-born son in the following words: "Reuben, thou art my first born, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power." (Gen. xlix. 3.) The first born was, in a peculiar sense, the heir, and, by his birth, had a right to the blessing and a double portion. Thus Esau, being the first-born of Isaac, was heir to the blessing of his father, and to preëminence in all respects, as his birthright. In Israel, the first born were, in a peculiar sense, appropriated to God, and heirs of a double honor and portion, the peculiar favorites. These, in the family of Aaron, were heirs to the high priesthood; and the first born of the kings were heirs of the kingdom. With reference to this, the redeemed are called "the church of the first born." (Heb. xii. 23.) God says to Pharaoh, "Israel is my son, even my first born." (Ex. iv. 22.) And he says, "I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first born, my dear son, a pleasant child." (Jer. xxxi. 9, 20.) In these passages, first born has no reference to priority of existence, but to preëminence, and their being subjects of peculiar favors, honors, and privileges. In this sense, it is predicted of Christ, "I will make him my first born, higher than the kings of the earth." (Ps. lxxxix. 27.) When all this is considered, who can be at a loss about the meaning of the expression before us, "The first born of the whole creation"? He is the highest, most honorable, the peculiar favorite, the king, the head, and the heir of the whole creation, in all things having the preeminence above every other creature, for all things were created for him." (Verse 16.) The apostle fully explains himself in these and the following words: "And he is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the first born from the

dead, that in all things he might have the preëminence." In this sense, "he is the first born among many brethren." (Rom. vii. 29.) But if we understand his being the first born of every creature as expressing his priority of existence to the whole creation, it must be understood not of his human, but of his divine nature; for this person exists before all worlds, and without beginning, as has been proved. Agreeably to this, the apostle goes on to say, "And he is before all things, and by him all things consist." (Rom. vii. 17.) This is true of this person, but cannot be true of the human nature, that it exists before all things, — that is, all created things.

But it may be further observed that it is not only consistent with the whole of divine revelation to consider the human nature of the Redeemer as beginning to exist at his incarnation, and not only that no important or good end is answered by the contrary supposition, but it appears to be contrary to the current of Scripture, and of a dangerous and bad tendency. For, —

First. This notion appears inconsistent with the true and real manhood of Jesus Christ, — or, with his taking upon him the human nature and being a real man, — which the Scripture abundantly asserts, as we have seen. If the creature which took a body by the incarnation were the first and greatest creature that was ever created, he was no more a man, no more like and akin to the human race, or the nature of man, than the angels, but was more distant from man than they, as he was much greater and higher than they. But if an angel should take upon him a real human body, this would not make him a man, or one of the human race. Gabriel, indeed, who was sent from heaven to Daniel, is called "the man Gabriel;" and the angels which appeared to Lot, and to the women who visited the sepulchre where Christ had been laid, are called men, because they appeared in the shape of men. But no one supposes they were real men; nor would they have been any more so, had they been united to real bodies. A man has not only a human body, but a human soul; both these are essential constituents of human nature, and necessary to make a man. The angelic nature, — or superangelic, as such a supposed creature may be called, — does not, and cannot, be made human nature, or be made a real man so as to be one of the human race, by uniting to a human body. He still will be an angel, or a creature of a higher order, and not a man. A distinction is made between angels, and men, or the seed of Abraham; and it is said that Jesus did not unite himself to the former, but to the latter. "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also

himself likewise took part of the same. For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham." (Heb. ii. 14, 16.) Had the Eternal Word united himself to an angel, and taken a human body, he would have been an angel, and not a man, — not the seed of the woman, or of Abraham. This would not have formed the relation of brethren between him and mankind, but between him and angels. "It behoved him to be made like unto his brethren in all things;" (Heb. ii. 17;) — which he could not have been, had he not taken upon him human nature, consisting in a human soul and body. Had he united himself to an angel, or any other creature of a higher order, and then that creature, united by the Word, have taken a human body, he would not have been made in all things like unto his brethren, but, on the contrary, he would have taken but a very inconsiderable part of the human nature, and be far from being a man. This supposed first and greatest creature cannot, with any propriety or truth, be called a human soul, more than any other supposable or possible creature that could be made. Nor would his union to a human body make him any more a human soul, than if he were not so united. A human soul comes into existence in union with the body, — by which human nature, or the human creature, comes into existence.

If this argument has any weight in it, is it not a sufficient reason for rejecting a scheme which does not appear to have any foundation in the sacred oracles, and will not give any better or more exalted conceptions of the Redeemer than the common opinion which views his human nature as beginning to exist at the incarnation? But there are other objections to this scheme. For, —

Secondly. If only the body of Jesus came into existence, and was formed in the womb of the virgin Mary, he could not be really her son, or the Son of man conceived by her in her womb, as the Scripture says he was. She who conceives, and brings forth a son, is as really and as much the mother of his soul as of his body; and the former is conceived and formed in her womb as much as the latter, and is the greater and chief part of the child or son, — yea, the most essential part, without which he would not be a son, but a monster — a body without a soul. Therefore, Mary's conception of her son did imply the conception of soul and body; otherwise, she could not be said to conceive a son. The virgin Mary, and Elizabeth, are each of them said to conceive a son. (Luke i. 31, 36.) All must allow that the latter conceived a child with a human soul and body; otherwise it would not have been the conception of a son. And why must not Mary's concep-

tion of a son imply the same? If not, how could he be her son, conceived by her?

It is a mistake which some have made who have supposed that the parents of a child are the parents or authors of the body, and are instruments of producing that only, and not the soul of the child. They are the cause of one as much as the other, and no more. They are not the efficient cause of either. God is the cause of the existence of both soul and body, — of the latter just as much as the other. Both come into existence according to a law of nature, by which parents are made the instrumental cause of the production of the child, consisting of both soul and body. The mother, therefore, according to a law of nature, conceives both the soul and body of her son; she does as much towards the one as towards the other, and is equally the instrumental cause of both; and God is as much the efficient and immediate cause of the existence of the one as of the other. The human nature of Jesus was conceived not according to a stated law of nature, but in a miraculous way; yet Mary as really conceived him, and he was as really her son, as if he had been conceived according to the ordinary course of nature. But he was not conceived by her, neither could he be her son, if his soul, or that creature which took a body in her womb, had existed a mighty, glorious creature thousands of years before this; as in this case she must have conceived nothing but a body, which is no conception, according to the proper use of the word, and could not be a son.

Thirdly. We find it is the way and manner of the Governor of the world first to put his creatures, who are moral agents, upon trial, that, through the appointed time of trial, they may exercise and manifest submission to him, and obedience to the law and commands under which they are placed, before he admits them to glory and publicly confirms them in happiness, that the latter may be the reward of the former as a testimony of his approbation of their obedience; and this appears highly reasonable and proper. To make a creature, and set him above every other creature, and confer upon him great and distinguishing honors as being the greatest favorite, without putting him in a state of trial and before he had performed any signal act of obedience, would be contrary to God's way of dealing with his creatures, so far as our acquaintance reaches, and would be very unreasonable, and altogether unbecoming the moral Governor of the world, so far as we can judge. But the notion of the preëxistence of the human nature of Jesus Christ — if, on this plan, it can be properly called human nature, or a human soul, which, indeed,

it cannot — supposes that God has dealt so with this creature. He made him the first and highest of all creatures, and honored him by making him the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, angels and men, — or using him as the great Agent or Instrument in this work, — and set him over all creatures and things as the Director and Govérnor of all worlds, in a state of high exaltation and glory, in which he continued four thousand years, before the great trial of his obedience took place. This, therefore is not to be admitted as true, or any part of the divine plan and conduct, without some cogent reasons which have not yet been produced, — or, unless it be plainly asserted in divine revelation, which is so far from being true, that it seems to speak a contrary language.

But if, contrary to this notion, the human nature of Jesus Christ first began to exist at the incarnation, and he increased in wisdom and stature until he arrived to manhood, in a state and circumstances of trial; and persevered in a state of temptation, trial, and suffering, and in obedience, in the form of a servant, unto death, even the death of the cross; and after this, and as a reward for such obedience and sufferings, "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name," — this is perfectly agreeable to God's conduct as moral Governor of the world in other instances, and appears to be most reasonable and proper, and is suited to answer the best ends.

Fourthly. The doctrine of the preëxistence of the creature, which was united to the human body in the womb of the virgin Mary, not only has no foundation in divine revelation, and is useless and unreasonable, but appears to be of a dangerous and bad tendency.

Arius and his followers have espoused this notion, in order to support and render more plausible their denial of the divinity of Jesus Christ, or that he is truly God as well as man, by applying those passages of Scripture to this supposed creature, which their opposers adduced to prove his divinity, and applied to Christ as God, and the second person in the Trinity; which has occasioned so much dispute in the Christian world in the fourth century, and since. It was, therefore, first advanced and improved to support an error, which really subverts Christianity. This gives just ground of suspicion that it is itself an error; and it ought not to be received, until it be carefully examined and found to be well supported, and clearly asserted by divine oracles.

And though many who now embrace this notion of the preexistence of the human nature of Jesus Christ do not consider themselves as giving up his divinity, or that they are

doing any thing in the least inconsistent with this doctrine, or that tends in any degree to weaken or injure it, but hold that this preëxisting creature was united to the Deity, so as to be a divine person, and not a mere creature; yet they, by applying all or most of those passages of Scripture to this dignified creature, which they who do not admit this opinion consider as properly applicable to the second person in the Trinity, who in the fulness of time took upon him human nature, do, in a measure, at least, obscure and weaken the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, and that of the Trinity of persons in the Deity, and hereby give great advantage to those who deny and oppose these doctrines.

And this is rather confirmed than otherwise, by fact and experience; since many, if not most of those who have embraced this sentiment of the preëxistence of the human nature of the Redeemer, give up the doctrine of the Trinity, of three distinct persons subsisting eternally in one God, independent of his works, or manner of operation, or at least doubt about the truth of it; and are rather inclined to consider this first and greatest creature as a divine person by a peculiar union to Deity, or to God; not considering him as subsisting in three persons, or in any sense, three, considered in himself, but only in his different manner of acting, and distinct offices in his relation to his creatures and works respecting them. And as this notion takes away and annihilates the divinity of Christ, as a distinct person in the Godhead, it tends to obscure and even remove the idea of his being really and properly God, and to consider him as a creature no otherwise united to God than by having the divine presence and assistance in a peculiar and extraordinary manner and degree, and enjoying the peculiar favor and love of the Deity; — that his divinity consists in this, and nothing more; and that his personality consists wholly in his nature, as a creature, as a distinct person from all other creatures, and vastly superior to them all, and not in his divinity or divine nature. And as this scheme makes the Logos, or Word, to be the first and greatest of all creatures, they apply all those passages of Scripture which speak of Jesus Christ before his incarnation to this creature, who, by taking the human body, became a man. Thus they are naturally, and even necessarily, led to give up the divinity of Jesus Christ, as it has been held by those who have acknowledged and adored him as the true God; and find themselves not to differ in their idea of the Redeemer, in any thing essential or important from the Arians, who have always denied the divinity of Christ, as it has been held by the greatest part of professing Christians, in all ages. And

this has been realized by fact in too many instances of those who have embraced the notion of the preëxistence of the human nature of Christ. They have gone on to disbelieve and deny that he is truly God, or, at least, to hesitate and doubt of it. And there is reason to fear, and even to expect, that if this notion prevails, a denial of the real divinity of the Redeemer will keep pace with it, and Jesus Christ, instead of being honored by it, will be degraded infinitely below what he has been believed to be by the Christian church in general, in all ages, and deprived of the honors which have been given to him, and which are ascribed to him in the divine oracles, as has been proved above.

When all this is well considered, viz., that the doctrine of the preëxistence of Jesus Christ, as a creature, is nowhere expressly, or by implication, asserted in the Scripture, and is not so consistent with it, as the contrary doctrine, — that it is at best a useless notion, and can answer no good end, — that it is not reasonable, and is contrary to the divine conduct, as moral governor, — that it is inconsistent with his being a real man, or the son of the virgin Mary, — that it appears in theory, and from fact and experience, to be of a dangerous and bad tendency, even to the dishonor of Christ, and the denial of his divinity; and, consequently, to sap the very foundation of Christianity, — that it has been invented and propagated by those who have denied that the Redeemer of men is the true God, equal with the Father, in order to render their opposition to this doctrine more plausible, — that the best and most sound part of the church, and those who have been most eminent for wisdom and grace, and a conduct most agreeable to the gospel, have not received, but rejected this doctrine, — if all this appears to be true, or if it be in part, and in some measure, agreeable to the truth, may not this notion be rejected with safety and a degree of confidence? Yea, ought we not to renounce it, and embrace the contrary, which has been received by the Christian church in general, from the days of the apostles, and supported by the best divines?

9. The human nature of Jesus Christ never was tainted with the least moral corruption, but is perfectly holy. This is repeatedly asserted of him in the Scriptures, and was absolutely necessary in order to his being the Redeemer of man. "For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens." (Heb. vii. 26.) But how he could be a man, descend from Adam, and be really one of the human race, and not partake of the common corruption of mankind, has

been a question of no small importance. This inquiry is answered by observing, that though, by a divine constitution, all the posterity of Adam in a constituted natural way, or according to the established course of nature, are born in a state of total moral corruption, in consequence of his apostasy, which has been proved in a former chapter; yet this did not reach or affect the human nature of Jesus Christ, as he was conceived and born in a supernatural and miraculous way, and had no human father.

When the constitution and covenant was made with Adam and his natural posterity, it was not determined by any thing in this constitution that there would be any such person as that of the Mediator, as it did not appear by any thing in that covenant that there would be any need of a Redeemer: he was not, therefore, included in this constitution and covenant, as all the natural posterity of Adam were, but was introduced in consequence of the breach of that covenant; consequently, he did not partake of the moral pollution and depravity which came upon the natural posterity of Adam, who were included in that covenant. And he is not only not one included in the covenant made with Adam, as he does not descend from him in the ordinary, natural way, but he is "the Lord from heaven." (1 Cor. xv. 47.) The human nature of Christ began to exist in a personal union with the second person in the Triune God, and so is infinitely distinguished from the rest of the children of Adam.

10. The incarnation of Jesus Christ, or his becoming man, by his taking the human nature into a personal union with the divine, is no part of his humiliation, nor is, in itself, in any respect or degree degrading, laying aside, or hindering his glory. The manner and circumstances of his incarnation, in his being born of a poor virgin, in an infant state, and lodged in a stable, and attended with the innocent infirmities of the human nature, and in it suffering disgrace, pain, and death, are all parts of the humiliation of Christ; but the incarnation itself is no part of it. If it were, he would be in a state of humiliation now, and forever hereafter; for he is a man now, and will continue to be such a person eternally.

The union of the divine nature with the human is an instance of wonderful condescension and grace, and will be celebrated as such by the redeemed forever. But the second person in the Trinity will not be less, but more honored and glorious forever, than if he were not man as well as God.

III. The Redeemer is the Son of God, in a peculiar and appropriated sense, and by which he is distinguished from every other person in the universe. He is, therefore, called the

first begotten, or first-born Son of God; his *only begotten son*, *his own son*, and eminently *the Son*, and *the Son of the Father.* His *dear Son*, or, as it is in the original, *the Son of his love;* his *beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased.* "For he received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." (2 Pet. i. 17.) He is "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father." (John i. 18.) Who only knows the Father; and none does or can reveal and make him known but the Son. (Matt. xi. 27. John i. 18.) He being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person; he that hath seen the Son, hath seen the Father. (John xiv. 9. Heb. i. 3.) Which epithets and declarations distinguish him from all other sons, as much as his Father is distinguished from all other fathers. He is mentioned as the Son of God above *a hundred times* in the New Testament, and fifty times by the apostle John. And the Father of Jesus Christ, the Son, is mentioned above *two hundred and twenty times*, and more than one hundred and thirty times in the Gospel and Epistles of St. John. Jesus Christ often makes use of the epithets, *The Father*, *My Father*, etc. This character is represented as essential to the Redeemer and peculiar to him, and is an essential article of the Christian faith. This confession Peter made as the common faith of the disciples of Christ: "We believe, and are sure, that thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God." (John vi. 69. Matt. xvi. 16.) This was the eunuch's faith, required in order to his being baptized: "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." (Acts viii. 37.) And he who believes with all his heart that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, hath the Son, and with him eternal life. When Peter made this confession, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God," Christ said to him, "Blessed art thou; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. xvi. 16, 17.) "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life." (John iii. 36.) And John says, "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him, and he in God. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God? He that hath the Son, hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life. These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God." (1 John iv. 15; v. 5, 12, 13.)

It must be further observed, that this title, the Son of God, is the highest title that is given to the Redeemer, and denotes

his divinity, or that he is himself God, and therefore equal with the Father, if his divinity be any where expressed in the Bible; and that it is there abundantly declared, we have before showed. He styles himself, and is called, *the Son of man*, more than *eighty times* in the New Testament, by which epithet his humanity is more especially denoted, but not excluding his divinity. And, on the contrary, he is called the Son of God, more particularly to express his infinitely superior character, his divinity or Godhead. In this view let the following passages be considered. When the angel who declared to the virgin Mary that she should be the mother of the Messiah, expressed to her the greatness of this her Son, he does it by saying that he should be called the Son of the Highest, the Son of God. "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest. Therefore, also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." (Luke i. 32, 35.) If this were not his greatest, his highest title and character, he most certainly would have given him a higher, and one that did fully express divinity. This, therefore, did express it in the fullest and strongest manner. And no one who believes in the divinity of Christ can, consistently, have any doubt of it. And when the Father gives him the highest encomium and recommends him to men, as worthy of their highest regards, implicit obedience, and unlimited trust and confidence, and commands them thus to regard, love, trust in, and obey him, this is the highest character he gives him, by which his divinity is expressed, "This is my beloved *Son*, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." If this does not express his divinity, we may be sure divinity is no part of his character, and that he is not God. So when Peter undertakes to express the idea he had of the high and glorious character of his Lord and Master, he does it in the following words: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." If Peter believed the divinity of Christ, he certainly expressed this in these words, for he did not conceive of any higher character that could be given in any other words. This also appears by Nathaniel's using this epithet, when he was struck with wonder and surprise at the omniscience of Christ: "Rabbi, thou art the *Son* of God, thou art the King of Israel." (John i. 49.) When our Lord Jesus Christ proposed himself to the man whom he had restored to sight, as the proper object of his faith and trust, he said to him, "Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" And when he told the man that he himself was the person, he said, "Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him." (John ix. 35, 38.) It appears from this that Son of God was the highest title which Jesus assumed, and that this had special reference to, and expressed his divinity; and, therefore, in this

character, and as the Son of God, this pious man paid him divine honor, and worshipped him. When the disciples of our Lord, and all that were in the ship with them, had seen him walking upon the sea in the midst of a terrible storm, and reducing the boisterous winds and raging waves to a calm by his words and presence, they were struck with a fresh and affecting conviction of his divinity, that he was God, and expressed it by coming to him, falling down and worshipping him, saying, "Of a truth, thou art the Son of God." (Matt. xiv. 33.) In which words they expressed his divinity, and gave a reason for their worshipping him as their Lord and their God; viz., that they were sure, from clear and abundant evidence, that he was the Son of God. The apostle John, when he would represent Jesus Christ in his highest and most glorious character, gives him this title, and adds, "This is the true God." He says, "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life." (1 John v. 20.)

It is to be further observed, that when our Lord said to the Jews, "My father worketh hitherto, and I work," the Jews, therefore, sought the more to kill him, because he said that God was his Father, [his own proper Father, as it is in the original,] making himself equal with God." This is to be understood as the sense which St. John the evangelist puts upon the words of Christ, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." For this was making himself equal with God the Father, as doing the same work with him; and this is represented as implied in God's being his own Father; or, in his being the Father's own Son, the Son of God. But if we understand it as the sense which the Jews put upon the words of Christ, and that they said this was making himself equal with God, it amounts to the same thing; for it appears that their inference was just; and our Savior is so far from denying it to be true, that in his reply to them he confirms it, and asserts that whatsoever the Father does, the Son does the same; and instances in his raising the dead, and judging the world, and having all things and all power in his hands. "That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." (John v. 23.) Thus he makes the Son equal with the Father. Hence it appears that to be the Son of God, and God's own Son, is the same with a divine person, and denotes one who is truly God; and that this title is used to express the divinity, rather than the humanity of Jesus Christ.

The same appears from what passed between our Lord and the Jews at another time. He said to them, "I and my

Father are one." This, they said, was blasphemy, because, being a man, he made himself God. It is plain from the answer which he makes to them that they considered him as a blasphemer, because he claimed to be the Son of God, by calling God his Father. "Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?" (John x. 30, 33, 36.) This was the blasphemy with which they charged him; because they considered his saying, that he was the Son of God, by calling God his Father, as an assertion that he was God. And it appears, not only from this passage, but from others, that the Jews, and others, did affix the idea of divinity to the Son of God, and considered this title as expressing a character infinitely above a mere creature. When Jesus was arraigned before the Jewish council, the high priest charged him with the solemnity of an oath, saying, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ, the Son of the living God." (Matt. xxvi. 64–66.) And when Jesus answered in the affirmative, he, with all the members of the council, charged him with blasphemy, and pronounced him worthy of death for making this claim. And they brought this accusation against him to Pilate, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. When, therefore, Pilate heard that saying, he was the more afraid." (John xix. 7, 8.) By this, it is evident that Pilate considered the Son of God to imply divinity. When the centurion, and the guard who were with him, saw the earthquake, and the other supernatural events which attended the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, "they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God." (Matt. xxvii. 54.) From this, it is evident that they considered the Son of God to be more than a man, at least, if not really God.

There was some idea and belief propagated among other nations, as well as the Jews, of an extraordinary personage, a divinity, who was denominated the Son of God, and who was to make his appearance in the world. To this, Nebuchadnezzar, doubtless, had reference, when he said, that in a vision he saw a fourth person, walking in the midst of the fire of the furnace into which he had cast three men, and that none of them had been hurt by the fire; and the form of the fourth was like the Son of God. (Dan. iii. 25.) And who but this divine person can be meant by Agur, when he says, "Who hath ascended up into heaven, or descended? Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? Who hath bound the waters in a garment? Who hath established all the ends of the earth? What is his name, and what is his Son's name, if thou canst tell?" (Prov. xxx. 4.)

This epithet and character we find expressly mentioned by David, the divinely inspired king of Israel, in the second Psalm. And he is there introduced and described as a divinity, who claims divine homage, trust, and worship, as the omnipotent heir, possessor, and ruler of the world. "I will declare the decree. The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art MY SON, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." * From this ancient oracle in Israel, and from a revelation which was made upon the first apostasy, and handed down by tradition, not only the Jews, but also those of other nations who had any particular connection with them, were taught to consider the expected Messiah as the Son of God in a peculiar and appropriated sense, and as implying real divinity. Therefore, it was supposed on all hands that this person, the Son of God, the King of Israel, the King of the Jews, was to be worshipped, as worthy to receive divine honors. Hence the wise men from the east, being admonished of the birth of this glorious personage, came to worship him, to pay him divine honors; for which they had a particular warrant, having had him pointed out to them by a star, which was a known symbol or hieroglyphic of the Divinity, or a God. And Herod took it for granted, that this person was to be worshipped and receive divine honors. For he said to the wise men, "When ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also."

All this will be of no weight, indeed, and as nothing with the anti-Trinitarians, the Sebellians; and with all those who deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, the Arians and Socinians.

* This is an incontestable proof that the Son is God, even *Jehorah*. The Psalmist often says, "Blessed are they, blessed is the man, who trusteth in the Lord." And here he says, Blessed are all they who trust in the Son of God; and yet forbids us to put our trust in any but God. "Put not your trust in princes, or in the son of man, in whom there is no help. Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God." (Psalm cxlvi. 3, 5.) And he says, "My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him." (Psalm lxii. 5.) They only are blessed, who trust in God; and all others are cursed. "Thus saith the Lord, Cursed be the man that trusteth in man. Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope the Lord is." (Jer. xvii. 5, 7.) They are blessed, who trust in the Son of God. Therefore, he is the Lord.

But they who believe in a Trinity of persons in the Deity, and that Jesus Christ is God, the second person of the Trinity, must be sensible that he is called the Son of God, the Son of the Father, with a special reference to his divine nature, and to denote his Godhead, as the second person in the Triune God. The Arians and Socinians hold that he is the Son of God, considered as a mere creature, being by this distinguished from all other creatures; and, consequently, that there was no Son of God before this creature did exist. The latter, or Trinitarians, believe that the Sonship of Jesus Christ necessarily includes his divinity; but are not all agreed as to the foundation of his Sonship, and in what it consists. It has been generally believed, and the common doctrine of the church of Christ, from the beginning of the fourth century, and so far as appears from the days of the apostles to this time, that Jesus Christ is the eternal Son of God, — that his Sonship is essential to him, as the second person in the Trinity, and that in this sense he is the only begotten Son of the Father, antecedent to his incarnation, and independent on it, even from eternity. But there are some who think that the Sonship of the Redeemer consists in an union of the second person of the Trinity, or the Word, with the human nature; and that he became the Son of God, by becoming man; and, therefore, before the incarnation, there was no Son of God, though there were a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. This opinion seems to be rather gaining ground, and spreading, of late.

Those on each side of this question differ in their opinion of the importance of it, and of the bad tendency of either of these opposite sentiments. Some suppose that the difference is of little or no importance, as both believe the Redeemer to be God and man in one person, and that he is the Son of God, and that this implies his divinity, though they differ in opinion respecting the time and manner of his filiation. Others think this is a difference so great and important, and attended with such consequences, and that those who are opposed to them on this point embrace such a great and dangerous error, that they ought to be strenuously opposed; and, consequently, do not desire an accommodation, or think it possible.

Though it be needless and improper here to undertake the labor of entering into all the arguments which have been produced, or may be mentioned, in support of each side of this question, yet the following observations may not be altogether useless, but may be of some help to form a judgment on this point agreeably to the Scriptures.

1. As this question respects the character of the Redeemer, it may justly be considered as an important one, as every thing relating to his character is very important and interesting. Who would be willing to be found at last taking the wrong side of this question, and always to have entertained so unbecoming ideas and conceptions of the Redeemer, — which his must be, if, on this point, he embraces and contends for that which is directly contrary to the truth? Though such an error should not be fatal to him who embraces it, but be consistent with his being a real Christian, yet it must be a very criminal mistake, and dishonorable to Jesus Christ, — as every idea of him must be which is contrary to his true character, for that is so perfect and glorious that nothing can be taken from it, or added to it, which will not mar and dishonor it. His character, as it respects the question before us, is, without doubt, properly and clearly stated in divine revelation; and, if we embrace that which is contrary to the truth, it must be wholly our own fault, and a very criminal abuse of the advantages which we enjoy to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ his Son whom he has sent. Those considerations ought to awaken our attention to this subject, and excite a concern and earnest desire to know and embrace the truth, which will be attended with a modest, humble, diligent inquiry, sensible of the danger in which we are, through prejudice or from other causes, of embracing error, and earnestly looking to the great Prophet to lead us into the truth.

2. What has been observed above, and, it is believed, made evident, viz., that the term, "Son of God," so often given to Christ, is used to denote his divine nature, and to express his divinity rather than his humanity, seems naturally, if not necessarily, to lead us to consider this character as belonging to him independent of his union to the human nature, and antecedent to his becoming man; and, therefore, that it belongs to him as God, the second person in the Trinity. For, if his Sonship consists in his union to the human nature, and he became a son only by becoming a man, then this character depends wholly upon this union, and is derived from his being made flesh. Therefore, this epithet could not be properly used to denote his divinity independent of his humanity, or what he is as a divine person antecedent to his incarnation, or to express his divine rather than his human nature. And "Son of God" would be no higher a character, and express no more than "Son of man;" which is contrary to the idea which the Scripture gives us on this head, as has been shown.

This may, perhaps, be in some measure illustrated by the following instance. The son of a nobleman, of the first honor

and dignity, came from Europe, and married the daughter of a plebeian in America, by which he became his son. But, as his honor and dignity did not consist in his marrying this woman, or in his being the son of the plebeian by this union with his daughter, but in his original character, no man thought of expressing his highest and most dignified character, by which he was worthy of the greatest respect, by using an epithet which denoted only his union to that woman, and which was not applicable to him in any other view; or by calling him "son," as expressing this new relation: but the highest title which they gave him was that which had a special respect to, and expressed, his original character which he sustained antecedent to this union, and in which his highest dignity consisted. And he being the son of a nobleman and a lord, in which all his honor and dignity did consist, they used this phrase, "My noble lord," to express their highest respect and his most worthy character. This epithet was always used to express his original and highest character and relation, and could not, with propriety, be used to express any thing else. He was often called, indeed, the son of the plebeian, when they designed particularly to express his union to his wife, and speak of him as standing in this relation.

3. The Son of God is spoken of in many instances, if not in every one where this term is used, so as will naturally lead the reader to consider him as sustaining this character and relation antecedent to his incarnation, and independent of it. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son." (John iii. 16.) Do not these words seem to express this idea, viz., that there existed an only begotten Son antecedent to his being given? — that God gave this his Son to the world by his becoming flesh and being united to the human nature, and not that he became his Son by this union? "In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be a propitiation for our sins." (1 John iv. 9, 10.) If God *sent* his only begotten Son into the world, does not this suppose he had a Son to send antecedent to his sending him, and that he did not become his Son by his sending him into the world, or only in consequence of this? This is expressed in the same manner by St. Paul: "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law." (Gal. iv. 4.) The Son was sent forth. Does not this seem at least to imply that there was a Son to be sent forth antecedent to his being made of a woman, and that he was not made a Son by

being made of a woman, or becoming man? "No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." (John i. 18.) Do not these words naturally lead us to conceive of the only begotten Son as existing in the nearest union with the Father as his Son, independent of the human nature?

It is said, "God was manifested in the flesh." (1 Tim. iii. 16.) It would be unnatural and absurd to suppose, from this expression, that Jesus Christ was not God antecedent to his being manifested in the flesh, and that, by his becoming man, he became a God. Directly the contrary to this is asserted, viz., that he who is God from eternity did in time appear in the human nature, and manifested himself to be God, independent of the flesh in which he appeared. It is also said, "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." (1 John iii. 8.) These two passages appear to be parallel. "God manifested in the flesh," and the "Son of God manifested," are two expressions of the same thing. From this it may be inferred that the Son of God and God are synonymous here, and of the same import. This serves to confirm what has been said above of the use and meaning of the term, Son of God. And may it not with equal certainty be inferred, from these two passages compared together, that the Son of God existed in this character as the Son of God antecedent to his manifestation in the flesh, and independent of it, and that he did not become the Son of God by being made flesh? If God be manifested in the flesh, there must be a God to be manifested antecedent to such manifestation, and independent of it. And is it not equally certain that if the Son of God be manifested, he must have existed the Son of God antecedent to such manifestation, and independent of it? Consequently, he did not become the Son of God by his being manifested in the flesh. His Sonship does not consist in the union of the divine and human natures in one person. His personality existed before this union with the human nature; and he was the Son of God before this. This same Son of God, this same person who existed without beginning, assumed the human nature — not a human person — into a union with himself, — his own person, — and so appeared — was manifested in the flesh.

When David speaks of the Son of God, and represents the Father as saying, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee," so long before his incarnation, the idea which most naturally arises in the mind from this is, that there was then such a person as the Son, who did at that time declare the decree by the mouth of David, and not that there should in some

future time be a Son begotten, who should then declare the decree. "I will declare the decree; the Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." It is very unnatural, and contrary to all propriety of speech, to suppose, "this day have I begotten thee," means I will beget thee in some future time, and that the Son should be made to declare the decree long before any such person existed, and when there was in fact no such Son. The decree which the Son declares is not that declaration, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;" but what follows, "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron," etc. "This day," that is, now, not in time which is passed, or which is to come; for with God there is no succession, no time passed or to come, but he exists, as we may say, in one eternal, unsuccessive *now*. Therefore, when he speaks of an eternal, imminent act, it is most properly expressed thus: "This day, or *now*, have I begotten thee." This, therefore, is the sense in which the best divines have generally understood it.

St. Paul cites this passage as being illustrated and verified in the resurrection of Jesus Christ. (Acts xiii. 33.) But he cannot mean that he by the resurrection became the Son of God, and was then begotten, for he had this title before that. His meaning is explained by himself in his Epistle to the Romans. "Declared to be the Son of God, by the resurrection from the dead." (Rom. i. 4.) That is, this was a fresh and open manifestation and declaration that he was, indeed, what had been often asserted of him, and what he always was — the only begotten Son of God.

What the angel said to the virgin Mary, "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest — the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore, also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," cannot reasonably be understood as a declaration that his Sonship consisted in his miraculous conception, or in the union of the second person of the Trinity with the human nature thus conceived; but that this child, conceived in this manner, and born of a virgin, should appear and be known to be the Son of God; that very person who had been spoken of, and known in all past ages, by this title; of whom Isaiah had particularly spoken, when he said, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and shall call his name *Immanuel*. Unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty

God." (Isa. vii. 14; ix. 6.) That this Son was now to be born of the virgin Mary, the long expected Messiah, who is considered and spoken of by the people of God, by the title of the Son of God, which title he shall bear, as he is, indeed, the mighty God.

We are naturally led to consider the Son of God as existing in this character before his incarnation, and the same with the Word, by what is said of him in the first chapter of John: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, as of the only begotten of the Father. No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him. John bare witness of him, and cried, saying, This was he of whom I spake, he that cometh after me, is preferred before me; for he was before me. And I saw, and bear record that this is the Son of God." Here John is represented as asserting that the Son of God, concerning whom he bore witness, did exist before him, which, therefore, must be before his incarnation; for John was conceived before the incarnation of Jesus. But how can this be true, if there were no Son of God before John existed? But if we consider the Word and the Son of God as synonymous, who was in the beginning with God, and who was God, and created all things, this whole chapter will be plain and easy to be understood; and we shall see John bearing witness to the Son of God, who existed before him in this character, and was now come in the flesh.

We find the same representation made in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "God, who spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things; by whom also he made the worlds. Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power," etc. How could God make the worlds by his Son, four thousand years before he had a Son? and on this supposition, where is the propriety or truth of this assertion? And how could the Son be said to uphold all things by the word of his power, thousands of years before any Son existed? "And again, when he bringeth the first begotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him." This expression naturally suggests the idea that God the Father had a first begotten Son to bring into the world, whom he commanded the angels to worship. How can he be said to bring his first begotten Son into the world, when he had no such Son to bring into the world; and, indeed, never did bring this his Son into the world, if he was begotten and received his Sonship in this world, when he took the

human nature in the womb of the virgin, and was not a Son before?

Again, speaking of Melchisedec, he says, he was "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God." (Heb. vii. 3.) If there were no Son of God until the human nature of Christ existed, then the Son of God did begin to exist; consequently, there was a beginning of his days; and Melchisedec was not made like him, but unlike to him, by having no beginning of days.

Since there are so many passages of Scripture (and there are many more than have now been mentioned) which seem to represent the Redeemer as the Son of God, antecedent to his incarnation, and independent of it, which will naturally lead those who attend to them to this idea of him, — and some of them cannot be easily reconciled to the contrary opinion, — this will fully account for the generally received doctrine in the Christian world from the earliest ages to this time: viz., that the Redeemer of man is the second person in the Trinity, the eternal Son of God, who in the fulness of time was made flesh, by a personal union with the human nature.

4. It is worthy of consideration whether the contrary opinion, viz., that the Redeemer is the Son of God only by the second person in the Trinity being united to human nature and becoming man, does not naturally lead to dangerous and evil consequences, and what good end is to be answered by it? If it be not agreeably to Scripture, we know it must be dangerous and hurtful in a greater or less degree, (as all errors respecting the person and character of the Redeemer are,) and naturally tends to lead into other mistakes still greater and of worse consequence. And if it be agreeably to Scripture, it certainly has no bad tendency. If, therefore, it does appear from reasoning upon it, or from fact and experience, that this opinion tends to evil consequences and has a bad effect, we may safely conclude that it is wrong, and contrary to divine revelation.

1. Does not this sentiment tend to lower our ideas of the Redeemer, and lead into a way of thinking less honorably of him? It has been observed that it appears from Scripture that this title, Son of God, was used to express the highest and most honorable idea which his friends had of his person and character. But if we understand by it nothing but what takes place by his union to man, by taking flesh upon him, and consider it as signifying nothing but what took place by his becoming man, nothing is expressed by it more than by Son of man; and we are left without any epithet or common Scripture

phrase whereby to express the divinity, the Godhead of the Redeemer, and his equality with the Father. Thus, instead of raising our conceptions of the Redeemer, does it not tend to sink them? Does not the Sonship of Christ become an infinitely less and more inconsiderable matter, upon this plan, than that which has always been esteemed the orthodox sentiment on this point, which considers his Sonship as wholly independent of the whole creation, as eternal, and altogether divine?

We live in an age when the enemies of the Redeemer lift up their heads, and are suffered to multiply and prevail. The deists attempt to cast him out as an impostor. Arians and Socinians strip him of his divinity. And the careless, ignorant, immoral, and profane treat him with contempt or neglect. This is agreeable to his great enemy, Satan, who seems now to be let loose in an unusual degree, and has uncommon power among men, to lead them into gross errors, and those especially which are dishonorable to Christ, and injurious to his character. And if this sentiment, now under consideration, concerning the Sonship of the Redeemer, should spread and prevail now, this would be no evidence in favor of it; but, considering what has been now observed concerning it, would it not give reason to suspect, at least, that it is dishonorable to the Son of God, and leads to other errors yet more dishonorable to him?

This leads to observe, —

2. It is worthy of consideration, whether this doctrine of the filiation of Jesus Christ does not tend to reject the doctrine of the Trinity, as it has been held by those who have been called the orthodox in the Christian church, and leads to what is called Sabellianism, which considers the Deity as but one person, and to be three only out of respect to the different manner or kind of his operations.

This notion of the Sonship of Christ leads to suppose that the Deity is the Father of the Mediator, without distinction of persons, and that by Father, so often mentioned in the New Testament, and generally in relation to the Son, is commonly, if not always, meant Deity, without distinction of persons. If this be so, it tends to exclude all distinction of persons in God, and to make the personality of the Redeemer to consist wholly in the human nature; and, finally, to make his union with Deity no more, but the same which Arians and Socinians admit, viz., the same which takes place between God and good men in general, but in a higher and peculiar degree.

But if there be no tendency in this doctrine of the Sonship of Christ to the consequences which have been now mentioned, and it can be made evident that none of those supposed evils do

attend it, or can follow from it, yet it remains to be considered what advantage attends it, and the good ends it will answer, if it were admitted to be true. None will say, it is presumed, that it is more agreeable to the general expressions of Scripture relating to this point than the opposite doctrine, who well consider what has been said above. The most that any one can, with justice, say with respect to this, is, that the Scripture may be so construed and understood as to be consistent with the Sonship of Christ commencing at the incarnation, however inconsistent with it some passages may appear at first view.

It may be thought, perhaps, that this notion of the Sonship of the Redeemer is attended with two advantages, if not with more, viz., it frees the doctrine of the Trinity from that which is perfectly incomprehensible and appears a real contradiction and absurdity, — that the second person should be Son of the first, who is the Father, the Son being begotten by the Father from eternity, than which nothing can be more inconceivable, and seemingly absurd. And this appears inconsistent with the second person being equal with the first; for a son begotten of a father implies inferiority, and that he exists after his father, and, consequently, begins to exist, and is dependent. Both these difficulties are wholly avoided, it is thought, by supposing that the second person in the Trinity became a son by being united to the human nature, and begotten in the womb of the virgin. And it is probable that these supposed advantages have recommended this scheme of the Sonship of Christ to those who embrace it, and led them to reject the commonly received opinion, and not a previous conviction that the former is most agreeable to the Scripture. This, therefore, demands our serious and candid attention. And the following things may be observed upon it: —

1. If we exclude every thing from our creed concerning God, his existence, and the manner of his existence, which to us is incomprehensible and unaccountable, we must reject the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, and even of the existence of a God. The doctrine of three persons in one God is wholly inconceivable by us, and Unitarians consider it as the greatest contradiction and absurdity imaginable. And those Trinitarians who have undertaken to explain it and make it more intelligible, have generally failed of giving any light, but have really made it absurd, and even ridiculous, by "darkening counsel by words without knowledge." If we reasoned properly on the matter, we should expect to find in a revelation which God has made of himself, his being and manner of subsistence, mysteries which we can by no means understand. which are, to crea-

tures, wonderful and wholly unaccountable. For the being of God, and the manner of his existence, and of his subsisting, must be infinitely above our comprehension. God is infinitely great, and we know him not. And if we attempt to search out these mysteries by reason, we are prone to think they are contradictions and absurdities, merely because our reason cannot fathom them, and they appear more unintelligible, the more we try to understand them. "Canst thou, by searching, find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? Deeper than hell; what canst thou know? The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea." (Job ii. 7–9.) "Teach us what we shall say unto him, [and what we shall say concerning him;) for we cannot order our speech by reason of darkness. Shall it be told him that I speak?" and attempt to comprehend and explain the mysteries that relate to his existence? "If a man speak, surely he shall be swallowed up." (Job xxxvii. 19, 20.) If a man undertake thus to speak, instead of giving any light, he will be involved and overwhelmed in impenetrable darkness.

They, therefore, who do not believe the eternal Sonship of Jesus Christ, because it is mysterious and incomprehensible, — and to some it appears to be full of contradiction, — will, if they be consistent with themselves, for the same reason reject the doctrine of a Trinity of persons in one God.*

2. If the doctrine of the eternal generation and Sonship of the second person in the Trinity be soberly and modestly considered in the light of the foregoing observation, and with a proper sense of our own darkness and infinite inferiority to the Divine Being, and how little we can know of him, we shall not be forward to pronounce it inconsistent with reason and absurd, but be convinced that to do thus is very bold and assuming, and that it may be consistent and true, notwithstanding any thing we may know, though it be mysterious and incomprehensible. This is a divine generation, infinitely above any thing that takes place among creatures, and infinitely different. It is that of which we can have no adequate idea, and is infinitely out of our reach. What incompetent judges are we, then, of

* It has been observed, (p. 306,) that the denial of the eternal Sonship of Christ seemed to have a tendency to a rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity, and in what way. But what is here observed, shows how the denial of the former tends, another way, to the rejection of the latter. For if the former be rejected because it is incomprehensible and appears inconsistent, it may be expected that when the doctrine of the Trinity is more particularly considered, it will appear equally unintelligible, and, therefore, be rejected for the same reason. Is it not probable that Sabellius, the ancient anti-Trinitarian, was in this way led to give up the doctrine of the Trinity?

this matter? What right or ability have we to pronounce it absurd or inconsistent, when we have no capacity to know or determine what is true, consistent, or inconsistent, in this high point, any further than God has been pleased to reveal it to us? There may be innumerable mysteries in the existence and manner of subsistence of the infinite Being, which are, and must be, incomprehensible by a finite understanding. God has been pleased, for wise ends, to reveal that of the Trinity, and this of the eternal generation and Sonship of the second person. And he has done it in a manner, and in words best suited to convey those ideas of it to men, which it is necessary they should have. And we ought to receive it with meekness and implicit submission, using our reason in excluding every thing which is contrary to, or below, infinite perfection and absolute independence; without pretending to comprehend it, or to be able to judge of that which is infinitely high and divine, by that which takes place among creatures, with respect to generation, and father and son.

God is said in Scripture to repent and be grieved at his heart; to be angry, and to have his fury to come up in his face; and hands, feet, eyes, mouth, lips, and tongue, etc., are ascribed to him. These words are designed and suited to convey useful ideas, and important instruction to men. But if we should understand these expressions as meaning the same thing in the divine Being that they do when applied to men, we must entertain very unworthy and most absurd notions of God, and wholly inconsistent with other declarations in the sacred oracles. But if we exclude every thing that is human, or that implies any change or imperfection from these expressions, when applied to the Deity, they will convey nothing absurd or inconsistent, or that is unworthy of God. And it will, doubtless, be equally so in the case before us; if it be constantly kept in mind that the only begotten Son of God denotes nothing human, but is infinitely above any thing which relates to natural or creature generation, and does not include any beginning, change, dependence, inferiority, or imperfection. This will effectually exclude all real absurdity and contradiction.

It will be asked, perhaps, when all this is excluded from our ideas of generation, of Father and Son, what idea will remain in our minds, which is conveyed by these words? Will they not be without any signification to us, and altogether useless? To this, the following answer may be given: From what is revealed concerning this high and incomprehensible mystery, we learn, that in the existence of the Deity, there is that which is high above our thoughts, as the heavens are above

the earth, infinitely beyond our conception, and different from any thing which takes place among creatures, which is a foundation of a personal distinction, as real and great as that between father and son among men, and infinitely more perfect. Which distinction may be in the best manner conveyed to us by Father and Son, to express the most perfect union and equality; that the Son is the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person, and that there is infinite love and endearment between them; and that in the economy of the work of redemption, the Son is obedient to the Father, etc. All this, and much more, our minds are capable of conceiving from what is revealed on this high and important subject; which is suited to impress our hearts with a sense of the incomprehensible, infinite, adorable perfection and glory of the Father and the Son, and is necessary in order to give us a right understanding of the gospel, of the true character of the Redeemer, and of the work of redemption.

What has been now said under this second particular, may serve to remove the other supposed difficulty in admitting the eternal filiation of the second person in the Trinity, viz., that it represents the Son as inferior to the Father, and as existing after him, and, therefore, his existence had a beginning. This is obviated by the above observations; and particularly by this, that it is a divine filiation, and, therefore, infinitely unlike that which is human, and above our comprehension. Besides, to suppose eternal generation admits of before or after, or of a beginning, is inconsistent. It may be further observed,—

3. That the opinion that Jesus Christ is the first and only begotten Son of God, by the second person in the Trinity becoming incarnate, and united to the human nature, is, perhaps, attended with as great difficulties as the other which has been considered, if not greater. If so, the inducement to embrace it, and reject the other, which we are examining, wholly ceases.

If the Son was begotten by the miraculous formation of the human nature, then the Holy Ghost begot the Son, and is the Father, as much as the first person in the Trinity. For the angel said to the virgin, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore, also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." If we take these words as referring only to the production of the human nature, and if it be granted that by the highest is meant the first person in the Trinity, of which there does not appear to be any evidence, yet the third person, the Holy Ghost, is represented as doing

as much, and being as active in this production, as the first person. But if this were no difficulty, and the first person of the Trinity be supposed to produce the human nature, and in this sense to be the Father of Jesus Christ, yet this will make him his Father in no other and higher sense than he is the Father of angels, and of Adam; and Jesus Christ will be the Son of God in no other or higher sense than they, for they were created and formed in an extraordinary, miraculous way.

If the Son was begotten by uniting the second person of the Trinity with the human nature, and the filiation of the Son is supposed to consist wholly in being thus united to man; this is attended with the following difficulties, as great, perhaps, if not greater, than those which attend the eternal Sonship of the second person.

1. This is as different in nature and kind from natural or creature generation, as eternal divine generation; and the one bears no analogy or likeness to the other.

2. This union of God with the creature, so as to become one person, is as mysterious and incomprehensible as the eternal Sonship of the second person of the Trinity, and as inexplicable. So that nothing is gained with respect to this, by embracing this scheme.

3. It is not agreeable to Scripture to suppose that the first person of the Trinity only united the second person to the human nature, and so became a Father by thus begetting a Son. The third person, the Holy Ghost, is represented as doing this, or at least, being active in it; and there is nothing expressly said of the first person doing any thing respecting it as such. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Therefore, also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." "Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise. When his mother, Mary, was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. And the angel of the Lord said unto Joseph, Fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost." (Matt. i. 18, 20.) And this uniting the divine nature with the human is expressly ascribed, not to the first, but to the second person. "Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself took part of the same. For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham." (Heb. ii. 14, 16.) Do not they speak not only without Scripture, but contrary to it, who say that the first person of the Trinity became a Father by uniting the second person to the human nature, in the womb of the virgin

Mary, by which the latter became the only begotten Son of the Father, — that the relation of Father and Son began in the incarnation of Christ, and consists wholly in this? And do they by this supposition avoid any difficulty, and render the filiation of the Redeemer more consistent, intelligible, or honorable to him? Let the thoughtful, candid, discerning reader judge.

IV. The Redeemer of man, who is God-man, the Son of God, sustains the character of Mediator between God and man. That such a person only is equal to this, to mediate between God and rebellious man, so as to effect a reconciliation, will be made evident when we proceed more particularly to consider the work of redemption, what is implied in it, and what was necessary in order to effect it. And it will also appear that he is every way qualified to sustain such an office and station, and in the best manner complete the arduous, the glorious work; and the character of this infinitely high, important, and wonderful personage will be more fully investigated and displayed in the sequel.

IMPROVEMENT.

I. By attending as above to the person and character of the Redeemer, we are in some measure prepared to see the folly of that pride which has led many to reject every thing in divine revelation which does not comport with their boasted reason, and is to them dark and unintelligible, and to be sensible of the reasonableness and importance of modesty, humility, and self-diffidence, while we think and inquire concerning the being and character of God, and the Son of God, the Redeemer. Many by this pride, and trusting to what they call their own reason, have been led to renounce divine revelation, the only light and sure guide, in the high and important business of religion, and have plunged themselves into darkness and delusion. And others, though they profess to believe the Bible to be a revelation from God, reject the most essential and peculiar doctrines contained in it, on the account of which, men principally stand in need of a revelation from heaven.

When we are once convinced, by undeniable, clear, and abundant evidence, that the Bible contains a revelation from God, if we make a right use of our reason, we shall expect to find in it declarations concerning God, his character, and works, which are beyond our comprehension, and, in this respect, perfect mysteries to us, and that we shall not, at first,

understand many things; yea, they may appear inconsistent and contradictory to us, which afterwards, by further study and increase in the knowledge of divine things, we may understand and see them to be plain and perfectly consistent. The things of God, or heavenly things, are so infinitely high, great, and wonderful, that the greatest created, finite mind falls infinitely short of fully comprehending all or any of them. The angels do not perfectly understand them. They make swift advances in the knowledge of them, without end, and yet will forever fall infinitely short of reaching to their infinite height, so as to comprehend all. How ignorant and short-sighted, then, must man be in those things, who not only has less natural capacity, but is sunk down in that moral depravity, which is blindness itself, with respect to the things of the Spirit of God, and carries in the nature of it strong prejudices against them! How unreasonable, how arrogant, is it in him to imagine that he can, by his own scanty, corrupted discerning, at once understand, and fully comprehend, all he needs to know and believe concerning God and heavenly things! Such a conceit, such pride and arrogance, can take place nowhere but among such fallen, apostate creatures as mankind are, and serves to verify the ancient declaration: "Vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt." (Job xi. 12.)

If a philosopher should undertake to teach children of eight or ten years old a system of philosophy, would he think himself well treated by them if they were disposed to call in question the truth of every proposition of his which they did not directly understand, and immediately conclude that every thing he delivered to them for truth was inconsistent and absurd, which they were not able to reconcile? So long as they were of this disposition, they could receive no instruction from him. They would find many things perfectly dark and unintelligible to them, and others would appear to their narrow, childish conceptions inconsistent and impossible. But the objects of natural philosophy are not so much above the understanding and capacity of these children as heavenly things are above the understanding of men. There is an infinite difference, especially if we take into the account man's moral depravity, which blinds him to the things of the Spirit of God.

There are many things in natural philosophy which men of the greatest capacities, and who have attended most to them, and made them their chief study, cannot understand, but remain unintelligible mysteries; yea, they are propositions which appear to be inconsistent, and yet both of them must be received as true. For instance, it can be demonstrated that matter is infinitely divisible; and that matter is finite, is equally de-

monstrable; which two demonstrable propositions appear to be perfectly inconsistent.

And shall we, to whom earthly things are, in so many instances, unintelligible and appear inconsistent, imagine that when God speaks to us of heavenly things, — things infinitely great, high, and wonderful, — we are able to comprehend them all, and are warranted to reject every thing as not true, and not revealed to us by him, which we do not understand, or are not able to reconcile with each other!

Let us rather become fools, that we may be wise. Sensible of our ignorance and proneness to imbibe error, to love darkness rather than light, and put light for darkness, and darkness for light, let us study the Bible with a modest diffidence in our own reason and wisdom, and implicit confidence in our divine Instructor, looking to him to open our eyes to understand the Scriptures, and behold the wonderful things revealed in those sacred oracles. "The meek will he guide in judgment; the meek will he teach his way." (Ps. xxv. 9.)

2. This subject brings into view the infinite fulness and sufficiency of God — a fulness equal to the wants of sinners, and suited to relieve and save them. In order to this, he must be not only infinitely powerful, wise, and good, but subsist in a manner of which we could know nothing had he not revealed it — viz., a *Trinity in Unity* — and when revealed, it is infinitely above our comprehension. And if it were not so, we should have no reason to believe this was the true God; for the true God must be incomprehensible both in his existence and manner of subsistence. Had there not been a God subsisting in three persons, so distinct as to covenant with each other, and act a separate and distinct part in the work of redemption, man could not have been redeemed, and there could have been no Redeemer. They, therefore, who disbelieve the doctrine of the Trinity, and that the Redeemer is the second person in the Triune God, do really, though ignorantly, exclude the possibility of the redemption of man, and of a Redeemer equal to such a work, which will appear as we proceed in our inquiry into the work of redemption.

But let us believe this revealed mystery, — God the Son, manifest in the flesh, — and adore and rejoice in the infinite fulness and sufficiency of God, which appears in the person and character of the Redeemer, for the redemption of sinners; which fulness and sufficiency never could have been known to men or angels had it not been revealed, and the redemption of man had not taken place.

3. We are led by this subject, with wonder, gratitude, and joy, to contemplate the ability and sufficiency of Jesus Christ

to redeem sinners, and see that he is just such a Savior as we need.

Were he not a person of infinite greatness, dignity, and worthiness, were he not God, his sufferings and obedience would have been of no avail to make atonement for the sins of men, to procure pardon, and merit eternal life for us. And were he not man, he could neither suffer nor obey. But being both these, he was equal to this. "Such a High Priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens." (Heb. vii. 26.) And were he not almighty, infinitely wise, and good, he would not be able and willing to rescue sinners from the power of sin and Satan, and completely sanctify them, and make them meet for the inheritance in heaven. But being all this, he is a complete Redeemer. "For it hath pleased the Father that in him all fulness should dwell. Who is made of God, unto his people, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and complete redemption." (1 Cor. i. 30. Col. i. 19.) And all the redeemed must know and say, "Surely in the Lord have I righteousness and strength; in the Lord Jesus Christ shall the seed of Israel be justified and shall glory." (Isa. xlv. 24, 25.)

They who know their own state and character, as sinners, being wholly lost in sin, infinitely guilty and miserable, and believe in Christ, see all this in some degree. To such Christ is all-sufficient, most honorable, and precious. But to them who are ignorant of themselves, the nature and ill desert of sin, and their own guilt and misery, who are unbelieving and disobedient, Jesus Christ, considered in his true character, is "a stone of stumbling, and rock of offence." (1 Pet. ii. 7, 8.)

His sufficiency also includes his inexhaustible, unbounded fulness, as the glorious object of knowledge, contemplation, and love, and of enjoyment and happiness. The redeemed will attend forever to their Redeemer, who is infinite, and whose person and character are full of wonders, with ever fresh and increasing delight. They will spring forward in the full employ and strongest exertion of all their powers, and make swift progress in the knowledge of their Savior, and in holiness and happiness, without ever coming to an end. Whatever wonders and glories they may have seen, and however high their love and happiness may be at any supposed future period, the Redeemer may with truth say to them, as he did to Nathaniel, "Ye shall see greater things than these." St. Paul entered upon this endless, progressive, and happifying knowledge of Christ when he commenced a Christian, and was admitted into the school of his Lord and Master, which he expresses in the following words: "What things were gain to me, those I

counted loss for Christ. Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord. That I may know him," etc.

4. The view we have now had of the person and character of the Redeemer is suited to enlarge our ideas, and excite a sense of the infinite, wonderful condescension and love exercised and manifested in the work of redemption. The love of the Father is expressed in giving his only begotten, dear Son, to descend to such a low state of humiliation, of poverty, disgrace, and sufferings, even unto a most cruel death, to redeem man. And as this his own Son was equal to himself, and infinitely dear to him, the degree of love and goodness expressed in giving him up to redeem man, by suffering the curse under which he had fallen, must be infinite, and the greatest possible instance and exercise of disinterested benevolence that can be conceived, or that ever did or can take place. And the more the greatness and dignity of the Son of God is known, and how dear he is to the Father, the greater will his sufferings appear to be, and the higher and more affecting will be the view and sense of the goodness of the Father in giving up his Son to such sufferings. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son." Herein is love.

And the condescension and love of Christ in his humiliation and sufferings for the redemption of men, appear in the most affecting and striking light, when we take into view his greatness and dignity, and the infinite height from which he descended to such an amazing scene of debasement, ignominy, and sufferings. And the more our ideas are enlarged in the view of the former, the greater sense shall we have of the latter. Hence it follows, that as his greatness, dignity, and excellence are infinite, there is a foundation for increasing, endless views and admiration of "the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge."

5. By considering the person of the Redeemer, we are led to infer the height to which the redeemed are raised, the great honor which is conferred upon them by their union to him. In the personal union of the human nature to the Son of God, the greatest honor is put upon it; and they who are united to this person as the redeemed are, rise to a degree of honor and exaltation far above the angels, and unspeakably beyond all our present conceptions. They are the bride, the Lamb's wife, and share in all his honors and riches. They are "raised up together with him, and made to sit together, in heavenly places, with Christ Jesus." (Eph. ii. 6.) In his exaltation, they are exalted, as members of his body, of which he is the

head, and shall sit with him on his high throne, and reign with him forever. This honor have all the saints.

6. We may hence see the warrant we have to worship and pray to Jesus Christ, and call upon his name. We have seen that he is worshipped by all the inhabitants of heaven; that the apostles and primitive Christians prayed to him, and called on his name. And there is the same reason why his people should do so in all ages, and at all times. He is God manifest in the flesh, Immanuel, God in our nature. He has all power in heaven and on earth, and is head over all things to the church. He can do all things for us that we want; why should we not ask him for what we want, and constantly pray to him, acknowledging our absolute dependence on him, and his sufficiency and ability to do all for us? And is not a neglect to do this putting a slight upon him?

It will be asked, perhaps, whether this be not expressly forbidden by Christ when he says, "In that day ye shall ask me nothing. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you." (John xvi. 23.)

ANSWER. When he says, "In that day ye shall ask me nothing," the word in the original is commonly used for asking questions, and not to make a petition. The disciples had been asking him a number of questions for their information about things which they did not understand. Christ tells them, in these words, that after his ascension they should have no opportunity or occasion to ask him any questions, for they should then have sufficient knowledge by the Holy Spirit teaching them all things they should have need to know. When he says, "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father," he uses another word for asking, which always signifies, to make a petition.

But from these last words there arises another question. Here Christ directs to ask the Father in his name. Is not this an implicit prohibition to ask any thing of him directly?

ANSWER. This cannot be understood as a prohibition to pray to Jesus Christ, and call on his name, because the apostles and primitive Christians did this, as has been shown. And, perhaps, if the matter be properly considered, it will appear that praying directly to Jesus Christ, and asking him, is asking in his name, and asking the Father as really, though not expressly, as when we ask the Father directly, in the name of Christ. Jesus Christ says, "I and my Father are one. What things soever the Father doth, these, also, doth the Son likewise." (John v. 19; x. 30.) He hath, and exerciseth, all the power that is in heaven and earth. It hath pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell in him. And the Father says to

wretched man, "This is my beloved Son; hear ye him." Whatever you want, go to him for relief and a supply; as Pharaoh said to the starving people, "Go to Joseph." He, then, who goes to Christ and asks the things which he wants of him, does really and in truth go to the Father and asks of him, as he is the appointed governor and steward, and has all things in his hands. "The Father loveth the Son, and hath delivered all things into his hand. All things that the Father hath, are mine." (John iii. 35; xvi. 19.) As the people, by applying to Joseph, with whom all the authority and supplies were lodged, did really apply to Pharaoh, so they who apply to Christ and ask him, do really apply to the Father through him, and ask of the Father as really as if they expressly applied to him. For he and the Father are one; and what he does the Father doth; and what the Father doth, the same doth the Son likewise. Therefore, what our Savior says in one passage the Father will do, in another he says he himself will do the same. In the text under consideration, he says, "Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you." At another time he said, "Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do. If ye shall ask any thing in my name, I will do it." (John xiv. 13, 14.) And we ask the Father in the name of Jesus Christ when we go to Christ and ask him; for in this way we approach to the Father through him. We ask in the name of Christ when we go immediately to Jesus Christ, and through him, as a medium, to the Father, as really and as much as if we apply expressly to the Father, and ask expressly in the name of Christ. For, to ask in the name of Christ, is to rely on the atonement he has made, and on his merit and righteousness for the favor we ask. And this may be done when we apply immediately to Christ, as really and as much as if we apply expressly to the Father in his name.

7. This subject is suited to excite in our minds a conviction, and impress a sense of the amazing, infinite crime and folly of slighting and rejecting the Redeemer of men. The crime of this is great in proportion to the greatness, worthiness, and excellence of this person, and his amazing condescension and goodness exercised and manifested in what he has done and suffered for man.

And the folly of it is great in proportion to the greatness of the evil from which he offers to deliver us, and of the good and happiness which he has obtained for man and invites him to accept, both of which are infinite. How unspeakably great, then, must be this wickedness and folly! They are to us as incomprehensible in their magnitude as are the person and

works of the Redeemer: they are truly boundless and infinite: they are attended with innumerable other aggravations which far exceed our thought. How much more guilty are they who reject and cast contempt upon Christ than they could have been had there been no such person — no such Redeemer! And their endless punishment, who persist in slighting him and neglecting this salvation, and die impenitent, will be inconceivably greater. They slight, they reject and despise, God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and declare themselves to be irreconcilable enemies to him, while he is offering to be reconciled to them, — to pardon their multiplied and infinitely aggravated offences, and bestow on them eternal life, in consequence of the Redeemer's undertaking in behalf of man, and obeying and suffering unto death for them. This serves to discover the universality, the exceeding greatness, and the malignity, of the moral depravity of man. Jews and Gentiles acted this out in the horrid action, never to be forgotten, in condemning and crucifying the Son of God, the Redeemer, when he was in their reach and power. And every man and woman who have lived since, and had opportunity to know the person and character of the Redeemer, have been guilty of the same crime in a greater or less degree, — as we have all slighted and abused him more or less, and so have, in this way, in some measure at least, joined with them who put him to death.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DESIGN AND WORK OF THE REDEEMER.

This is a subject upon which professing Christians are far from being agreed. They differ in opinion respecting it, according to their different views of the moral state and character of man; — from what he is to be redeemed, and of what is necessary to be done or suffered in order to his redemption. And this lays the foundation of their difference of opinion respecting the person and character of the Redeemer. For he must be answerable to the state of man, and to that which must be done or suffered in order to his being delivered from sin and misery, and made completely happy forever, consistent with the divine law and the wisdom and honor of the moral Governor of man.

There are not a few in the Christian world who entertain

such ideas of God, — his law and moral government, of the character of man and the nature and crime of sin, — that they see no need of a Mediator and Redeemer in order to the pardon and salvation of men, and, therefore, consider Jesus Christ as an impostor, and all who believe in him as deluded, and wholly discard divine revelation, and plunge into the darkness of deism.

The Jews are so ignorant of the nature of the moral law, and their own state, that they think they stand in need of no Redeemer, but one who shall deliver them from the power and oppression of man, and bestow on them temporal, worldly dominion, prosperity, and happiness. They, therefore, reject Jesus Christ, and hope for the deliverance they desire by their expected Messiah.

There are many professing Christians who have much the same sentiments, respecting God, law, sin, and the moral state of man, with Jews and deists; and, consequently, though they profess to believe that Jesus Christ is the Savior of men, they see no need of a Savior that is more than a man or a mere creature, and, therefore, do not believe in his divinity.

Others have such views of God, — his law and moral government, of the character and state of man in his apostasy, and of what is necessary to be done and suffered in order to their redemption, — that they feel the need of a divine Redeemer — whose person and character has been described in the foregoing chapter, and which they are prepared to see plainly exhibited in the Bible.

From this view it appears, that, in order to understand the work of the Redeemer, the design of his undertaking, and what he does effect, we must have right views of the law of God which man has transgressed, and of the state into which he is fallen by this rebellion.

The law of God points out the duty of man, and requires of him what is perfectly right, and no more or less. It cannot, therefore, be altered in the least degree, so as to require more or less, without rendering it less perfect and good. It is, therefore, an eternal, unalterable rule of righteousness, which cannot be abrogated or altered in the least iota by an infinitely perfect, unchangeable Legislator and Governor, consistent with his character, his perfect rectitude and righteousness. This law necessarily implies, as essential to it, a sanction, or penalty, consisting in evil, or a punishment which is in exact proportion to the magnitude of the crime of transgressing it, or the desert of the transgressor, which is threatened to be executed on the offender. This penalty which is threatened must be no more, nor less, than the sinner deserves, or the demerit of the

crime. The least deviation from this would render the law so far imperfect and wrong. Every creature under this law is under infinite obligations to obey it, without any deviation from it in the least possible instance, through the whole of his existence; and every instance of rebellion tends to infinite evil, — to break up the divine government, and bring ruin and misery on all the moral world. Therefore, every transgression of this law, or neglect to obey it, deserves infinite evil as the proper punishment of it. Consequently this evil — this punishment — must be the threatened penalty of the law; which has been shown in a former chapter.

Man, by transgression, has incurred the penalty of this law, and fallen under the curse of it. "For it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all the things which are written in the book of the law to do them." (Gal. iii. 10.) This curse cannot be taken off, and man released, until it has its effect, and all the evil implied in it be suffered, — which man can never do so as to be delivered from it, or from suffering, because a finite creature is not capable of suffering the evil contained in the curse in any limited duration, and, therefore, his sufferings must be without end, or everlasting. And no future obedience — should man repent and live perfectly obedient after he had transgressed — would atone for his sin, or remove the curse in the least degree, according to law; for his obedience, though ever so perfect, and continued ever so long, would be no more than what he constantly owed, and, therefore, no more than his duty had he never transgressed. Thus man by sin fell into an irrecoverably lost state, and brought the curse of the law of God upon him, from which it is impossible he should deliver himself, or be delivered, consistent with this law, either by all possible sufferings or obedience of his own.

This is the law of God, and is the voice of God to man, and is an unalterable expression of his heart, or moral character and perfection. It, therefore, cannot be altered or abated in the requirements of it, or in the threatening. It is as unchangeable as the divine character itself, being founded on the eternal, unchangeable reason and nature of things. And it is not consistent with the truth of God not to execute the threatening of his law; for this would not only be giving up and making void his law, but acting contrary to his own declaration. Divine threatenings are predictions declaring what shall be, and what God will do in case of transgression of his law. And it is as inconsistent with truth not to execute his threatening, in the true meaning of it, as it is not to accomplish and bring to pass what he has declared and promised shall

take place. This law, therefore, must be maintained in the true meaning and spirit of it, as the grand and only perfect rule of rectoral justice, rectitude, or righteousness. And, if it were possible that God should do any thing in his conduct towards moral agents which should be inconsistent with this his law, or express the least disregard of it, it would be infinitely wrong, and contrary to truth, rectitude, and righteousness, wisdom and goodness; — for this would be injurious to himself, and to his moral kingdom, and subversive of the greatest general good. Therefore, if man could not be redeemed and saved consistent with maintaining this law, and showing the highest regard to it, God could not be true, just, wise, or good, in saving them, or showing them any favor.

But to pardon man and restore him to favor and happiness, in this situation, and remove the curse which the divine law fastens upon him, would be acting contrary to this law, repealing and renouncing it as a rule of righteousness, as not good and right. It would be joining with the sinner to disregard and dishonor the law, and favor, justify, and encourage rebellion. This, therefore, would be inconsistent with rectitude, righteousness, wisdom, and goodness, and infinitely contrary to these, and would put an eternal end to all perfect, moral government. It would dethrone the Governor of the world, destroy his kingdom, and give full scope to the reign of rebellion, confusion, and misery forever. Therefore, it were better, infinitely better, that rebel man, even all mankind, should have the curse of the law fully executed on them, and they be totally miserable forever, than that this infinitely greater evil should take place by showing favor to him, contrary to the dictates of the most perfect, righteous, and infinitely sacred law of God.

This otherwise insuperable difficulty, this mighty bar and obstacle in the way of showing any favor to man, and escaping eternal destruction, is the ground of the necessity of a Mediator and Redeemer, by whom it may be wholly removed, and man be delivered from the curse of the law, and saved, consistent with the divine character, with truth, infinite rectitude, wisdom, and goodness; and so as not to set aside and dishonor, but support and maintain the divine law and government. This is the light in which the Scripture very expressly sets this matter. St. Paul, speaking of the pardon and salvation of man by Christ the Redeemer, says, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him

which believeth in Jesus." (Rom. iii. 25, 26.) Here the design of the Redeemer is expressed, and the great thing he is to accomplish is to maintain and declare the righteousness, the rectitude, and unchangeable truth and perfection of God, in opening a way by his blood, his sufferings unto death, for the free pardon of sinful man, consistent with his rectoral justice and truth, and doing that which is right and just, both with respect to himself, his law and government, and all the subjects of his kingdom.

The work of the Redeemer, therefore, has a primary respect to the law of God, to maintain and honor that, so that sinners may be pardoned and saved consistent with that, without setting that aside, or showing the least disregard to it, in the requirements and threatenings of it; but that it may be perfectly fulfilled, and especially that the threatening might be properly and completely executed, without which God could not be true or just in pardoning and saving the sinner. It was, therefore, predicted that he should "magnify the law, and make it honorable." (Is. xlii. 21.) And Christ himself declares that he came into the world to fulfil the law. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily, I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." (Matt. v. 17, 18.) The law could not be fulfilled by Jesus Christ without his suffering the penalty of it, and obeying it perfectly. For to give up the penalty, and not execute the threatening of the law, when it is transgressed, is to dissolve and destroy the law. For a penalty is essential to a law, and where there is no penalty threatened, there is no law, as has been shown. Therefore, had the Redeemer undertaken to save man, without regard to the penalty of the law, and suffering it himself, he would have come to make void the law and destroy it, to all intents and purposes. He could not "make reconciliation for sin, and bring in everlasting righteousness," (Dan. ix. 24,) which it was predicted he should, without suffering the penalty of the law, the everlasting rule of righteousness. In doing this his love of righteousness and hatred of iniquity was exercised and displayed in the most signal manner, and to the highest degree. Therefore, it is with respect to this regard which he paid to the divine law in suffering the penalty and obeying the precepts of it, that it is said to him, "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore, God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." (Heb. i. 9. Ps. xlv. 7.) The same is expressed in other words by St. Paul: "And being found in fashion as a man,

he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name." (Phil. ii. 8, 9.) His being obedient unto death, strongly expresses his laying down his life for sinners, suffering and dying in their stead, agreeable to the particular command which he had received of his Father. (John x. 18.) To this end he was "made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law." (Gal. iv. 4, 5.) Sinful men were under the curse of the law; and in order to redeem them, the Redeemer must take their place under the law, and suffer the penalty, bear the curse for them, and in their room, which is expressed yet more fully, and in the most plain and unequivocal words, in the preceding chapter. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." By being made a curse for us, can be nothing else but suffering the penalty, the curse of the law, under which we were, and which man must have suffered, had not the Redeemer suffered it for him, as he could not be redeemed in any other way without destroying the law.

From this general view of the design and work of the Redeemer of man, taken from the Holy Scriptures, the way is prepared for a further stating and explanation of this subject, under the following particulars.

I. One important and necessary part of the work of the Redeemer of man was to make atonement for their sins, by suffering in his own person the penalty or curse of the law, under which, by transgression, they had fallen; so that sinners might be pardoned and saved, consistent with the divine law, and without the least respect to that, or in any degree making it void, but so as to establish and honor the law.

There is no truth in the Bible more clearly and abundantly revealed than this. This truth is evident from what has been above observed from the Scriptures; but it is proper more particularly to attend to the Scripture representation of this important subject.

The institution of sacrifices of beasts and other animals, after the apostasy of man, and the declaration, that redemption should take place by the seed of the woman, and those more expressly appointed under the Mosaic dispensation, do all, more or less, illustrate and confirm this truth, and point out vicarious sufferings as necessary and effectual to make atonement for sin. The guilty person was ordered to bring the beast to the altar, and lay his hands on the head of it, and confess his sin; and then it was put to death and sacrificed on the altar by the priest, instead of the sinner, and he

was forgiven, an atonement being made for his sin by the death and blood of the beast.* These sacrifices were of various kinds, and offered on different occasions, as types of Christ, and those things which related to him, and the atonement he was to make. For all these sacrifices were designed types of Christ, and in this all their worth and efficacy consisted. The death and blood of a beast could not in any measure or degree make atonement for sin, and was of no avail any further than it had respect to Christ, and was a type and figure of his death, of his blood which he shed, which was the only real atonement, and which alone avails to take away sin. "For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins." (Ps. xl. 6–8. Heb. x. 4–9.) It was, therefore, in early times expressly declared, that sacrifices and offerings were not desirable, or of any worth, in themselves considered, and that God did not institute and require them for their own sake, as making any real atonement for sin; but that this should be made by an incarnate Redeemer, to whom they pointed as types and shadows of him.

And he is particularly pointed out by Isaiah, as making atonement for sin by suffering the evil which it deserves in the room of sinners, and for them, that they might escape punishment and be pardoned. He says, "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgression of my people was he stricken. It pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed. By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many; for he shall bear

* The paschal lamb was an eminent type of Christ, with a principal reference to which he is so often called "The Lamb, the Lamb of God." Therefore, he is called the Christian's Passover. "For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." (1 Cor. v. 7.) This lamb was slain, and roasted with fire, as an emblem of the sufferings and death of Christ. There was a particular direction and command respecting the blood of this lamb. "And they shall take of the blood, and strike it on the two side posts, and on the upper door post of the houses, wherein they shall eat it. And the blood shall be to you for a token upon the houses where you are; and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and the plague shall not be upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt." (Ex. xii. 7, 13.) As the blood of this slain lamb, when applied according to divine direction, secured the Israelites from the destruction which fell on the Egyptians; so Christ was slain and sacrificed, that they to whom his blood is applied, by their believing in him, may have their sins forgiven, and be secured from that destruction which they deserve, being delivered from the wrath to come. (Eph. i. 7. 1 Thess. i. 10.)

their iniquities. He poured out his soul unto death, and he bare the sin of many." (Isa. liii. throughout.) To bear sin, or iniquity, is to suffer the punishment of it, or the evil which it deserves, and with which it is threatened. This appears not only from the plain, natural import of the phrases, but from the use of it in the Bible, of which there are many instances. The following are a few of them: "The holy garments shall be upon Aaron and his sons, when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place, that they bear not iniquity and die." (Ex. xxviii. 43.) "They shall, therefore, keep mine ordinance, lest they bear sin for it, and die therefor, if they profane it." (Lev. xxii. 9.) Neither must the children of Israel henceforth come nigh the tabernacle of the congregation, lest they bear sin, and die." (Num. xviii. 22.) The apostles express the import of the sufferings and death of Christ by the same phrase. "So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many." (Heb. ix. 28.) "Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree." (1 Pet. ii. 24.)

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, the typical meaning of sacrifices of beasts is explained, and declared to be designed to point out the sacrifice and atonement which Christ has made, when he offered himself once for all, as a sacrifice to put away sin, and bear the sins of many; the plain meaning of which is, that he, by his sufferings, took on him the penalty of sin, and bore the punishment of it, so as effectually to put it away from all who believe in him, that it may never be laid to their charge to condemn them; he having made full atonement and reconciliation. In this sense he is said to be the propitiation for the sins of men. And men are said to obtain redemption and forgiveness of sins by or through his blood, in allusion to the blood of the sacrifices under the law, which was the most essential thing in them, and is said to make the atonement. "The life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul." (Lev. xvii. 11.) Our Savior says of the sacramental cup, when he instituted the Lord's supper, "This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins." (Matt. xxvi. 28.) Agreeably to this, St. Paul says, "We are justified by his blood." (Rom. v. 9.) "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." (Eph. i. 7.) And St. John says, "The blood of Christ cleanseth us (that is, Christians) from all sins." (1 John i. 7.) St. Peter tells believers that they were "redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot." (1 Pet. i. 19.) In heaven the saved adore the Redeemer, and

say, "Thou art worthy, etc. For thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood." (Rev. v. 9.)

There are a multitude of passages in the New Testament which set this point in this same light, and clearly import that what Christ suffered was in man's stead, and does avail to release all who believe in him from suffering the penalty of the law; and that by this alone they are redeemed from the curse of the law, which is eternal destruction. These passages are too many to be particularly quoted; only a few, therefore, will be mentioned. Christ says, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." (Matt. xx. 28.) He redeems or ransoms them by giving his life, his suffering unto death; this is the price, the ground of their deliverance. St. Paul says to believers, "Ye are bought with a price." (1 Cor. vi. 20; vii. 23.) The word in the original, which is here translated *bought*, is the same with that in Rev. v. 9, which is translated *redeemed*. "Thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood." The price by which men are bought and redeemed from the curse of the law, from endless destruction, is the blood of Christ, which he shed for the remission of sins; that is, his suffering unto death. The death of Christ, and the blood of Christ, mean the same thing. In shedding his blood and dying, he was made a curse, by which he has bought, redeemed, and delivered his people from the curse of the law. His life was the ransom he gave, the price which he paid for our redemption. Therefore, the death of Christ is mentioned as that by which alone believers are delivered from condemnation; the condemning sentence, the curse of the law. "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died." (Rom. viii. 34.) "For when we were without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly." (Rom. v. 6.) "I delivered unto you first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins." (1 Cor. xv. 3.) "For that he died, he died unto sin [or for sin] once." (Rom. vi. 10.) "And for this cause he is the Mediator of the New Testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first Testament," etc. (Heb. ix. 15.) In these passages, and other similar ones, the death of Christ is represented as having respect to the sins of men, and as redeeming them from the curse which sin deserves, by taking the curse on himself. When it is said, "Christ died for our sins," the meaning must be that his death is the atonement and propitiation for sin; and that by it he suffered the evil with which sin is threatened in the law, or the penalty and curse of the law, or that which is equivalent. To suffer for sin, and for the sinner, is so far to take place of the sinner, as to suffer the

evil which he deserves, and which otherwise the sinner must have suffered. Or, which is the same, the sufferings of Christ answer the same end with respect to law and divine government, that otherwise must be answered by the eternal destruction of the sinner. The same sentiment is strongly expressed by St. Peter: "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God." (1 Pet. iii. 18.) Here it is to be observed, that three things are asserted in this sentence.

1. That the sufferings of Christ make atonement, and are the only ground or means of the sinner's reconciliation to God.

2. That the sufferings of Christ were, therefore, for sin, and consequently must be the evil which sin deserves, and that to which the sinner was exposed, and which he must have suffered had not Christ suffered it in his stead, or that which is equivalent.

3. That the last clause, "that he might bring us to God," respects the pardon of sinners, their deliverance from the curse of the law and restoration to favor, which could not take place consistent with the holy, righteous law of God, had not Christ suffered for their sin.

On the whole, the Scripture represents the atonement which Christ has made, by which sinners are delivered from the curse of the law, — the wrath to come, — to consist wholly in his suffering unto death for their sins, by which he suffered the evil which the law threatens for sin, or a complete equivalent, so as fully to answer the end of the threatening of the law, and all the purposes of moral government, consistent with the pardon of the sinner, as much as if the curse had been executed on the transgressor; and that this was one great, and the most important, essential and difficult part of the work of the Redeemer, and really implies the whole.

Thus by the death, the blood of Christ, full atonement is made for sin; the curse of the law is executed on the Redeemer, by which he has bought, redeemed his people from the curse, and opened the way for their pardon and complete redemption. He has been made a curse, that he might deliver all who believe in him from the curse, but not so as in the least degree to remove their unworthiness and ill desert, but this remains, and will remain forever; it being improper, undesirable, and impossible that this should be removed, or that they should ever cease to deserve eternal destruction. They remain, and must continue to be as criminal as ever they were, so long as it remains true that they have been guilty of crimes which are pardoned, and from which they are justified by the blood of Christ.

In order more fully to explain and establish the atonement of Christ, which he has made by his suffering unto death, as it has been represented from the Holy Scripture, and to obviate, as far as possible, every difficulty and objection which may arise in the minds of any, it is proper and necessary to consider the following questions: —

QUEST. 1. Where is the justice of an innocent person suffering for the guilty, and, on that account, delivering the criminal from the sufferings which he deserves? How can such a procedure honor the law and support government?

ANS. 1. The Scripture states the matter so, and abundantly asserts that Christ, though perfectly innocent and holy himself, did die for sinners, and in their behalf, — that he suffered, the just for the unjust, and that, by this, all who believe in him are delivered from the evil, the suffering, which they deserve, and saved forever. Therefore, every objection to this is equally an objection to the Bible. Let deists object, and triumph in the imagination that it is unanswerable; but let Christians believe, and with care and honest meekness consider whether this supposed difficulty may not be easily removed.

ANS. 2. Can it be reasonably asserted — is it true — that an innocent, worthy person may not justly, and with the utmost propriety, suffer in the room of a criminal, in order to save the latter from suffering in any case whatsoever? Is not the contrary true, and agreeable to the common sense of mankind?

Benevolus sustained the best and most worthy character of any man in the kingdom. His wife was publicly guilty of a crime, for which the law of the state denounced a punishment which she could not suffer and survive it; but it must prove fatal to her, if inflicted on her. The law was so good and important, that, if the penalty were not inflicted, and the law were disregarded in favor of the criminal, the consequence would be most fatal to the kingdom, and sap the foundation of all authority, law, and government, and introduce endless confusion and misery. The husband saw all this, and had rather his wife should suffer the extremity of the law than that good government should be dissolved, or the law disregarded which he loved and wished to have maintained. He loved his wife so much that he was willing to suffer the penalty of the law himself, if she might, by this means, escape it. He knew that he was able to go through this suffering, however dreadful, and survive it; and that his doing this in the sight of the whole kingdom would do more honor to the law, and government would be better established and maintained, than

if his wife should suffer as she deserved. He, therefore, stepped forward, and offered and desired to take the evil upon himself, and suffer the penalty of the law in the room of his wife, and for her crime. His offer was accepted, and he suffered the whole without the least mitigation.

All the inhabitants and good subjects in the kingdom looked on, and had not a thought of any injustice done to him who offered to suffer for his wife, and did actually suffer the evil which she deserved. They saw and admired his benevolence and goodness to his wife, and his disposition and zeal to maintain the law and government. They beheld, and were highly pleased with, the uprightness, rectitude, and righteousness of their king, and his fixed determination to maintain his law, while he inflicted the penalty of it on a person whom he esteemed and loved above all others in his kingdom, when he stood in the place of the transgressor; and a greater discovery was made of this, and his high displeasure at rebellion, than if the criminal herself had been punished. They were struck with the propriety, righteousness, wisdom, and goodness exercised and manifested in the whole affair, and ever after had a more clear apprehension, and greater sense, of the sacredness, importance, and excellence of the law, and of the unreasonablenesss and magnitude of the crime of transgressing it; and loved and revered their king, and his law and government, more than ever they had done before.

The husband and wife were unspeakably more happy in each other than they were before, or than they could have been had not all this taken place. Their mutual love was stronger, and more sweet and happy. She saw more of his worthiness, excellence, and love than she could otherwise have done, and was most happy, and swallowed up in the sweetest exercise of gratitude and the most endearing affection, which knew no bounds or end.

There were some, indeed, who never had been cordial friends to the king, and had no great esteem of his laws, or government, or of the husband; — who thought the transgression of the wife small and trivial, which might and ought to have been forgiven without all this ado and suffering of the husband. They were disaffected, and offended with the whole transaction, and made innumerable and endless objections.

This story may serve, in some measure, to illustrate this point, as well as some others which will come into view hereafter, and to show that an innocent and most worthy person may suffer for the crimes of the guilty, and yet no injustice be done to the sufferer; and the criminal may be by this delivered from suffering what he deserves, and yet the law which he has transgressed be well supported and honored.

The Redeemer voluntarily took the place of sinners; he chose to suffer in their stead. His language was, "Then said I, Lo, I come. In the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart." (Ps. lxvii. 8.) "I lay down my life for the sheep. No man taketh it from me; but I lay it down of myself." (John v. 15, 18.) "Being in the form of God, he thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men. And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." (Phil. ii. 6, 7, 8.) He suffered in the sight of all the moral world; and the design of his suffering was, and still is, publicly declared and known, and that it was his choice thus to bear the evil which sinners deserved, that he might, by this, redeem them from it. And this is so far from being unjust or improper, that the righteousness and wisdom of God are hereby manifested and declared.

QUEST. 2. The curse of the law dooms the sinner to be given up to the dominion of sin, and spiritual death without end. How, then, could Christ suffer the curse of the law, who knew no sin?

ANSWER. The curse of the law is the evil, the punishment of sin, and not sin, which is the cause of suffering, — the crime itself which is threatened and punished. What is threatened as the penalty of the law is natural evil, or pain and suffering for transgression, or moral evil. Spiritual death is moral evil; sin, the transgression of the law; for this the penalty is threatened and inflicted, and is not the penalty itself. This consists wholly in natural evil, pain, and suffering, and not in actually violating the law. It is true that being dead in trespasses and sins, or endless continuance under the power and dominion of sin, is implied in the sinner's suffering the penalty of the law; but this is not the penalty, or any part of it, but the natural evil which attends it, and of which it is the occasion. The Mediator did not suffer precisely the same kind of pain, in all respects, which the sinner suffers when the curse is executed on him. He did not suffer that particular kind of pain which is the necessary attendant, or natural consequence, of being a sinner, and which none but the sinner himself can suffer. But this is only a circumstance of the punishment of sin, and not of the essence of it. The whole penalty of the law may be suffered, and the evil suffered may be as much, and as great, without suffering that particular sort of pain. Therefore, Christ, though without sin, might suffer the whole penalty, — that is, as much and as great evil as the

law denounces against transgression. The evil which sinners may suffer, on whom the penalty of the law is inflicted, may, and doubtless will, differ in many circumstances, and not be precisely of the same kind in all respects, and yet each one of them suffer the penalty of the same law.

QUEST. 3. How can the sufferings of Christ be suffering the curse of the law, or the evil which the law threatens, or so great an evil as the eternal destruction of the sinner, and of millions of them, since his sufferings were of a short duration, and were not, perhaps, equal in degree to those which some one of the damned suffers every hour?

ANSWER. The magnitude of the sufferings of Christ, or the evil of his suffering as he did, does not wholly consist in the quantity or degree of pain which he endured, or in the duration or length of time in which he suffered. The degree of pain which he suffered was very great, unspeakably greater, no doubt, than ever was or can be suffered by any mere creature. He did not suffer in the least in his divine nature, but altogether in his human nature, but this was capable of suffering an unspeakably greater degree of pain than any mere creature, not only by reason of the superior greatness of the human nature, which has been mentioned, but from the perfect union with the divine nature. A consciousness of this, and of the dignity and worthiness implied in it, must aggravate his suffering far beyond conception. And by this union the human nature was sustained and made capable of enduring a degree of sufferings far beyond, and much more dreadful, than what any mere creature is capable of bearing. But, as has been observed, the greatness of the evil of the sufferings of Christ does not wholly or chiefly consist in the degree of pain which he suffered, or in the duration of his suffering, but in the greatness, dignity, and worthiness of the person who suffered.

The greatness of the evil in the sufferings, and reproach, and disgrace of any person, does not consist merely in the degree of pain which he suffers, but it is the greater or less according to the excellence and worth of the person who suffers. This is so in the estimation of all who attend to the matter, and is agreeable to the common sense and feelings of mankind. It is a greater evil for the excellent head of a family to be condemned, reproached, and spit upon, tortured in the most cruel manner, and put to death by the servants of the family, than it would be to have one of the servants treated so, and suffer all this. It would certainly be so to the children of the family, who esteemed and loved their father, being sensible of his excellence and worth; and it would be judged so by all. If the general of an army, who had supported his station and

character with the greatest dignity and honor, and who is the life and support of his army, should be made the object of reproach and contempt by his soldiers, and dragged through the ranks in a most ignominious manner, to the place of execution, and there put to death for a coward and traitor; this would be an unspeakably greater evil than it would be for a private sentinel to suffer all this pain and disgrace.

If a king, who had long maintained a most righteous, wise, and good government, and made a nation happy, being a person of the greatest excellence and true greatness and dignity, and sustaining the best character in the world, should be taken from his throne by a number of banditti, and openly scourged through the streets of the city, and cast into prison, and then be taken from thence and publicly put to a most cruel death; this would be a much greater evil, more undesirable and grievous, than for one of the lowest of his subjects to suffer all this reproach and pain. There is need only to mention these instances, in order to gain the assent of every one who will attend to the truth which is asserted, without any long train of reasoning upon it. It seems to be self-evident, an irresistible dictate of common sense.

Should such a king have a son of a most amiable and excellent character, having the greatest natural abilities, and being endowed with great wisdom and benevolence, beloved and honored by all the virtuous, and justly dearer to his father than any other person; and this son should fall into the hands of a number of ruffians, who, after they had joined to reproach, ridicule, and mock him, should put him to the most ignominious and cruel death that they could invent; would not this be with the highest reason, beyond expression, a greater evil, and more grievous to the father, and all the inhabitants of that kingdom, than if the worthless servant in his family were treated thus, and suffered all this contempt and pain? It is presumed every one to whom such a case is proposed, will answer in the affirmative. And this is granting what most certainly none can deny, viz., that the more excellent and honorable any person is, and the more he is justly esteemed and beloved, and the greater his worth and importance, the greater and more grievous is the evil, in his unjustly suffering reproach and pain; and that the evil of such suffering is great, in proportion to the excellence, dignity, worth, and importance of the person who suffers.

From this truth, which is so evident and certain, it follows, as an undeniable consequence, that for the Redeemer to suffer as he did, is an infinite evil. For, as has been shown, he is a person of infinite greatness, dignity, excellence, worth, and im-

portance, and infinitely beloved and dear to the Father. To the Father who sees all things as they are, and most perfectly comprehends the infinite excellence, dignity, and worth of his infinitely well-beloved and only begotten Son, it must appear an infinite evil for him to suffer what he did for the redemption of sinners. And, in the sight of the Son, he undertook to suffer infinite evil, when he came into the world. And to the redeemed, as they grow in a view and sense of the greatness, dignity, and worth of their Redeemer, and know more and better who he is who died on the cross to redeem them, the greater will the evil of his sufferings appear; and, consequently, the more clearly will they see the greatness of the price by which they were bought, and the sufficiency of his blood to cleanse from all sin, and how perfectly the threatening of the law is answered in the sufferings of Christ.*

The evil of the sufferings of Christ being, in the magnitude of it, commensurate with the dignity and worth of his person, is equal to, is as great as the evil which is threatened to the transgressors of the law, and as great as the sinner deserves; yea, it is as great as the endless sufferings of all mankind; for that is no more than infinite: therefore, Christ, by his sufferings, paid a price, and made an atonement sufficient to redeem the whole world from the wrath to come. And it is not owing to any want or defect in this, that all are not saved, for it is boundless; but this is owing to something else, which will be considered in the sequel.

Thus it appears that, though sin be an infinite evil, and deserves infinite natural evil, which is the penalty of the law of God, and the threatened punishment of sin, yet it could be suffered by Christ in a limited duration, a short time, since the evil of his suffering as he did must be great in proportion

* In the view of the infinite natural evil there is in the sufferings and death of the Son of God, may be seen the magnitude of the crime of which the Jews and all who joined with them were guilty, who were active in bringing this evil upon him, who condemned, reviled, and mocked him, inflicted pain and distress upon him, and put him to an ignominious and most cruel death. The crime of all sin is great in some proportion to the magnitude of the natural evil which is effected by it, or which it tends to produce. In this instance, the natural evil which they effected is infinite; therefore, their crime in doing this was infinite, that is, they hereby rendered themselves infinitely guilty and ill deserving. It was just that they should suffer as great, and as much natural evil, as their volitions did actually produce, or tended to produce. And all who have reproached and slighted the Redeemer, all who have opposed and rejected him, from that time to this day, have really joined with those who put him to death, and, in their hearts, say, "Let him be crucified," and are guilty of that which is infinitely criminal, and deserve to have infinite evil inflicted upon them. And in this instance of the sin of men, actual producing infinite natural evil, is to be seen the infinitely evil and malignant nature of all sin. It tends to produce infinite natural evil; and, therefore, the sinner deserves to have this evil inflicted upon him, which has been before observed.

to the greatness, dignity, and worthiness of the sufferer, which are infinite.

If it should be asked how the sufferings of Christ can be considered as an infinite evil, since he is not less, but more happy and glorious, and will be so forever, than if he had not suffered, and the good which comes to his church and kingdom by his suffering is, and will be, so great as to overbalance and swallow up all the evil, — this may be answered, by observing, —

1. If there be any thing in this argument, and the evil of suffering be not so great, but less in proportion to the greatness of good of which it is the occasion, then it will follow that there is no evil at all in the suffering of Christ, because it is the occasion of overbalancing good, and of much more good, on the whole, than if he had not suffered. If every degree of good which is the consequence of suffering, and of which suffering is the occasion, does cancel one degree of the evil of suffering and render it no evil, then the overbalancing good, occasioned by suffering, cancels all the evil of the suffering and renders it no evil, which it is supposed none will admit; for all will grant there is some degree of evil, at least, in the sufferings of Christ.

2. The evil of suffering is not the less, in itself considered, however great be the good of which the pain and suffering is the occasion. Therefore, the evil of the sufferings of Christ is as great as if they had been the occasion of no good, but of evil. We must determine what evil there was in the suffering of Christ, not by taking into view the consequences of his suffering, but by considering the suffering itself, and the person suffering; and if the evil appears to be infinitely great, thus considered, as it has been proved it does, then, whatever be the consequence of the evil suffered, and however great the good be of which it is the occasion, it alters not the magnitude of the evil suffered, but it must remain eternally the same, in itself considered.

It is granted, and has been proved in a former chapter, that no evil has taken place in the universe, or ever will, that is not the occasion of an overbalancing good; so that, on the whole, there is more good than if there had been no evil; and, in this sense, all evil is turned into good, that is, it is on the whole, all things considered, not evil but good. But it does not follow from this that there is nothing of the nature of evil, or no evil, considered in and by itself; there is, notwithstanding, in this view of it, infinite evil.

If the overbalancing good, of which evil is the occasion, cancels the evil, in itself considered, then the damned suffer no evil, for all their sufferings are the occasion of an overbalancing

good. The querist, therefore, may as well ask how eternal damnation can be an infinite evil, or any evil at all, since it is the occasion of an overbalancing good. And he may with equal reason assert, that Joseph suffered no evil by being sold a slave into Egypt and cast into prison there, "whose feet they hurt with fetters, and he was laid in iron," and say there was no evil in all this, since God meant it for good, and it was the occasion of so much good to Joseph himself, and to his father's house. Ask Joseph. Ask his father. Ask common sense.

QUEST. 4. If Christ suffered as great and as much evil, yea, more than the redeemed would have suffered, had they not been redeemed, but been miserable forever, then there is no less evil in the universe than there would be if they had not been redeemed, but really much more. Where is the advantage, then, of redemption, and what is gained by it?

ANSWER. The advantage gained by redemption to the universe is the overbalancing good which is produced by it. All natural evil is, in itself considered, undesirable, and cannot be desired for its own sake; but may be desired and chosen for the sake of the good of which it is the occasion, and which cannot take place in any other way. It would have been undesirable that there should be evil in the universe, and therefore there would have been none, had it not been necessary in order to a greater overbalancing good; but it is desirable that every instance and degree of evil which is necessary to promote the greatest good should take place, however much and great this be. The suffering and death of the Redeemer is in itself an infinite evil, but as this was necessary in order to effect a proportionably greater, overbalancing, superabounding good, it was desirable it should take place, for the sake of "the glory that should follow." This event is of infinite advantage to the universe. God is glorified more by the redemption of man than by all his other works, and there will be an eternal, bright, and most happifying display of the divine perfections, which could not have taken place had not Christ thus suffered. Had he not suffered as he did, he would not have entered into his glory, that glory and felicity which he will enjoy forever as the fruit of his suffering. And an eternal, glorious, and most happy kingdom exists in consequence of this. Thus, not only the salvation of the redeemed from eternal destruction is effected by the suffering of the Redeemer, but they are eternally happy; and not only so, but they and all holy beings will be unspeakably more happy forever than they could otherwise have been, and God and the Redeemer are beyond all conception more glorified; so that there will be infinitely more good in the uni-

verse, both moral and natural, than could have been had not Christ suffered and entered into his glory. And all the other evil that has been, or will take place, is, by the sufferings of Christ, made the occasion of much greater good than it could otherwise have been. Surely no one, who well considers all this, will ask, "Where is the advantage of redemption, and what is gained by it?"

QUEST. 5. To suffer the penalty of the law is to be accursed, the subjects of God's displeasure and wrath; but God the Father was not displeased with his Son Jesus Christ, for he was always his beloved Son, and even in his sufferings the Father was pleased with him, and loved him because he gave his life for the redeemed. How, then, could Jesus Christ suffer the penalty of the law?

ANSWER. St. Paul says, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; as it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." (Gal. iii. 13.) In the place to which the apostle refers, the words are, "He that is hanged is accursed of God." And there is, indeed, no real curse but the curse of God. Christ, therefore, was made such — even the curse of the law — in order to deliver believers in him from this curse. The curse of the law consists in the infinite evil, pain, and suffering which sin deserves, as has been shown. He who suffers this for sin, suffers the curse of the law, is accursed, or made a curse. Jesus Christ suffered this curse, the infinite natural evil in which the penalty or the curse of the law consists; and in suffering it for sinners, and in their stead, was made a curse. This might be consistent with his having the approbation of the Father, and his favor and love to the highest degree. The displeasure of God, which was the cause of his sufferings, and which was manifested and expressed in his sufferings when he voluntarily took and stood in the place of sinners, was displeasure with sin and the sinner, and not with him who suffered, the state of the case being fully understood by the spectators. Great displeasure and wrath was indeed discovered and expressed in the sufferings of Christ. For all natural evil, wherever it takes place, is an expression of the divine displeasure with sin, and could not have been inflicted, in any case, had no moral evil existed; and the greater the natural evil is which is inflicted, the more or the greater degree of displeasure is expressed. And for the Son of God to suffer all this, the whole curse, without any mitigation or abatement, when he so far espoused the cause of sinners as to take their place and suffer for them, when he was not only innocent but infinitely beloved by the Father, and most honorable and worthy in his sight, was a

much greater manifestation and expression of the divine hatred of rebellion, and his unalterable disposition to inflict the penalty of his law and maintain his moral government, than if every sinner had been punished, and the penalty of the law were inflicted on all transgressors without exception. The Father's not sparing his own Son, but giving him up to suffer the whole curse of the law when he espoused the cause of sinners, is a most striking evidence of rectitude and righteousness and regard to his law, and fixed determination to support it and inflict the penalty, even though his own well-beloved Son must suffer it. And that must be great displeasure and wrath which is expressed by the suffering and death of the Son of God, a person so infinitely worthy and so beloved by the Father.

When the Son of God is beheld thus suffering, expiring on the cross in the sight of the whole universe, and crying out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" it is natural to inquire and consider, "Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto his only begotten, dearly beloved Son? *what meaneth the heat of this great anger?*" The answer will be easy to all the discerning; they will understand the reason and design of the whole, and the instruction will dwell on their minds with increasing clearness and energy forever. It will be forever known and kept in view in the kingdom of God, that mankind rose in rebellion and fell under the curse of the law of God and his high displeasure; and that a way might be opened for a reconciliation and favor to man, consistent with the divine law which cursed him, and with the righteousness and wisdom of the Governor of the world, the Son of God took the place of man, was made under the law, and took the curse upon himself; which, therefore, was inflicted on him without the least mitigation. This is the reason of these dreadful sufferings of this infinitely great and worthy personage. "It pleased the Lord thus to bruise him, and put him to grief," as the strongest expression of his great displeasure, and the heat of his anger with the sinners whose cause he espoused, so as to take their place and answer for them. This wrath is not against the Son of his love, but against the rebellion of those sinners for whom he suffers. (Deut. xxix. 22–28.)

The Redeemer being united to those sinners for whom he had undertaken to suffer by the most strong, ardent, benevolent affection, and by thus taking their place as their head and Savior, was prepared in and by his human nature to be impressed with a clear apprehension and awful sense of the dreadful displeasure of God with them, and with sin, and to

have the most painful sensation of their infinitely miserable situation, as deserving and justly exposed to the effects of the heat of his anger and wrath. And thus this anger and wrath, in this sense, fell on him, and his soul, in this situation, and thus united to them, was necessarily filled with the greatest pain and distress. And all things were so ordered, when the time of his most dreadful sufferings came on, as to raise this view and sensation to the highest degree. The comfortable and happifying sense of the love and favor of God was withdrawn, and the human soul was filled with the most dreadful gloom, distress, and horror, in a most keen sense of the anger and wrath of God, not against himself personally, but with those whom he loved, and were, in a sense, one with him; so that their evil was his evil, and it even necessarily came on him. In this sense he suffered the displeasure and wrath of God. He felt it as insupportably dreadful, and had an overwhelming sense of it. And the displeasure and wrath of God against sinners was the cause of all his sufferings.

This appears to have been the chief source of the sufferings of Christ. What he suffered by his body, by the cruelty and rage of men, who could only torture him in his body, though great, was as nothing compared with what he suffered in his mind, by the circumstances just mentioned. Many martyrs have suffered as great bodily pain as was inflicted on the Redeemer; and they have endured it with great comfort and joy. Their minds have appeared to be out of the reach of the bodily tortures which were inflicted on them, so that they hardly felt them, but rejoiced in God, and the light of his countenance. Why, then, was the soul of the Redeemer troubled, and sorrowful even unto death? Why were there no expressions of comfort and joy even on the cross? Why did he cry out "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The view of the case as stated above will fully account for it, and appears to be the only satisfactory account of the matter.

Thus we see how Christ suffered for sin, was made a curse, that is, suffered the curse of the law, the curse of God; and in his sufferings, he, in a sense, suffered and felt the displeasure and wrath of God; and the anger of God against sin and the sinner was in a high and eminent degree manifested and expressed in the sufferings and death of Christ, consistent with his not being displeased, but well pleased with Christ himself, and loving him because he laid down his life for his people.

The instance mentioned above, of the husband suffering for the crime of his wife, and in her stead, serves in some measure

to illustrate this point. The displeasure of government, or of the king, with the criminal, and the great offence she had given, and his fixed determination to manifest and express this by inflicting the penalty threatened to such offences, were as fully exhibited, and made known by the suffering of the husband in her stead, as if she had suffered, and in some respects much more, as the king would not, in this case, spare him, though he was a person so greatly esteemed and beloved. And he might with truth be said to suffer the displeasure and wrath of the king, as this was the cause of his sufferings, and was expressed in them; of which he was not personally the object, but the criminal.

QUEST. 6. How is the threatening of the law in truth and reality executed by the sufferings of another, and not of him who is threatened? The transgressor only is threatened; and if it be not executed on him, it is not really executed at all. How can the sufferings of another, who is not the transgressor, and is not threatened, answer any end with respect to the threatening?

ANS. 1. It has been shown, and it is abundantly evident from Scripture, that the sufferings of Christ had respect to the threatening of the law. Were there no such threatening, or were it not to be regarded, there could be no occasion for any suffering, and there would be no reason why Christ should suffer in order to the redemption of man. It has also been made evident that Christ did suffer the curse of the law, or the threatened penalty.

He suffered the evil threatened, or as great evil, a complete equivalent, if not precisely the same evil in every circumstance which the sinner must have suffered, had the threatening been executed on him. It has, moreover, been shown that all the ends of the threatening, and of a penalty, are as fully answered by the sufferings of Christ, as they could be by the execution of it on the sinner. As much respect is paid to the divine law, government is as well supported, the rectitude and righteousness of God is as much declared, and his displeasure with the sinner and hatred of rebellion, and determination to punish it, as much manifested, and in some respects much more, and to greater advantage. If there be any difficulty still remaining in the case, it is, whether a substitute may suffer the penalty in the room of the sinner, and the latter, by this means, escape punishment, consistent with the threatening, and so that it shall be truly and properly executed, and the truth of the legislator in the threatening be maintained; or, whether the threatening can be really executed by vicarious sufferings.

This leads to

ANS. 2. It is evident from Scripture, that the law of God does admit of a substitute, both in obeying the precepts, and suffering the penalty of it; and that this is consistent with the true spirit and meaning of it.

When man was first created, and placed under the law of God, and moral government, Adam, the father of the human race, was constituted their public head and representative to obey the law for them, so that they should have the benefit of his obedience, and obtain eternal life by it, if he persevered in obedience through the appointed time of trial. Thus Adam was made a substitute, to obey the divine law for all mankind, in their room and stead. And it was hereby publicly declared by God, the Legislator, that his law admitted of a substitute. And if the law admitted of a substitute to obey for all the rest, of whom he was made the natural and constituted head, and by his single act of disobedience to bring sin and ruin on all his posterity, and God had declared that this was the best and most wise way of administering his moral government in this world; then a substitute might suffer the penalty of the law for man, and redeem him from that sin and ruin which was brought upon him by the disobedience of a substitute, if a proper person, sufficient to suffer this, and survive the suffering, can be found. Had Adam, after he transgressed and incurred the penalty of the law, been able to suffer it, and survive and perfect the obedience which was required, this would have answered the law, according to the declared meaning of it; he would have retrieved himself, and saved his posterity from sin and ruin. Adam was infinitely unequal to this; but a "second Adam" was found; a second public head and representative, of whom the first Adam was a type, figure, or model, who was able to suffer the penalty of the law for man, and in his stead, and survive the dreadful scene; and by it redeem man, even all who are united to him by believing in him, from the curse of the law. (Rom. v. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47. Gal. iii. 13. Ps. lxxxix. 19, 20.)

Therefore, this being the declared meaning of the law, that it admitted a substitute, both to obey the precepts of it, and to suffer the penalty, and that the threatening of it was to be so understood; a second public head and substitute, who was revealed and promised when the first Adam had ruined himself and his posterity, has risen and suffered the penalty, in the room of sinners. Thus the threatening has been fully executed according to the true and declared meaning of it, when it was given, and as it has been fully explained in the divine conduct, in constituting a second man, the last Adam,

and inflicting the threatened penalty on him. And in this way, "mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." (Ps. lxxxv. 10.) God has, agreeable to the strictest truth, executed the threatening of his law, according to the true intent and meaning of it; and by this has opened a way for reconciliation and peace with man, while his truth and righteousness are maintained, and gloriously manifested.

QUEST. 7. Do not the sufferings of Christ remove the ill desert of those who believe in him? Christ has suffered all the evil that sin deserves, — all that to which the sinner is liable from the threatening and his ill desert, — as great and as much as could justly be inflicted on the sinner. If the sinner could have suffered all this evil himself, and survive such sufferings, he would then have no ill desert, it would not be just to inflict any more evil upon him. And if Christ has suffered it all for him, and in his stead, how can he deserve any punishment? And what grace is there, then, in pardoning the sinner who believes in Christ? — or, rather, what need has he of pardon?

ANSWER. The sufferings of Christ do not alter the character of the sinner in the least. His ill desert is according to his whole moral character, — according to what he is, and has done, as a moral agent. He may justly be treated according to this; and to treat him thus would be doing him no injury. Therefore, not to treat him according to his moral character, but to treat him better and more favorably, is mere grace and undeserved favor. The sufferings of Christ, therefore, do not make the least alteration, or any abatement, of his ill desert, as the sinner's own character is not hereby made better.

If the sinner were to suffer the penalty himself, in his own person, and were able to do this and survive his suffering, this would alter his moral character, as he would then have completely compensated for his crime, it being extinguished by his suffering all the evil which it deserves; no more could be required, or justly inflicted upon him. His whole character being considered, his crimes and sufferings, he would stand right in law, and have no need of a pardon, and there would be no grace in not punishing him yet more. The vicarious sufferings of a substitute are quite different and opposite, in this respect, to the sufferings of the sinner, which have been supposed, though really impossible. For, in the case of vicarious sufferings, the sinner's character remains the same, and he continues as ill deserving as ever, and must feel so, if his discerning and feeling be according to truth. Had Adam persevered in obedience to the end of the time of his trial, by his vicarious

obedience all his children would have been admitted to the enjoyment of the favor of God and eternal life. But this vicarious obedience of their substitute would not have rendered them in the least degree more deserving of such favor than if there had been no such obedience; for Adam's obedience was not their own personal obedience, and never could be, and, therefore, could not be considered as such. So the sufferings of Christ, not being the sufferings of the sinner but of a substitute, cannot render the sinner less ill deserving in himself, or personally considered, more than the vicarious obedience of a substitute can render those for whom he obeys more worthy of reward.

The husband's suffering for his wife the punishment which she deserved may serve to illustrate this point. His suffering did not render her in the least less deserving of punishment, as it did not alter her character; and it was as much an act of mere grace to pardon her as if her husband had not suffered. The end that his suffering answered was to open the way for her pardon, consistent with public justice and the general good, and not to render her the less ill deserving.

QUEST. 8. Would it not have been a higher exercise of mercy and grace to save sinners without an atonement, — without buying and redeeming them at so great a price? Many have thought that the doctrine of an atonement stated above — as necessary, in order to the exercise of divine grace in pardoning and saving sinners — gives a dishonorable notion of the goodness of God, and represents his mercy unspeakably less than it would appear to be if sinners were forgiven and saved without any price paid for their redemption, or atonement made for their sins.

ANSWER. If the nature and design of an atonement be well understood and kept in mind, as it has been stated and represented in the beginning of this chapter, it will appear that the benevolence and grace of God in saving sinners without an atonement, were this consistent with rectitude and wisdom, would have been unspeakably less than that which is now exercised in the redemption of sinners by the atonement of Christ, — this being necessary to render their salvation possible consistent with righteousness, truth, and goodness itself. Indeed, as the case was, there would have been no grace in pardoning sinners, and saving them without an atonement, for this would have been contrary to infinite goodness. A full answer to this question is found in the first chapter of this part.

Having considered the atonement which it was necessary for the Redeemer to make by his own sufferings in order to redeem man, and which he has actually made by suffering the

penalty of the law, which was the greatest and most difficult part of his work as the Redeemer of men, it must, in the next place, be observed, —

II. The work of the Redeemer consists, in part, in his perfect obedience to the law of God. This is an essential part of the character and work of the Redeemer of man; for he could not directly honor the precepts of the law in any way, or by any thing, but by obeying them; and the least instance of disobedience or disregard to any one of them would have ruined his character as the Redeemer of man.

The Son of God, united to the human nature, and considered as God and man in one person, was not under any original obligation to that obedience which he voluntarily took upon himself to perform. This divine person was above any obligation to obedience as a subject and servant. He was, in the human nature, perfectly holy, as God is holy; but this he might be, and continue so forever, and yet not be under obligation to yield the obedience to which he submitted. The Son of God did not take upon him the form of a servant, merely by becoming man, — by being made flesh and taking the human nature into a personal union. But, as he became flesh, and was made in the likeness of men, that hereby he might be capable of obeying and suffering in the human nature, he voluntarily took upon himself the form of a servant; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death.* (Phil. ii. 7, 8.) "When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law." (Gal. iv. 4.) The Son of God being made of a woman, — that is, being made flesh, and becoming man, — uniting himself to the human nature did not necessarily put him under the law, or lay him under obligation to obey it as a subject, or servant, or to suffer the penalty of it. Therefore, the apostle, in these words, distinguishes between these: he was not only made of a woman, — took the human nature into a personal union with himself, — but was also made under the law. When he was originally above law, or any obligation to obedience, he voluntarily took the place of sinners, and was made under the law, and became obliged to suffer the penalty and obey the precepts of it, "to redeem them that were under the law and under the curse of it, and that they might receive the adoption of sons." It was

* The words in our translation are, "He took upon him the form of a servant, and was found in the likeness of men." But it is more agreeable to the original to render it thus: *Being made in the likeness of man*, (or, as Dr. Doddridge translates it, "When made in the likeness of men,") *he took upon him* the form of a servant.

necessary that he should suffer the curse of the law, to redeem men from the curse of it; and it was equally necessary that he should obey the precepts of the law in man's stead, that believers in him might receive the adoption of sons, and obtain complete deliverance from sin, and become heirs of eternal life.

The atonement made by Christ, in his suffering the penalty of the law, has respect only to the threatening of the law, that by suffering what was threatened, and what sin deserves, sinners who believe in him might be delivered from the curse. Thus Christ died for sin, was sacrificed or offered to bear the sins of many, and he shed his blood for the remission of sins, as the Scripture asserts. This atonement, therefore, only delivers from the curse of the law, and procures the remission of their sins who believe in him, but does not procure for them any positive good; it leaves them under the power of sin, and without any title to eternal life, or any positive favor or actual fitness or capacity to enjoy positive happiness. This would be but a very partial redemption had the Redeemer done no more than merely to make atonement for sin, by suffering the penalty of the law for sinners, and in their stead. It was, therefore, necessary that he should obey the precepts of the law for man, and in his stead; that by his perfect and meritorious obedience he might honor the law in the preceptive part of it, and obtain all the positive favor and benefits which man needed, be they ever so many and great.

It has been observed, that when man was first created it was made known by the Legislator that his law admitted of vicarious obedience; that the obedience of one might be the proper ground of granting the greatest favors to all whom he represented, and for whom, and in whose stead, he acted. This he did by constituting Adam a public and federal head of his posterity, and substituting him to act for them all, so that by his obedience through the time of his trial, his children should obtain eternal life. If this were proper and wise, and consistent with the exercise of the most perfect moral government, and with the true design and spirit of the moral law, as it most certainly was, then there is equal propriety and wisdom in substituting the second public head, the Redeemer of men, to act, to obey, for all the redeemed, who shall believe in him, so that they shall have as much favor, at least, as if they had performed perfect obedience in their own persons. The obedience of the second Adam, the Son of God, must be infinitely more worthy of regard and meritorious than the obedience of the first Adam, for two reasons: —

1. He was infinitely greater, and more excellent and worthy, than Adam was; therefore, his obedience was proportionally

more excellent, meritorious, and pleasing to God. And it was proportionally more honorable to the law which he obeyed, and to the Legislator and divine government. It may be truly said that the obedience of Christ to the divine law had more excellence and worth in it than the highest, most perfect, and all possible obedience of all the mere creatures in the universe; and the law of God is unspeakably more dignified and honored in the precepts of it, by the former, than it can be by the latter.

2. The obedience of Adam, the first public head, was but a just debt which he owed to God for himself, in his own person. The law required perfect obedience of him; he was under indispensable obligation to this every moment of his existence; therefore, it was impossible for him to merit any thing by doing more than his duty, while he gave himself wholly to God, in the strongest love of which he was capable, and in the highest and most difficult acts of obedience: he gave no more than he owed, as an original and just debt, arising from his existence and capacity as a creature of God. But the Son of God, as has been observed, was under no obligation to obey as he did, as a subject and servant; he owed nothing of this nature for himself, he being above all law in this respect, until he voluntarily took upon him the form of a servant and put himself under the law, not only to suffer the penalty of it, not for himself, but for others, but to obey it not for himself, as if he owed such obedience, but for others, that they might have the benefit of it. In this respect the obedience of the Redeemer was in the highest sense and degree worthy of reward, and meritorious for himself and those for whom he obeyed. All the glory, which is the consequence of his obedience and sufferings, and all the positive good to himself and his church, is the reward of the Redeemer and of the redeemed with him. "Because he took upon him the form of a servant, and was obedient unto death; therefore, God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name." (Phil. ii. 7, 8, 9.) The Lord is well pleased for his righteousness' sake, and hath delivered all things into his hands, and made him head over all things to the church, to complete the redemption of it, and give eternal life to as many as were given to him.

In this view it may be said that the reward of the obedience of the Son of God is infinitely greater than that which the first Adam would have obtained, had he obeyed. The Redeemer has by his obedience obtained unspeakably greater good, happiness, and glory for his church, the redeemed, than the obedience of Adam would have procured for his posterity. Speaking of the redeemed, he says, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." (John x. 10.)

They are raised up to sit with him, even on his throne; to reign with him as kings and priests, sharing with him in his felicity and glory. All this is the fruit and reward of the obedience of the Mediator. The redeemed enjoy the benefit of his obedience as much as if they themselves had performed it, or it were their own obedience, though they in themselves, in their own persons, are as unworthy as if Christ had not obeyed the law for them.

The obedience of Christ, though most excellent and meritorious, is not an atonement for the sins of men, or really any part of it. It is impossible that any mere obedience, however excellent and meritorious, should make atonement for the least sin. This can be done by nothing but suffering the penalty of the law, the evil with which transgression is threatened, as has been shown, while attending to the sufferings of Christ.

Christ did, indeed, obey in suffering; and this was, perhaps, the highest act or instance of his obedience. As a servant, he received a commandment from the Father to lay down his life, to make atonement for the sins of men. This was the most difficult part, and the greatest trial of his obedience. He set his face as a flint, and went through the whole with a persevering steadiness and resolution; and in this was the strongest exercise and expression of his love to God and man, and regard for the law of God and the divine government. And this was, therefore, the most pleasing to God, and the most meritorious part of his obedience, when he "became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross;" as it was also the greatest instance of his suffering, in which the atonement which he made by suffering chiefly consisted. And it was necessary that his suffering should be voluntary, and so an act of obedience as far as he was active, in order to his suffering justly, and making any atonement thereby. But though the Redeemer obeyed in suffering, and suffered in obeying, and his highest and most meritorious obedience was acted out in his voluntary suffering unto death, and in this greatest instance of his suffering, the atonement which he made for sin chiefly consisted; yet his obedience and suffering are two perfectly distinct things, and answered different ends, and must be considered so, and the distinction and difference carefully and with clearness kept up in the mind, in order to have a proper understanding of this very important subject. The sufferings of Christ, as such, made atonement for sin, as he suffered the penalty of the law, or the curse of it, the evil threatened to transgression, and which is the desert of it, in the sinner's stead, by which he opened the way for sinners being delivered from the curse, and laid the foundation for reconciliation between God and

the transgressors, by his not imputing but pardoning their sins who believe in the Redeemer and approve of his character and conduct. By the obedience of Christ, all the positive good, all those favors and blessings are merited and obtained which sinners need, in order to enjoy complete and eternal redemption or everlasting life in the kingdom of God. By this he has purchased and obtained the Holy Spirit, by whom sinners are so far recovered from total depravity, and renewed as to be prepared and disposed to believe on Christ and receive him, being offered to them; and he carries on a work of sanctification in their hearts, until they are perfectly holy. Therefore, Christ says he will send and give the Holy Spirit, and the Father will send him in his name; and he is called the Spirit of Christ: "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. The Comforter, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things. When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me." (John xiv. 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7, 8.) "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." (Rom. viii. 19.) This gift of the Holy Ghost really comprises all positive good which Christ has by his obedience purchased for the redeemed. And as "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth," (Rom. x. 4,) all such being interested in his righteousness, and having the benefit of it as much as if they had in their own persons perfectly obeyed the law, have eternal life made sure to them; the Holy Spirit is given to them to abide with them forever, as the earnest of their eternal inheritance, and they have a divine promise that they shall never perish, but shall persevere in holiness until they are made perfect, "being kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation." All which favors they receive by the obedience and merit or righteousness of Christ, which is imputed to them, or avails to procure all these benefits for them, in consequence of their union to him by faith. But these matters will be more fully considered in some of the following chapters.

Before this head is dismissed, it may be useful to observe the following things. Though there be a real distinction between the atonement which is made by Christ for sin by suffering, and his obedience, by which sinners who believe in him are recommended to all the positive blessings, which they want, and are bestowed on them, yet both these are generally included and meant by the righteousness of Christ; but a

principal respect seems to be had to the latter, and sometimes, perhaps, that only is intended. He who reads the Bible with care, will take notice of this. The righteousness of Christ does most properly consist in his obedience, by which believers in him obtain eternal life, and all positive blessings; yet as his obedience implies his sufferings, and his sufferings imply his obedience, and one is as necessary for the salvation of men as the other, they are both included in his righteousness, as they are both necessarily included in his obedience unto death. (Phil. ii. 8.)

It may be further observed, that to be justified by Christ, sometimes means only a being pardoned or deliverance from the curse of the law by the sufferings and atonement of Christ, or has a principal respect to that; though it includes positive favor, and a title to eternal life, which are given to believers, for the sake of the obedience and worthiness of Christ. Pardon of sin, or deliverance from the evil which sin deserves, is distinguishable from what is called "justification of life," (Rom. v. 18,) which implies a title to eternal life, though these are never separated; for he who is pardoned is, by one and the same act of God, also made heir of eternal life, including all the favors which the believer receives for the sake of the worthiness and obedience of Christ, and is treated as well as if he were perfectly righteous, out of respect to the obedience and righteousness of the Redeemer. The following seem to be instances in which to justify, or be justified, intends only forgiveness of sins on account of the sufferings or atonement of Christ; or, at least, to have a primary and chief respect to that: "Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses." (Acts xiii. 38, 39.) "Much more, then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him." (Rom. v. 9.) Here justification seems to mean no more than pardon of sin, or rather, opening the way to pardon by the suffering and death of Christ in their stead, Christ having died for them.

Redemption seems also to be sometimes used in a more restrained sense, and primarily, if not wholly, respects deliverance from the curse of the law by the sufferings of Christ, or forgiveness of sins through the atonement he has made by suffering the curse of the law. The following appear to be instances of this: "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." (Eph. i. 7.) "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for

us." (Gal. iii. 13.) Yet this includes, and is connected with, deliverance from sin and all evil, and the bestowment of eternal life, and comprehends the whole work of the Redeemer.

III. Another part of the work of the Redeemer, is to complete the salvation of those whom he redeems, and to finish and perfect the work of redemption. This has been in some measure brought into view under the former head, but requires a more particular consideration. In consequence of the suffering and obedience of Christ, and as a reward of the latter, he is exalted, to give repentance and remission of sins, and complete salvation to those who shall be actually redeemed. All things are given into his hands, and all power in heaven and earth: and he is made head over all things to the church; that he might sanctify and cleanse it, and present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blemish. As all men are naturally in a state of total depravity, enemies to God, his law and government, and therefore enemies to the Redeemer, and all his designs and works: not one of them can be persuaded to come to him, and accept of the offered salvation, unless he be made willing by his mighty power, renewing his heart, taking away the heart of stone, the rebellious heart, and giving a discerning, obedient heart. This is represented in the Scripture by a variety of phrases, and abundantly asserted, which may be more fully considered in a following chapter. The Redeemer having renewed by the spirit those whom he designs to save, so far as to bring them to a union with himself by faith, and to become his real friends, carries on this work through life, until they are brought at death to perfection in holiness; and he will raise their bodies at the last day, and give them eternal life. All this he has declared he will do. He has said, "All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out. This is the will of the Father, which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day." (John vi. 37, 39, 40.)

He is exalted to the right hand of God, and sits on the throne of the universe, having all things in his hands, and governing the whole world, so as in the best manner to save the redeemed, and fulfil the good pleasure of his goodness towards them, and totally to disappoint, overthrow, and destroy

all his and their enemies, putting them under his feet, when he will come to judge the world in righteousness.

The Redeemer, in prosecuting his work, sustains the character and performs the offices of prophet, priest, and king. He is, in the moral world, especially in his church and kingdom, what the sun is in the natural world, the light thereof. He is, therefore, called "the Sun of Righteousness." He said, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness."*

The Redeemer is the author of all the moral light and instruction afforded to men. He has given the divine revelation which we enjoy. He inspired men by his Spirit to write that part of Scripture which the church enjoyed before his incarnation. (1 Pet. i. 11.) He taught and instructed men when in the flesh on earth; and inspired the apostles and others to write what is contained in the New Testament, in which, among other things, all the future, grand events that relate to his church and kingdom, and to the world of mankind in general, which are to take place to the end of the world, are foretold, and by all which life and immortality are brought to light. And he opens the eyes of blind sinners, and turns them from darkness to marvellous light, causing the light of truth contained in divine revelation to shine in their hearts. And he forms the hearts of his disciples more and more to true discerning, till they are cured of all their mistakes and

* (John viii. 12; xii. 46.) These words of Christ serve to explain what is said by this evangelist, (chap. i. 5,) "Who was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." The words of Christ suppose, and implicitly assert, that he who believeth not is in darkness, and abideth in darkness. And this apostle asserts the same thing. He says, "He that hateth his brother (which is true of every unbeliever) is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes." (1 John 2.) Therefore Christ's lightening every man that cometh into the world, cannot mean that he actually illuminates the mind of every man in the world, for the words of Christ, and of his beloved disciple, assert the contrary. The meaning, therefore, must be, either that he lightens every man in the world without exception, who has any true light, that is, all who believe, and come to the light, or that he is the only objective light in the world; there being no other light to be seen, but that which he affords objectively; which objective light is set before all men, and is offered to all, in a greater or less degree. It nevertheless remains true, that all who are not Christians, and do not follow Christ, have no light within them, but walk in total darkness, from which they are turned when they believe. Therefore Christ says, "I am the light of the world. He that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." (John viii. 12.) This implies that all who do not follow him have no degree of that light of which he speaks, when he says, "I am the light of the world;" but are wholly involved in that darkness which is opposed to this light, and live and walk in it.

darkness, and brought into perfect light and day. In order to this, he has instituted and maintains all the external means of instruction and knowledge; with reference to which, St. Paul says, "When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors, and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." (Eph. iv. 9, 12, 13.)

And he not only exerciseth the office of a prophet till he has brought his church to a state of perfect light and knowledge, but he will sustain this character in heaven, forever, for the Lamb shall be the everlasting light of it. (Rev. xxi. 22. Isa. x. 19.) He will make new discoveries, and give increasing light and knowledge, without any end. The Redeemer, therefore, is promised in the character of a prophet, when his incarnation is foretold. "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me." (Acts iii. 22. Deut. xviii. 15.)

Christ is also a priest in his church, the great High Priest, of whom all the priests, constituted by the laws of God given to Moses, were types. He has offered the only sacrifice, by which full atonement is made for sin. And in this transaction he is both the priest, the sacrifice, and the altar. And though by his once offering himself a sacrifice for the sins of his people he has made complete atonement for sin, yet he continues to exercise the office of the priest, and will do so forever. "He is made an high priest forever, after the order of Melchisedec. Because he ever liveth, he hath an unchangeable priesthood. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." (Heb vi. 20; vii. 24, 25.) Therefore, he appears on the throne in heaven as a Lamb that had been slain, and is represented as entering and remaining there with his own blood. The atonement of Christ, which he has made by his blood for the sins of the redeemed, and his meritorious obedience, and the consequent intercession which he will forever make for them, will be their everlasting security from wrath and destruction, and for their enjoyment of the divine favor and eternal life, as their ill desert in their own persons, and in themselves considered, will remain without the least diminution forever. Therefore, the Redeemer continues a high priest forever; and because he

ever lives to make intercession for his people, they shall live also, eternally dependent on his atonement, merit, and worthiness, for safety from evil, and for all the good which they enjoy. "Behold the man whose name is the Branch, and he shall grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord, [that is, the church.] Even he shall build the temple of the Lord, and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and he shall be a priest upon his throne." (Zech. vi. 12, 13.) He will continue in the office of a priest, as long as he shall sit upon his throne and his kingdom lasts, which shall be forever. This leads further to observe, —

Jesus Christ, in the work of redemption, acts in the character of ruler and king. He is a prophet, and a priest upon his throne. He exerciseth the authority of a king. This is abundantly asserted in Scripture. "I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion." (Ps. ii. 6.) "My heart is inditing a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made touching the king." (Ps. xlv. 1.) He is the king, by way of eminence. He is King of kings, and Lord of lords. He has supreme authority as legislator in his church. He has made institutions and laws which are binding on his people, they being obliged implicitly to obey his commands in all things. And he is the only lawgiver. And as all men are naturally in a state of rebellion, and enemies to God, he not only commands them to repent and submit to him, but he effectually conquers and subdues all those who become his willing subjects, by a powerful operation on their hearts, changing and renewing them, and bringing them to a cordial obedience to him. Thus his people are all made willing in the day of his power. He protects his church and people from all their enemies, and from all harm, and gradually removes all the disaffection to him in their hearts, until they are all brought to a most cheerful, perfect obedience to him, and his throne is established in their hearts, and he rules there without a competitor. And he rules in the midst of his enemies. They are all under his power and control, and he restrains, guides, and governs them, so that they cannot cross and impede his designs, or do the least hurt to his interest and kingdom, however much they may desire and attempt it; but he uses them all to promote and answer his own ends. "The wrath of man shall praise him: and the remainder of wrath he will restrain." (Ps. lxxvi. 10.) And he will finally subdue all his enemies, and put them under his feet.

The Redeemer now reigns over all. All things are delivered into his hands: both angels, men, and devils are in his hand, and under his direction and control; — yea, all creatures and

things, visible and invisible, in the whole created universe, both greater and less, are sustained and guided by him, in all their various circumstances and motions; and he is ordering and using them to answer his own ends, as King of Zion, and head over all things to the church. In the mean time he is forming his church, and will not cease working till he has made it the most perfect, beautiful, happy, and glorious society and kingdom that infinite power, wisdom, and goodness can produce, — which shall stand and flourish forever, as a monument to display all these, and in which his boundless, wonderful love and grace in the redemption of man, and his unchangeable truth and faithfulness, shall be celebrated without end, and with increasing admiration and praise.

In the exercise of his kingly office, when all the redeemed are brought into his kingdom, and the number of his church is completed, he will appear and sit as judge of all moral agents, — will raise the dead, and cause all the angels and devils, and all mankind, to stand before his tribunal; and when the moral character of every one shall be properly examined and displayed, he will, as King and the final Judge of all, pronounce the blessed sentence on the redeemed, admitting them as the happy members of his eternal kingdom; and he will sentence all those of mankind who shall then appear not to have been his friends in this world to endless punishment, with the devil and his angels. (Matt. xxv. 31–46.) And having thus completed the work of redemption, by gathering the redeemed into his kingdom, and putting all his enemies under his feet, consigning them to deserved, endless punishment, he will reign forever in his church, his mediatorial kingdom, which shall have no end. That his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and the Redeemer shall reign in it forever, is abundantly declared in the Scripture. It is needless to cite now more than the words of the angel to the virgin Mary: "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end." (Luke i. 32, 33.)

What St. Paul says may be thought, at the first view, to be inconsistent with this. His words are, "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." (1 Cor. xv. 24, 28.) In order to understand this passage, and see that it is consistent with other parts of Scrip-

ture, where the Redeemer is said to reign in his kingdom forever, the following things must be observed.

1. In consequence of the Son of God, or second person in the Trinity, undertaking the work of redemption, — by becoming the Son of man, and taking upon himself the form of a servant, and doing and suffering all that was necessary in order to effect this, and having actually gone through all this, — he was exalted in and by his human nature, and rewarded by having all power and all things put into his hands, and being made head over all things to the church; and is appointed the supreme and universal king and Governor of the universe, to use and dispose of all, so as, in the best manner, to accomplish and perfect the work of redemption, and complete the salvation of the redeemed, and vanquish and totally overthrow all his and their enemies by putting them under his footstool. This must be considered as a peculiar kind and degree of power and authority with which he is invested, by which he sits on the throne of the universe, and is sole Ruler in the natural and moral world until the ends of this investiture shall be answered; and he has finished the work, to accomplish which he is thus exalted. He will then, when an end to this is come, deliver up to the Father this delegated power and kingdom, and no longer, as God and man, sit at the right hand of the Father as supreme Ruler in the universal kingdom. This leads to observe, —

2. When all this is accomplished, the Son of God, — being God and man, and considered in the character and capacity of Mediator and Redeemer of his church, — will take his proper place which is assigned to him in the economy of redemption, or covenant between the Father and Son, which is not that of supreme Ruler and Legislator in the universal kingdom of God; but in this respect, and in his human nature, he will be subject to the Father. And then God, the Deity, will be all in all in a higher sense, and more perspicuously than when the supreme rule was in the hand of a person who is a man and the Son of man, and who made use of the agency and offices of angels and men in carrying on his designs, which will then all be put down; and who is opposed, and his power and authority disputed, by his enemies, devils and men, which will then all be subdued and put out of the way.

3. The Redeemer will still remain the head of his church, and reign forever as King in his mediatorial kingdom, crowned with everlasting honor, happiness, and glory, of which he will lose nothing by delivering up the kingdom to the Father, and being subject to him in the sense above mentioned. He will

be admired, praised, and glorified by angels and the redeemed forever; and he will be their everlasting, unchangeable Prophet, Priest, and King.

As the covenant between the Father and the Son has been now mentioned, it will be proper here to give a brief explanation of that. It is evident from Scripture, as well as from the nature of the case, that there was a mutual agreement and engagement between the Father and the second person of the Trinity respecting the redemption of man, by which the distinct part which each person in the Trinity was to act was fixed and undertaken. This mutual agreement is of the nature of a covenant and engagement with each other to perform the different parts of this great work which were assigned to them. This is an eternal covenant without beginning, as is the existence of the triune God, and as are all the divine purposes and decrees. The second person was engaged to become incarnate, — to do and suffer all that was necessary for the salvation of men. The Father promised, that, on his consenting to take upon him the character and work of a Mediator and Redeemer, he should be every way furnished and assisted to go through with the work; — that he should have power to save an elect number of mankind, and form a church and kingdom most perfect and glorious. In order to accomplish this, all things — all power in heaven and earth — should be given to him, until redemption was completed. And then he should reign in the exercise of all his offices, as Mediator, in his church and kingdom forever.

All this is expressed, or implied, in the representation the Bible gives of this affair in the following passages, as well as others which might be mentioned: "I have set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare the decree: The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession," etc. (Ps. ii. 6, 7, 8.) Here the Father makes promises, and enters into engagements with the Son, which is here called "the decree," or covenant. To the same purpose are the following words: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion; rule thou in the midst of thine enemies." (Ps. cx. 1, 2.) "Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my Spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and I will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of

the Gentiles." (Isa. xlii. 1, 6.) The consent and engagement of the second person is expressed in the following words: "Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; mine ears hast thou opened, [or a body hast thou prepared me.] Burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo, I come. In the volume of the book it is written of me, I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart." (Ps. xl. 6, 7, 8.) Upon this engagement of the Son, "the Father saith unto the Son, Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever. A sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." (Heb. i. 8, 9, from Ps. xlv. 6, 7.) The whole of this is comprehended and implied in the following words of our Savior when on earth: "All that the Father hath given me shall come unto me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. And this is the Father's will who hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." (John vi. 37, 38, 39.) To this covenant Jesus Christ refers when he said to his disciples, after his resurrection, "Behold I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high." (Luke xxiv. 49.) "And, being assembled together with them, he commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me." (Acts i. 4.) By the promise of the Father, he meant the gift of the Holy Ghost to furnish them for their work as his apostles. And this promise must be the promise made to him in the covenant of redemption, that, upon his obedience unto death, the Holy Spirit should be sent, effectually to apply the redemption hereby obtained to those who were given to him.

The blessed Trinity, in the one God, may be considered as a most exalted, happy, and glorious society, or family, uniting in the plan of divine operations, especially in accomplishing the work of redemption, which really comprehends all things, and is the grand design and end of all. In this each one has his part to perform, according to a most wise, mutual regulation and agreement, which may be called a covenant. In performing these several parts of this work, one acts as superior, and another as inferior; or, one acts under another, and by his authority, as appointed and sent by him. This is, by divines, called the economy of the work of redemption, or the

economical agreement, or covenant, between the persons of the adorable Trinity, respecting the redemption of man.* According to this economy, the Son, the Redeemer, acts under the Father, and by his will and appointment, and in this respect takes an inferior part, and in this sense he is supposed to speak, when he says, "The Father is greater than I." (John xiv. 28.)

Though in the passages of Scripture which have been mentioned, and others of the same kind, the third person in the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, is not expressly mentioned as covenanting or engaging to perform any part of this work, yet he is necessarily understood as concerned and included in this covenant, as he is, in the Holy Scripture, every where represented as acting an equal part in the redemption of man, and, therefore, must be considered as taking that particular part by consent and agreement. This covenant is called by most divines now, THE COVENANT OF REDEMPTION, to distinguish it from what is called *the covenant of grace*, which takes place between God, or the Redeemer, and believes in him, which will be particularly considered hereafter.

The work of the Redeemer, which has been in some measure described above, consists in his actually performing the part assigned to him, and undertaken by him, in the covenant of redemption; and in his sustaining the character and executing the offices which he inherits as a reward for his humiliation; in which he will continue forever, even when he has delivered up the delegated rule and kingdom which he now has to the Father, and is, in the sense above explained, subject to the Father.

IMPROVEMENT.

I. We learn from the view which has been now given from the Scriptures, of the work of the Mediator and Redeemer, how important and essential the doctrine of his divinity is: as he must be God as well as man, in order to perform this work. A mere creature would be infinitely unequal to this.

It is necessary that this should be believed; that his infinitely high and glorious person and character, as the true God, should be kept in view, in order to trust in him as the Redeemer of man from the infinite evil which he deserves; from a state of total moral depravity, to the favor of God, to perfect holiness and eternal life, by his suffering and obedience, and by his power, wisdom, and goodness.

* Economy is derived from a compound Greek word, and signifies the regulations and rules of a household, or family, by which each member is to act his proper part.

It is necessary that he should be a person of infinite dignity, excellence, and worthiness, in order to make atonement for sin by suffering the penalty of the law, as it has been explained above from the Scriptures. The sufferings of a mere creature could do nothing towards this; and had such an one offered to undertake this, it would have been so far from pleasing the Governor of the world, that it must be considered as an affront offered to him, most dishonorable to his character, law, and government; and the obedience of a mere creature, or of all creatures, could not so honor the law, and the divine authority expressed by it, which sinners had reproached and trampled under foot by their rebellion, as to obtain favor, recovery from a state of sin, and eternal life for them, out of respect to the merit and worthiness of such obedience. This could be done by none but a person of infinite greatness and worth, and one who was under no obligation to obey antecedent to his voluntarily taking upon him the form of a servant. And it requires infinite power, skill, and wisdom, to recover a rebel from total depravity and enmity against God and his law, to obedience and holiness, and infinite condescension and goodness. All this is ascribed to the Redeemer in the Holy Scripture, as has been shown. And surely none can believe all this, and rely with confidence on the Redeemer for such redemption, who does not believe him to be truly God, infinitely great, honorable, powerful, wise, and good.

They who have such a low and dishonorable idea of the divine character, his law and moral government, as to believe sin to be infinitely less criminal than it really is, that it is not infinitely odious and criminal, and does not deserve infinite natural evil as the just punishment of it; that it is not necessary that the threatening of the law should be in any sense executed, in order to the maintenance of public truth and righteousness; that man is not so depraved but that he may recover himself from sin to holiness when proper methods are taken with him, and motives set before him to induce him to repent, and renounce his rebellion, without any supernatural renovation by the Spirit of God; and that in this way he may obtain forgiveness, and recommend himself to the divine favor, so as to obtain eternal life; they who have such wrong notions of God, and his law, of sin and of themselves, do not, and cannot see the need of a divine person, of one that is really the true God united to the human nature, to be the Redeemer of men: therefore, they cannot believe that Jesus Christ is such an one. Consequently, they read the Bible under this prejudice, and find things there which appear to them contrary to the real divinity of Christ. They greedily catch at them, and

make the best use of them they can, in their opposition to that doctrine; at the same time, exerting all their abilities to show the unreasonableness and absurdity of such a doctrine, and in the most plausible manner possible to explain away those passages of Scripture, which are understood by those who believe in the divinity of the Redeemer of man plainly to assert this doctrine, and to make them consistent with his being a mere creature. This appears to be the case with the Arians and Socinians, both in former ages and in this, who join in the denial of the divinity of Christ, though they differ in other things respecting him; the former holding that he is the first and greatest creature that God has made, who, after he had existed thousands of years a mere spirit, took a body in the womb of the virgin Mary, and was born of her, etc. The latter suppose he had no existence before he was conceived and brought forth by the virgin, his mother.

But others, who view the divine character, and the law of God, the nature and desert of sin, the depravity, and lost, undone state of man, in the scriptural light in which they have been set in the preceding part of this system, are prepared to see their need of such a Redeemer as the Bible reveals; they consult that, and find that he is there declared to be "God with us," God, who created and upholds all things, manifest in the flesh; that he has given his life a ransom for sinners; has been made a curse to deliver men from the curse, dying for their sins; that he has obeyed the divine law in its requirements; that he is risen from the dead, and exalted to the right hand of the Father, able effectually to draw men unto him, and to save to the uttermost all them who come to God by him. They believe and are sure, and address him as Nathaniel did, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." And as Thomas, "My Lord, and my God." And say with the beloved disciple, "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. *This is the true God and eternal life.*" And they rest satisfied in the natural and plain sense of the words of this same John, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his glory, as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."

II. From the view we have had, by attending to the Bible, of the atonement for sin made by Christ, we learn that they have made a great mistake who think that this consists wholly in the obedience of the Redeemer; and that his sufferings, as such, and as distinguished from his obedience, are no part of

the atonement; and, therefore, that he did not in any sense suffer the penalty of the law, in whole or in part; nor had his sufferings any direct reference to this; and answered no end, except that hereby his love to God and man was exercised in a higher degree, and his obedience was more tried and conspicuous by obeying unto death, than if he had not been obliged thus to suffer.

This notion of the atonement entirely excludes and denies the real atonement, clearly and abundantly stated and taught in the Scriptures; and places it in that in which it does not consist. Therefore, as this error wholly subverts the true Scripture doctrine of the atonement of Christ, it is great, dangerous, and hurtful, in proportion to the importance and necessity of an atonement, and of believing and confiding in that atonement, which, according to divine revelation, is the only foundation of the hope of a Christian.

If the threatening and penalty of the law may be disregarded, and set aside, so as to pass wholly unexecuted, in order to pardon and favor the transgressor, without any vicarious sufferings of another in his stead, it will be difficult, and doubtless impossible, to show or see why a vicarious obedience to the precepts of the law is necessary in order to the sinner's salvation. And why the obedience only of the Redeemer should be a sufficient ground, or any reason at all, why man should be delivered from the curse of the law, it is presumed no one can tell; or why it was necessary that a substitute should obey the law in man's stead, if there was no need of his suffering the penalty also. Upon this plan there appears to be no need of a Redeemer, unless it be to reveal the mercy of God to sinners, and his readiness to pardon and save all who repent and return to obedience, and persevere therein; and to set an example of holy obedience, and to lay down his life in confirmation of the truths which he had taught. And what need there is that the Redeemer should be more than a mere man, in order to do all this, it is believed, none can tell. The Socinian's Redeemer is, therefore, equal to the whole of this work.

III. We further learn what a great delusion they embrace, who think they, in their own persons, are become innocent and worthy, by the atonement and obedience of Christ;—that his sufferings and obedience are so imputed to them, that they are really become their own sufferings and obedience;—that his righteousness and holiness is in such a sense and degree their own righteousness and holiness, that they themselves are, in the sight of God, perfectly innocent and holy. And some go so far as to say they have no ill desert or sin:

nor can they sin, let them do what they will. This is, to a dreadful degree, perverting the doctrine of the atonement of Christ, and his work, as the Redeemer of sinners, and of pardon and justification through him.

It has been shown, that the sinner who is interested in the atonement of Christ, and is delivered from the curse of the law, is left as ill deserving as he ever was, in his own person; and this his ill desert never will, or can be, removed. And it is equally true, that the sinner who is interested in all the merit and worthiness of Christ, and is for the sake of that justified, and made heir of eternal life, is still as unworthy as ever in himself, in his own person, of the least favor — as unworthy as he could be, if the Redeemer had merited nothing for him, or he had no interest in his righteousness; and must remain so, and know that he is so, forever. And the least thought to the contrary would be infinitely criminal, and a most ungrateful and horrid abuse of the atonement and righteousness of Christ.

Every thing contrary to the divine law, in the believer, is his own sin, and as criminal as if he had no interest in the righteousness of Christ, and much more so. What the Redeemer has done and suffered is imputed to him; that is, is reckoned in his favor, so that he has the benefit of it, as much as if it were his own; and it avails to obtain deliverance, from the curse of the law, for him, and eternal life; but it leaves him as unworthy of any favor, as deserving of eternal destruction, and as great a criminal as he ever was.

IV. The work of the Mediator, and his design in it, as it has been now considered, brings into view his wonderful love and grace, which is exercised towards man.

In order to have an adequate view of this, we must rise in our conceptions to the height from which he descended, and comprehend his greatness, worthiness, and glory; and then take a full and comprehensive view of the depth to which he descended in his humiliation, and the magnitude of the evil which he suffered, in order to redeem man. But this is absolutely impossible to men or angels; therefore, the love of Christ never will be fully known by angels, or the redeemed, for it "passeth knowledge," as inspiration has declared. This, therefore, must be an endless theme, and has laid a foundation for endless progression in knowledge, love, and happiness. The more the redeemed shall know of Christ, the greater view they will have of the evil which he suffered for their redemption. This infinitely exceeds all instances of love among creatures. This will be exhibited forever, as infinitely the greatest instance of love and grace in the universe, except

the love of the Father, in giving his Son; which will be celebrated by the redeemed, and all the friends of God, without end. St. Paul dwelt on this theme, when on earth. "I live, said he, by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." (Gal. ii. 20.) "Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us." (Eph. v. 2.) "Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." (2 Cor. viii. 9.)

The love of Christ, exercised towards sinners, is great in proportion to the greatness of the evil he suffered for their redemption. The latter is infinite; so, therefore, is the former. And though he sought the glory of God, and the general good, in what he did and suffered, yet his love to sinners is not in the least diminished, or the less, by reason of this, for he *gave himself for them.* "Unto him that *loved us*, and washed us from our sins, in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to Him be glory and dominion, forever and ever. Amen." (Rev. i.)

CHAPTER XII.

THE APPLICATION OF REDEMPTION.

SECTION I.

On the Application of Redemption in General.

THE first Adam was united to all his posterity as their father, head, and constituted representative, and substitute; and all mankind were united to him, as such. This may be considered both as a natural and constituted union, by which all his children were to have the benefit of his obedience, as much as if it were their own personal obedience, should he obey through the time of his trial; so that his holiness should insure perfect, everlasting holiness and happiness to them; and, on the other hand, his disobedience should descend to them, and make them sinners, and entail sin and ruin on all his posterity; so that their sin, guilt, and ruin were connected with his rebellion, and, in this sense, his sin was their sin.

The second Adam has no such natural union with mankind,

as their natural father and head, and they have no union to him in this way. But they must in some way and manner be united to him, and he to them, in order to his becoming their head and representative, so as to share in the saving benefits of his atonement and righteousness. He is constituted by God a public head and representative, as the first Adam was, and is substituted to obey and suffer for man; but in order to their being actually interested in the benefit of his atonement and righteousness, they must be united to him, and he to them, so as to be in a sense one, as the head and members of the natural body are one. This union, by divine constitution and appointment, is to take place and consist in a mutual voluntary consent; the Redeemer offering himself to them, and they consenting and complying with his proposal and offer, and accepting of him, and trusting in him as their Redeemer. This lays the foundation for a treaty with mankind; in the prosecution of which, redemption is actually applied; not to all mankind, but to those who cordially embrace the offer, and accept of Christ, and salvation by him. This is particularly stated in the Scripture. Christ says, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, *that whosoever believeth in him* should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John iii. 16.) These words suppose, and implicitly assert, that none but *believers* are to be saved by the Redeemer, as no others have that relation to him, and union with him, which is necessary, in order to give them an interest in redemption by him. This Christ expressly asserted, when he commissioned the apostles to go forth and treat with men, in order to effect the application of his redemption, without which no man could be saved. "And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." (Mark xvi. 15, 16.)

As all mankind are united to Adam, as his posterity, his seed, so Christ has a seed, a posterity, who are by their union to him made the children of God, and joint heirs with him, to whom the promise of salvation is made. These are not all mankind, but *believers in him*. For thus saith the Scripture: "The children of the promise are counted for *the seed*. Know ye, therefore, that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. For ye are all the children of God, by faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise; heirs of God, and joint heirs with

Jesus Christ. Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of the promise." (Rom. viii. 17; ix. 7. Gal. iii. 7, 26, 27, 29; iv. 28.)

The Redeemer has made an atonement sufficient to expiate for the sins of the whole world, and, in this sense, has tasted death for every man, has taken away the sin of the world, has given himself a ransom for all, and is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, so that *whosoever* believeth in him may be saved, and God can now be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus. Therefore, the gospel is ordered to be preached to the whole world, — to all nations, — to every human creature. And the offer of salvation by Christ is to be made to every one, with this declaration — that whosoever believeth, is willing to accept of it, shall be delivered from the curse of the law, and have eternal life.

But as all mankind are totally depraved, and are become enemies to God, his law and government, and consequently equal enemies to the Redeemer and salvation by him, they are all prepared and disposed to refuse to accept of the offered salvation, and reject it with their whole hearts, whatever motives are set before them, and methods taken to persuade them to comply. This lays the foundation of the necessity of the renovation of the hearts of men by the Holy Spirit, in order to their believing and embracing the gospel, — of which the Scripture speaks abundantly. Christ taught, that, except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, or so much as see it. St. Paul says that all believers are the subjects of the mighty power of God operating upon them, by which they have been brought to believe; — that they, being naturally dead in trespasses and sins, have been made alive by God; and that faith is the gift of God; — that they are saved not by any works of righteousness which they have done, but by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost: so that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God who showeth mercy, and worketh in them by his Spirit, to will and to run, etc.

By this renovation, men are said in Scripture to be made new creatures, and to be created in Christ unto good works; and believers are said to be in Christ, and to *put on* Christ. This union of the believer to Christ may be considered as consisting in two things, viz.: 1. In Christ's uniting himself to him by his Spirit, by which he takes possession of him, is formed in him, and dwells in him. And by the Spirit of God, the believer is drawn to him. "No man cometh unto me, says Christ, except the Father, which hath sent me,

draw him." 2. In the believer's uniting himself to Christ by actually cleaving to him, trusting in him, and loving him; all which is implied in saving faith, or *believing* on Christ; and which is also implied in Christ's uniting himself to the believer, mentioned in the foregoing particular. This union is begun in regeneration and conversion, by which Christ, by his Spirit, takes possession of the heart, produces faith and Christian holiness, in the exercise of which the believer cleaves to Christ in holy love. But of these it is proposed to treat more particularly in some following sections.

This union between Christ and believers in him is represented by a variety of similitudes in Scripture. It is represented by a building composed of stones, all resting on a chief corner-stone, which bears up the whole;—by the natural body, consisting of head, and members all united to the head,—the life, and every function of the body, and each of the members, depending upon their union with the head, and being derived from that. It is compared to the union of the food and drink to the stomach and body, being taken into that, and digested, and thereby spreading life and spirit through the whole for its constant support. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life." (John vi. 53, 54.) It is illustrated by the union of the branch with the vine, by which the former derives life, sap, and nourishment from the latter. "I am the vine, ye are the branches." (John xv. 5.) To mention no more, it is frequently represented by the union between the husband and the wife, which is a voluntary, or a moral union, and by which the wife shares in the dignity, goods, and possessions of her husband, and receives protection and support from him. The church is, therefore, called "the bride, the Lamb's wife." Believers, by their union to Christ, receive the benefit of his sufferings and obedience, and are made rich, partaking in all his fulness, and become joint heirs with him of eternal inheritance.

The union between Christ and believers is a moral and spiritual union. In this respect, "he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit." (1 Cor. vi. 17.) It is an imperfect union in the beginning of it. It is, therefore, a growing union, until it shall be made perfect; it being a lasting union, which shall continue forever. And when this becomes perfect, which it will not in its most complete state till the resurrection, there will be a full and perfect participation of redemption by Christ; and that prayer of Christ will then be completely answered: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: that they all may be *one*,

as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be *one in us*. And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one. *I in them*, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one. That the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, *and I in them*." (John xvii.)

Section II.

On Regeneration.

It has been observed that mankind, being naturally under the power of sin and total depravity, it is necessary that they should be the subjects of a renovation by the Spirit of God, in order to their union to Christ and being redeemed by him. It is proposed now to attend more particularly to this renovation as it is represented in the Holy Scriptures.

Regeneration and conversion are often used only as two words meaning the same thing; and it is certain that all that can be properly understood by them is that change and renovation, which is expressed in Scripture by being *born again*, *born of the Spirit of God* and *born of God*, *created in Christ Jesus unto good works*, etc. Yet, as there are two distinct things included in this change, which it is necessary should be distinguished in order to understand this subject, these words may be properly used to make and keep up this distinction, as many divines have done. In this renovation there is the operation of the cause, which is the work done by the Spirit of God; and there is the effect, which consists in the exercises of the regenerate in which they are active and agents. Though these imply each other, and cannot be separated more than the cause can be separated from the effect, yet they must be distinguished; and the former may properly be called regeneration. In order to explain this, and prevent mistakes concerning it, the following things must be observed: —

1. The Spirit of God is the only agent and cause by whose energy the effect takes place; and, so far as the Spirit of God is the cause and agent, the subject, the heart of man, is passive, being the subject on which, or in which, the effect is wrought. Though the effect be activity, or the exercise of the new heart, in which the renewed person is the agent, yet, in the operation which causes the effect to exist, and, therefore, in the order of nature is antecedent to the effect, the Spirit of God is the only agent, and man is the passive subject.

2. This change, of which the Spirit of God is the cause,

and in which he is the only agent, is instantaneous, — wrought not gradually, but at once. The human heart is either a heart of stone — a rebellious heart, or a new heart. The man is either under the dominion of sin, as obstinate and vile as ever, dead in trespasses and sins, or his heart is humble and penitent, he is a new creature, and spiritually alive. There can be no instant of time in which the heart is neither a hard heart nor a new heart, and the man is neither dead in trespasses and sins nor spiritually alive. The Spirit of God finds the heart of man wholly corrupt, and desperately wicked, — wholly and strongly, even with all the power he has, opposed to God and his law, and to that renovation which he produces. The enmity of the heart against God continues as strong as ever it was till it is slain by the instantaneous energy of the divine Spirit, and from carnal it becomes spiritual, betwixt which there is no medium, according to Scripture and reason. All the exercises of the hard, impenitent, unrenewed heart are exercises of impenitence and rebellion, — of enmity against God and his law; whatever the external conduct may be, they are the corrupt fruit of a corrupt, rebellious heart. The exercises and fruit of a heart dead in trespasses and sins are *dead works*. If this were not demonstrably certain from the nature of the case, it is abundantly asserted in the Scripture, and our Savior has decided it in the most express manner. His words are, "Either make the tree good, and his fruit good, or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt. A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things." (Matt. xii. 33, 35.) St. Paul repeatedly asserts the same thing. By a number of quotations from the Old Testament, he proves that all men are, by nature, altogether and to a great degree, corrupt; — that there is nothing morally good in them, or done by them. (Rom. iii. 9, etc.) He asserts that, antecedent to regeneration, man does nothing morally good, — that all of this kind is the consequence of it. "We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." (Eph. ii. 10.) And again he says, "We ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But after that the kindness and love of God our Savior appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." (Tit. iii. 3, 4, 5.) Here he describes their state and moral character, which is the character of all men antecedent to regeneration. He denies their having done any good works,

but, on the contrary, says all their works were evil, and gives them a very bad character. He then ascribes all their reformation, and the alteration of their character for the better, to their regeneration, by which, alone, they were washed from their moral pollutions.

3. The subject of this operation, in which this change and effect is wrought, is the will or the heart; that is, the moral and not the natural powers and faculties of the soul. As moral depravity is wholly in the will or heart, the source and seat of all moral actions, the divine operation directly respects the heart, and consists in changing and renewing that. The understanding or intellect, considered as distinct from the will, is a natural faculty, and is not capable of moral depravity. It may be hurt and weakened, and improved to bad purposes, as other natural faculties may, by the moral corruption or sinfulness of the heart; but nothing is necessary, in order to remove the disorders of the intellect, and all the natural powers of the soul, but the renovation of the heart: so far as the will is right, the understanding, considered as a natural faculty, will be rectified, and do its office well. Therefore, regeneration is in Scripture represented as consisting in giving *a new heart*, a heart to know the Lord, etc. The Scripture, indeed, speaks of the understanding being enlightened, and of its being darkened, and of being without understanding, as criminal; and represents a good understanding, as comprehending all virtue or holiness. But the understanding in these instances is not considered and spoken of as mere intellect, distinct from the will or heart; but as comprehending and principally intending the heart, which is the seat of all moral perception and exercise. In Scripture, the distinction between the understanding and the heart is not often made; but the former is generally spoken of as implying the latter, and consisting in that discerning which is implied in right exercises of heart; and cannot take place any farther than the heart is renewed, and the will is right. Therefore, we read of "a wise and *understanding heart*." And wisdom and understanding are words frequently used in Scripture as nearly synonymous, and denoting the same thing; but *wisdom* belongs to the heart, and is of a moral nature; and that in which, according to the Scripture, true holiness consists.

All moral, criminal darkness, has its seat in the heart, as all sin has, and the former cannot be distinguished from the latter; and selfishness is the essence of both. And, on the contrary, all true light and understanding, which is of a moral nature, belongs to the heart, and implies real holiness, and cannot be separated, and even distinguished from it, as one necessarily

implies and involves the other. This is asserted by our divine Teacher in the following words: "The light of the body is the eye; if, therefore, thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness." (Matt. vi. 22, 23.) The single and evil eye are opposites, and belong to the heart, and consist in the exercises of that. This is said by Christ of the evil eye. "For from within, *out of the heart of men*, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, *an evil eye*, blasphemy, pride, foolishness. All these evil things come from within, and defile the man." (Mark vii. 21–23.) Here an evil eye, which fills the mind with darkness, and is darkness itself, is numbered among the evil things which belong to the corrupt heart, and of which that is the source, and is altogether criminal. And, consequently, the single eye, which is opposite to the evil eye, must also belong to the heart, and consists in that which is real holiness, or which implies it. Where this is, the man is full of light.

Therefore, in regeneration, the heart being changed and renewed, light and understanding take place; and there is no need of any operation on the understanding, or intellectual faculty of the mind, as distinguished from the heart, or any change in that which does not necessarily take place, upon the renovation of the will or heart.

As the moral disorder and depravity of man lies wholly in his heart, the cure and renovation must begin and end there; and when the heart is perfectly right, the man will be wholly recovered to perfect holiness.

This point is particularly observed and stated, to expose and rectify a mistake which has been too often made, representing regeneration as consisting chiefly, if not wholly, in renewing the understanding, as distinguished from the will, and letting light into that, antecedent to any change of the heart, and in order to it; and by which light in the understanding, the will is inclined and turned from sin to holiness. This is turning this matter upside down, and has a dangerous and bad tendency. It supposes that human depravity lies in the understanding, and not in the will; or, at least, that it has its foundation and beginning in the former; and that, when that comes right, the will or heart acts right, of course. The consequence is, that there is little or no moral depravity in the heart, that being ready to do its office well, when the understanding is set right; therefore, man is not blamable for his depravity, and not being holy, since his blindness, which alone is in the way of his acting right, is not dependent on his will, or owing to

any disorders in that. It is, indeed, impossible to give true moral light and understanding to the depraved mind of man, by any operation whatsoever, on the intellect, antecedent to the renovation of the will; for the darkness is in the latter, and consists in the wrong inclination of that; and, therefore, cannot be removed but by renewing the heart.

Others have supposed that there is in regeneration an operation on the understanding, or intellect, first, in order to enlighten the mind; and then by divine energy the will is renewed, and brought to comply with the light let into the understanding. But this is unscriptural, and contrary to the nature and order of things; and tends to lead to hurtful mistakes, as has been often observed. Nothing is necessary but the renovation of the will, in order to set every thing right in the human soul; and if the will be not renewed, or a new heart be not given, by an immediate operation, no operation on any other faculty of the soul, and no supposable or possible change can set the heart right, or renew it in the least degree. The Scripture makes no such distinction between the faculties of the soul in treating of this matter; but represents the renovation of the will, or giving a new heart, as setting the whole soul right in all the powers and faculties of it.

4. The divine operation in regeneration, of which the new heart is the effect, is immediate, or it is not wrought by the energy of any means as the cause of it, but by the immediate power and energy of the Holy Spirit. It is called a creation, and the divine agency in it is as much without any medium, as in creating something from nothing. Men are not regenerated, in the sense in which we are now considering regeneration, by light or the word of God. This is evident from what has been observed under the last particular. If the evil eye, which is total darkness, and shuts all the light out, be the evil, corrupt heart of man, then this corrupt heart must be renewed, in order to there being any true light in the mind, and previous to it. There must be a discerning heart, which is the same with a new heart, in order to see the light; and, therefore, this cannot be produced by light. The evil eye, which shuts out all the light, cannot be cured, and made a single eye, by seeing the light; and the light cannot have any effect, or answer any end, till they are so far made single as to admit the light. Therefore, that operation which changes the evil eye to a single eye, cannot be by means of light; but must take place antecedent to any light, or any influence or effect that can be produced by it. It is said the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things that were spoken by Paul. It would be a contradiction, and very absurd, to say that the

word spoken by Paul was that by which her heart was opened; for she knew not what he did speak, until her heart was opened to attend to his words, and understand them. Her heart was first opened, in order to his words having any effect, or giving any light to her. And this must be done by an immediate operation of the Spirit of God on her heart. This was the regeneration now under consideration, by which her heart was renewed, and formed to true discerning, like the single eye.

St. James says, "Of his own will begat he us, *with the word of truth.*" (James i. 18.) But here in regeneration he includes the effect wrought, or conversion, and does not mean only the act by which the effect is produced, as distinguished from the effect, which is intended by the regeneration now under consideration. The effect produced by the regenerating energy of the Spirit of God, in the adult, is active conversion, which supposes light and truth in the discerning mind, and exercises answerable to it; which is to be particularly considered, under the next general head.

5. The divine operation in the regeneration of which we are speaking, though very great and powerful, is altogether imperceptible by the subject on whom the work is wrought, and by which he is regenerated. Nothing is perceived but the effect, which in the adult consists in perception of truth and answerable exercises. The cause is to be learned and known only by the effect. When Adam was created, he perceived nothing, and was conscious of nothing, but his own existence, perceptions, and exercises. The divine operation, which was the cause of his existence, was over and finished, before he began to perceive any thing. Every creature is constantly supported by God, and divine energy attends and is exerted in all our motions and actions. "For in him we live, and move, [or, which is more agreeable to the original, *are moved,*] and have our being." "And the inspiration of the Almighty giveth us understanding." Yet we perceive nothing but the effect, and argue the cause from the effect. So it is in this case. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." (John. iii. 8.)

6. The grace granted in regeneration is a sovereign, undeserved, and unpromised favor.

The sinner, who is the chosen subject of this operation, and object of this favor, is infinitely ill deserving, and is disposed to go on in rebellion, till this change is wrought. He is obstinate, and refuses to hearken to the divine command, to

repent and embrace the gospel, and the offer of mercy, whatever methods have been taken with him to reclaim him. However much he may be terrified with the fears of threatened destruction, and the evil, dangerous state in which he is; and though he may have earnest desires to escape misery, and be happy forever, and may make many prayers, and do many things, he has not the least inclination to repent, submit to God and accept of offered mercy; but, directly contrary to all this, he with his whole heart abuses every favor granted to him, rejects the offer of mercy, opposes God, slights Christ, and resists the Holy Ghost, in all his prayers and in all he does; for still his heart is a heart of stone, an impenitent, rebellious heart, and is full of enmity against God. This character is given of all the unregenerate, in the Scripture. Therefore, he is not only undeserving of any favor, and especially of this, and infinitely ill deserving, but is constantly provoking God to give him up to utter destruction. When the sinner is in this situation, God has mercy on him, and by his Spirit gives him a new heart. Surely this is, in the highest sense *sovereign mercy*. God is infinitely far from being under obligation to any sinner to do this for him: "Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."

And God has not obliged himself by any promise to grant this mercy to any individual person, antecedent to his actually doing it. He has made no promise, in his word, to those who do not accept nor desire the mercy and salvation which he offers, but reject it with their whole heart; which is true of all the unregenerate, as has been observed. There are, indeed, promises made to the church, that God will pour out his Spirit, and regenerate sinners; but no individual, unconverted sinner can claim this promise, as it is not made to him in particular. There are promises made to those who repent and believe the gospel, that they shall be saved, that the Spirit of God shall dwell in them forever, etc., but the regenerating influences of the Spirit, which are antecedent to faith, and the first act of faith, which is the gift of God, are unpromised gifts and favors; and God cannot be under any obligation to those who receive them by promise, or any other way.

7. The divine operation, by which men are regenerated, and a new heart is given, is not in the least degree inconsistent with human liberty, nor does it impede or obstruct it in any respect; but finds and leaves men in the free exercise of all desirable or possible freedom, and wholly blamable for all the exercises of their heart, not conformable to the law of

God, and commendable for all right exercises of the new heart; which are as much their own, and as free, as if they had taken place without any divine influences, were this possible.

This is evident and certain, if liberty consists in voluntary action, or in the choice and exercises of the will, and in nothing else. No compulsion can be offered to the will, or the freedom of it be any way affected by any operation or influence on the mind which takes place antecedent to the exercise of the will, and in order to the choice that is made. Man is active only in willing, and in this only consists his moral freedom. And in this he is not capable of compulsion; and no impression that is made upon him, nor any operation whatsoever can take away his liberty in the least degree, unless it obstructs and is inconsistent with his acting voluntarily. For so far, and so long, as he does this, and puts forth acts of will, they are his own acts, and he is free, and enjoys and exercises all the freedom of which there can be any consistent conception, or that is possible in the nature of things.* Antecedent to regeneration, man acts freely. With great strength of inclination and choice, his heart opposes the law of God, and rejects the gospel, seeking himself wholly. And when the instantaneous, immediate energy of the Holy Spirit renews his heart, he turns about, and loves and chooses what he hated before, and exercises as real freedom in his choice and pursuit of that which he had opposed and rejected.

8. Regeneration is but the beginning of a divine operation which does not wholly renew the heart at once; but from this small beginning the operation continues and goes on to perfection, that is, till the heart is made perfectly clean and holy, which will not be accomplished till death. For God continues to work in the regenerate to will and to do, and they are as dependent on divine influence for every after right exercise of will, as for the first. And God who begins this good work in them will perform it, and go on with it, until the day of Jesus Christ. (Phil. i. 6; ii. 13.)

Section III.

Conversion.

The effect of the regenerating influence of the Spirit of God, which consists in conversion, is next to be more particularly considered.

* See chap. 4, p. 83, etc., also p. 141, etc.

Regeneration, in the sense in which it has now been considered, is the cause of voluntary action in him who is the subject of the operation, or issues in it; which consists in turning from sin to God, or in holy exercise, which is true love to God, and loving our neighbor as ourselves; which implies a sight and belief of the truth, repentance, faith in Christ, and submission and devotedness to him, his interest, and service, etc. As the law of God requires *love*, and nothing but love, considered as comprehending all the proper and genuine fruits and expressions of it; so the new creature, or that which is born of God, consists wholly in love, as it is conformity to the law of God, which is all comprehended in these two commands, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Therefore, St. John says, "He that *loveth* is born of God. God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him." As God is love, and this comprehends the whole of his moral character, so love in creatures is the moral image of God, and it consists altogether in this. This love, of which God and the creature are the objects, is, in the nature of it, one and the same undivided affection, differing only as it is exercised towards different objects, on various occasions, and in diverse circumstances. It consists in *universal benevolence*, or benevolence to being in general capable of happiness, and all that affection and exercise of heart which is necessarily included in this. Universal benevolence, or goodness, is necessarily pleased with good and happiness wherever it takes place; for it seeks the general good, and that to the greatest possible degree; it must therefore be gratified, wherever happiness takes place, and that in proportion to the degree of it. And, of consequence, it must be pleased with every benevolent being, who wishes the greatest general good, and promotes it according to his capacity, and the opportunity he has to do it. Therefore, benevolence must have the greatest degree of pleasure in that being who has the greatest degree of benevolence, and does the most good. And this is the love of complacence, and is necessarily implied in benevolence, and really an exercise of it, and can take place nowhere but in the benevolent heart. Benevolence esteems benevolent affection, as the greatest excellence and worth; and therefore exercises the highest love of esteem towards him who has the greatest degree of benevolence, and does the most good. And the benevolent person exercises true gratitude towards every being who is doing good to individuals, and promoting the greatest general or public good. Thus complacential love,

the love of esteem and the love of gratitude, are included in benevolence, and essential to it, and are really nothing more than benevolent affection. He who has universal benevolence has all virtuous, holy love, as all is necessarily implied and comprehended in this. The new, benevolent heart is an illuminated heart. The eye is now become single, and all is full of light. The person is now turned from darkness to marvellous light, and, being spiritual, discerneth and knoweth all things. He sees and believes the great truths contained in divine revelation, and cordially embraces them as true and excellent.

This holy affection, in which the new creature consists, discerns the being and perfections of God, as realities, and glorious, as they were never seen before. And this holy love is fixed, in the first place, on this sum and fountain of all being, benevolence, and perfection, as the supreme object of benevolent affection. Here the benevolent heart finds an object every way, and in all respects, suited to draw forth the strongest exercises of benevolent, friendly affection, in rejoicing in his infinite, eternal, independent existence, felicity, and glory; exercising and enjoying supreme delight, and complacential love in his infinite perfection and benevolence, and sweet gratitude to him for the glorious exercise and display of his love; devoting himself to his service and honor, and exerting cordial and strong benevolence and friendship, in ardently desiring that God may be glorified to the highest degree forever, and wishing to be the active instrument of this, as the greatest happiness he can desire or imagine.

The new heart sees and approves of the divine law in the extent and spirituality of it, requiring perfect love to God and man, and threatening disobedience with infinite evil; and it is agreeable to him that this law should be maintained and honored forever. And, in this light, he sees his own total depravity, and the unsearchable wickedness of his heart. He beholds the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and its desert of infinite evil as a proper punishment. He hence sees his own infinite odiousness and ill desert, and condemns and abhors himself for all his transgressions and contrariety to God and his law, and confesses his sins, repenting as in dust and ashes. The new heart is, therefore, a broken, contrite, humble, penitent heart. True repentance is necessarily implied in real conversion; and, therefore, the whole of conversion is often, in Scripture, expressed by it, and called repentance. And this continues and increases through the whole life of a real convert.*

* The total depravity of man and the infinite odiousness and criminality of all sin are so implied in all the leading truths in the Bible, that a thorough

The new man discerns the character of Christ, and the way of salvation by him, with entire approbation and great pleasure, and believes the gospel with all his heart, and flies to the Redeemer as the only hope for sinners, trusting in him alone for pardon, righteousness, strength, and redemption. And his benevolent love to God and man is, in the highest degree, pleased with the gospel, which establishes, magnifies, and honors the law, and brings honor to God in the pardon and salvation of sinful, lost men, who believe on the Savior. Conversion is turning from a state of obstinacy and disobedience to a cordial submission and obedience to Christ. The real convert says, as Saul did when he was renewed, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" This is necessarily implied in repentance and faith. A new heart is an obedient heart: therefore obedience cannot be separated from a new heart, and they are, indeed, one and the same thing. Consequently they are put together as implying each other, and being really the same in the words of inspiration. "A new heart will I give you, and I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them." (Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.) The new heart consists in love, as has been shown, and all holy obedience consists in this. It is love expressed and acted out in all proper ways.

This leads to observe, further, that this love, which is the new creation, or the new creature, has not only the Supreme Being for its object, but creatures, also, who are capable of happiness. It wishes well to every such creature so far as their good and happiness is consistent with the greatest public general good, and no farther; for universal benevolence seeks the greatest good of the whole, and, therefore, is ready to give up, not to desire, but to renounce, the good and happiness of individuals, when and as far as it is inconsistent with the greatest good of the whole, all beings and all things taken into view. And, as the good man is not capable of determining with any certainty that it is inconsistent with the greatest good of the whole that any who are on the stage of life with him should be happy, his benevolence will extend to all, and will wish them well, and pray for all men, even his enemies, if he have any. But his benevolence will be more particularly, and in a stronger degree, exercised towards those who are

conversion, and a cordial acknowledgment of them in the light of the divine character and law, is essential to belief and hearty reception of the most important doctrines of the gospel. And it will doubtless be found, on proper examination, that all the gross errors respecting the gospel which are, or have been, embraced and propagated, have originated from ignorance of the law of God, and the nature and ill desert of sin, and an express or implicit denial of these.

most in his view, with whom he is most acquainted, whose wants, dangers, and miseries, and whose capacity of happiness, are most in his sight, and those who are more especially under his care, and to whom he is under advantage, and has more opportunity to do good. And he will feel himself united, in a peculiar degree and with a more fervent love, to those who appear to him to be benevolent and engaged in desiring and promoting the greatest general good in the exercise of true love to God and man. As such who are friends to God and his kingdom — to Jesus Christ and the greatest public good — appear, to the benevolent, to have more real existence than others, and to be of much more importance in the scale of being, and are objects of the peculiar benevolence of the Deity, they are, in this view, peculiarly dear to them, and excellent in their eyes; and they embrace them with a distinguishing, strong and sweet, benevolent and complacential love.

Having given a more general view of conversion, which is the effect of the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit, and which consists in the volitions and actions of the regenerate, it is of importance that what has been mentioned should be more particularly explained, which will be attempted in the following sections.

Section IV.

Disinterested Affection.

It has been already shown that moral depravity, or sin, consists in self-love; and that holiness consists in disinterested benevolence, which is, in the nature of it and in all its exercises, wholly contrary and opposed to self-love.* But, as this is a subject so very important, — and necessary to be well understood in order properly to distinguish true religion and real conversion from that which is not so, but false religion and mere delusion, — it is thought proper to bring it again into view here, in order further to explain and confirm this truth, which is overlooked by too many, and opposed by others.

Not a few have believed and asserted that there is no such thing in nature as disinterested affections, and that all the actions of men flow from self-love as their foundation and source. Others allow that disinterested affection may take place in the human heart, but that it either springs from self-love, and is grafted upon it, or so coincides with it, and regu-

* See Part I. chap. viii. page 236, etc., to which the reader is referred.

lates it, that both these sorts of affection, if they do really differ in their nature, are included in the exercises of true holiness; and that self-love is the real foundation of all true religion.

These sentiments and pleas in favor of self-love, it is believed, are owing, in many instances, to wrong or confused ideas, and not properly distinguishing between self-love and that which is of a different nature and kind.

First. Many do not appear to distinguish between self-love, and a desire or love of happiness, — or a capacity of pleasure and enjoyment, and of being pleased with and choosing one object rather than another. These are quite distinct and different things. The latter is really nothing but a capacity or power of will and choice, for without this there could be no such thing as preferring one object to another, or exercise of choice. This, therefore, is essential to the existence of a moral agent, or to any act of will whatever, and is neither self-love, nor disinterested affection, but necessary to both. Self-love consists in a moral agent's placing his happiness in what he views as his own private personal interest, and in nothing else, in distinction from the interest or happiness of any other being, and in contradiction to it. This only pleases him for its own sake, and is the ultimated object of all his desires and exertions.

Disinterested benevolence is pleased with the public interest, — the greatest good and happiness of the whole. This is the highest good to the benevolent person. In this he places his happiness, and not in the interest and happiness of any individual, or of himself, any further than it is consistent with the greatest interest and happiness of the whole, and really included in it, and serves to promote it. In this state of the case is it not easy to see the distinction between a capacity of pleasure and choice, — or being pleased, and enjoying happiness, — and placing our happiness in our own personal good and interest only, or in the public good for its own sake? And who does not see the difference and opposition between the two latter?

Secondly. By many there is not a proper distinction made, and kept in view, between self-love, and that regard which the benevolent person must have for himself and his interest and happiness, which is necessarily included in disinterested affection. Disinterested, impartial benevolence to being in general that is capable of good and happiness, regards and wishes well to every being and creature in the system, according to the degree of his existence, worth and capacity of happiness, so far as all this comes into the view of the benevolent person, and so far as the good and happiness of each is, or appears to be,

consistent with the greatest good of the whole. And as he himself is one individual part of the whole, he must of necessity be the object of this disinterested, impartial benevolence, and his own interest and happiness must be regarded and desired, as much as that of his neighbor, or any individual of the whole society; not because it is *himself*, but because he is included in the whole, and his happiness is worth as much, and as desirable as that of his neighbor, other circumstances being equal. This is not self-love; but the same universal, disinterested, impartial, public benevolence, which wishes well to being in general, and therefore to himself, because he has an existence, and is one among the rest, and equal to his neighbor. This is loving his neighbor as himself; not with the least degree of self-love, but with the same disinterested, public affection with which he loves being in general. The least spark of self-love will interrupt this reasonable and beautiful moral order and harmony, and render him partial and interested in his affection, and so far detach him from the whole, and make him set up a selfish, private interest of his own, in distinction from that of the rest, and in opposition to it.

By not making this distinction, and not attending to the nature of disinterested benevolence, as it regards the interest of the benevolent person himself; and, therefore, taking it for granted, that all the regard a person has for himself and desire of his own happiness is self-love, in distinction from disinterested benevolence, they have concluded, with great assurance, that self-love is essential to man, and even his duty. But when the distinction is properly made, and the matter plainly stated, the mistake is discovered, and it appears that disinterested benevolence will take all proper and sufficient care of every individual in the system, and will desire and seek the best interest and happiness of all, and of the benevolent person himself, so far as is consistent with the greatest good of the whole; and that this is not self-love, but the same disinterested, impartial benevolence, when it takes into view his own happiness, and values and seeks it as much as that of his neighbor. The self-love which can be distinguished from this universal, disinterested benevolence, and is not of this kind, cannot be distinguished from selfishness; but is the very same affection, and is directly and wholly opposed to disinterested, holy love; and is, as has been observed, the root and essence of all sin.

To distinguish between self-love and selfishness, is to attempt to make a distinction where there is no difference; unless by self-love be meant disinterested benevolence. Disinterested affection and self-love are very distinct and opposite affections, and the latter, in every degree of it, cannot be dis-

tinguished from selfishness; for these are two words for one and the same thing. Some would distinguish between inordinate and well-regulated self-love, and suppose the former is selfishness and sinful; but the latter innocent, and even good and virtuous. But unless by well regulated self-love be meant disinterested affection, the distinction is groundless and vain. And to suppose a certain degree of self-love, subordinated to a contrary affection, love to God, and to our neighbor, is virtuous, or even innocent; and that the same self-love in a higher degree of it, and not subordinated by a different and contrary affection, is sinful, is very unreasonable, and absurd, and a supposition which is utterly impossible. For if holiness and sin do not consist in the nature of moral affection and exercise, there can be no such thing as either sin or holiness. And to suppose these opposites to consist in the degree of the same affection exercised, and not in different kinds of affection, is really to make them not opposites, or not to differ in nature and kind, but to be one and the same thing, under different modifications. For the nature and kind of moral exercise and affection is not changed by their being more or less of it, or by being under restraints or not. If the lowest degree of such affection be innocent and good, the highest possible degree of it must be so much better, and have a proportionably greater degree of moral goodness; and if the highest possible degree of such affection be sinful and wrong, the least possible degree of the same kind of affection must in the nature of it be sinful, though less in degree. If ten or a hundred degrees of self-love be enmity against God, and contrary to uprightness and disinterested benevolence to men, and a disposition of mind to injure them, then one degree of this same self-love is enmity against God, and opposite to benevolence to men in its nature, and in proportion to the degree of it; and though it may be under restraints, and counteracted by opposite affection, it is yet of the same nature, and the same kind of affection, and as really opposes the general good, which disinterested benevolence seeks, as that same self-love, when it is under no restraint, and reigns as the only moral affection of the heart.

Therefore, in the Scriptures we find no such distinction between self-love and selfishness; or between well regulated self-love, and that which is inordinate, or between a less and greater degree of this same affection, representing one as innocent and good, and the other sinful: but self-love is condemned in every degree of it, in all its exercises and fruits. No worse character is given of men than this, that they are *lovers of their own selves.* And men are commanded not to seek their own wealth, and mind their own things, in distinction from those of others, and

of Jesus Christ, and condemned for doing it; and that love which *seeketh not her own*, is recommended as that only in which true religion or real holiness does consist: and surely there can be no self-love in that love which *seeketh not her own*.

This leads to what is chiefly designed in this section, namely, to prove from Scripture that disinterested affection, or benevolence to being in general, and all the affection which this implies, as it has been now explained, is that in which true religion or the new creature does summarily consist.

1. It has been observed and shown in the chapter to which reference is made in the beginning of this section, that this may be proved from what is said by the apostle John. (1 John iv.) He says, "God is love;" in which he evidently designs to comprehend his whole moral character. He mentions the highest exercise and greatest manifestation of this love. This, he says, is in giving the Son of God to die for the redemption of sinners. This, all will grant, is, in the highest sense and degree, disinterested benevolence, as it is exercised towards those who are not only unworthy and ill deserving, but unreasonable and abusive enemies. This disinterested benevolence he urges Christians to imitate, and represents it as that in which Christianity summarily consists; for he says, he that loveth is born of God, and this love being perfect, casteth out fear; and he who exercises this disinterested benevolence, (for he is speaking of no other love but this,) he who dwelleth in this love, dwelleth in God, and God in him. That is, the moral image and character of God is formed in him, he partakes of the divine nature, and he is united to God, and God to him. This leads to observe, that as the new creature is a conformity to the moral character and image of God, by which Christ is said to dwell in believers, it must consist in disinterested benevolent affection, for in this only can Christians be like God.

2. Jesus Christ is a remarkable and striking instance of disinterested benevolence, in which Christians are to imitate him, and do so, as far as they are Christians.

The love which he exercised, in taking man's place and dying for him, is in the highest sense disinterested, as he suffered this for men when they were his enemies. "God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." His love to the Father and to sinners, expressed in what he did and suffered, is represented as wholly disinterested, to set forth the nature and excellency of it, and recommend it as a pattern to be followed by his disciples. "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, *and not to please ourselves:* for even Christ

pleased not himself; but as it is written, "The reproaches of them that reproached thee fell on me." (Rom. xv. 1, 3.) By his not pleasing himself is meant his not seeking himself, or acting from self-love; — the same that is intended by his not seeking and doing *his own will*, but the will of his Father, and saying, "Not my will, but thine be done." (John v. 30; vi. 38.) That he did not please himself, but acted from a disinterested regard to the glory of God, is proved by the quotation the apostle here makes: "The reproaches of them that reproached thee *fell on me.*" He had such a disinterested regard to the honor of God, that, if he were reproached, it was the same to him as if he himself were reproached. This St. Paul mentions as an example for Christians, which they are to imitate by feeling for their brethren in all the unhappiness that attends them, so as to bear their infirmities and burdens.

Again, in order to excite the Corinthians to show the sincerity, or genuineness, of their love to the saints, — that is, their disinterested benevolence, — he mentions to them the example of Christ and his love. "For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet *for your sakes* he became poor, that you, through his poverty, might be rich." (2 Cor. viii. 8, 9.) He recommends the example of Christ, in this same view of it, to the Philippians. (Phil. ii. 4–8.)

There are, indeed, but few, if any, Christians who do not consider the Savior as acting a most disinterested part in doing and suffering what he did for the salvation of sinners, as he could not have undertaken and gone through it from any other principle but disinterested benevolence; and this is considered as the highest excellency and perfection of his love. If any of those admit, at the same time, that the love of Christians, in whom is the same spirit that was in Christ, is not disinterested, they must be very inconsistent with themselves, as well as with the Scripture.

3. That disinterested affection is essential to a disciple of Christ, appears from the words of our Savior recorded by Matthew. (Matt. v. 43, etc.) He there tells his disciples that loving their relations, and those who loved them, did not difference them from other men, even the worst of them, because self-love would do this: that, therefore, they could not be the children of God, or have the least degree of likeness to his moral character, unless they had and exercised that disinterested benevolence which would extend to their enemies, even the worst of them, and whatever injuries they had done to them; — which would wish them well, and pray for them, while they were doing them all the harm they could do: that by this, alone, they would be like their Father in heaven; and

by being perfect in this, they would be perfect, even as he is perfect. The love here recommended as so essential to a Christian, and by which alone he is distinguished from other men, is disinterested, universal benevolence, as opposed to self-love; for no other affection is opposed to self-love, or will love our enemies with cordial, friendly desires of their good and happiness, leading us to do them all the good we can.

4. Our Savior has enjoined disinterested affection, as that by which alone men can follow him and be his disciples, in the following words: "If any man will come after me, let him *deny himself*, and take up his cross, and follow me." (Matt. xvi. 24.) It will be difficult for any one to tell how a man can deny himself in the exercise of self-love, for this is, in every degree of it, self-gratification. Therefore, to deny ourselves is to remove all self-love, and to exercise that disinterested, universal love to being in general which opposes self-love, and renounces all selfish, private interest, and knows no *self* as such: it being an impartial affection, it respects him who exercises it only as belonging to being in general, and included in universal existence. As the excellency of Christ consists in this disinterested love, no one will come to him, and cordially follow him, unless it be in the exercise of this same disinterested affection; for without this none can approve of his character, which self-love opposes.

5. St. Paul decides this matter in the most express terms, and asserts that all the exercises of true religion consist in disinterested affection,—in that love which *seeketh not her own.* (1 Cor. xiii.) He represents love as containing the whole of Christian affection, without which there is nothing of any moral worth, or of real Christianity. And in describing this love, he says, "It seeketh not her own." *Q. D.* It is not self-love which seeketh her own and nothing else, but is directly opposed to this, and consists in that affection which is perfectly disinterested, which is universal benevolence to being in general, and has not the least partiality in favor of self. This is the wisdom that is from above, which is "pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, *full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality* and hypocrisy." (James iii. 17.)

6. That all true religion, or holy exercises of the heart, consist in disinterested affection is evident, to a certainty, from the summary of the law of God given by Christ himself in the following words: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." (Matt. xxii. 37–40.)

The law of God is a transcript of his moral perfection; for, by the creature's obeying it, he partakes of the divine nature, and puts on the moral image of God. But the moral character of God consists in disinterested love, as has been shown; therefore, the love required in the law of God is disinterested affection: it is not self-love, but that which is entirely contrary to selfishness. He who loves God *with all his heart, strength, and mind*, can have no self-love, nor any love to himself or any creature, but that which is implied in this, which certainly must be disinterested, as his love to God is. For disinterested love to God cannot imply interested and selfish affection to any other being, even our own, but necessarily excludes it. And it has been shown that the command to love our neighbor as ourselves is so far from approving, or supposing self-love, that it necessarily excludes every thing of this kind; as it requires that impartiality and uprightness which is contrary to every degree of self-love, and can exist in nothing but disinterested affection. Men are no further converted than they are conformed in the exercise and affection of their hearts to the law of God, which requires disinterested love, and nothing else, and excludes and forbids all selfishness, or self-love, which is the same. Therefore, the new heart, and all truly Christian exercises, consist in *disinterested affection*.

Before this subject of disinterested affection is dismissed, to prevent mistakes, and that the nature of it may be further explained, the following particulars are to be observed and kept in view.

1. This disinterested benevolence regards the interest and happiness of those who are nearest, and most in sight, more strongly and tenderly than of those who are farther off, and more out of sight; and is more affected with the happiness or misery, and the good or bad character, of the former than of the latter.

The mind of man is not omniscient, and cannot have a full, comprehensive view of all men and their circumstances at the same time; therefore, those who are nearest to him, and most in his sight, must be more the objects of his benevolence than others. And it is reasonable, and, therefore, his duty, to regard these more than others, as they are more in his view, and he has a special care of them, and is under greater advantage to think of them and do them good. And impartial, disinterested affection will naturally, and even necessarily, operate thus.

He who has universal benevolence will have a greater regard for the inhabitants of the nation to which he belongs, and be more concerned for their interest, than for those of other nations. He will have a greater regard still for the inhabitants

of the town and neighborhood in which he lives, other things being equal. Consequently, his benevolent care of the members of the family to which he belongs will be exercised in a higher degree, and more constantly, and with greater sensibility, than towards those of other families, — especially if he be the head of it. And as every person is nearest to himself, and is most in his own view, — has opportunity to be better acquainted with his own circumstances, and to know his own wants, his mercies, and enjoyments, etc., and has a more particular care of his own interest than of that of others, and is under greater advantage to promote his own happiness than others, — his disinterested, universal benevolence, will attend more to his own interest, and he will have more and stronger exercises of it, respecting his own circumstances and happiness, than those of others, all other things being equal; not because it is *his own* interest, but for the reason just given; and were the case reversed, and the circumstances, wants, and interests of others were more in his view, and more under his care than his own, he would pay more regard to them, and have greater concern for them, and their interest and happiness, than for his own, all other circumstances being alike.

It hence appears that universal benevolence to being in general not only includes a regard for the interest of every individual, and, therefore, an equal regard for our own interest; but a special and peculiar regard for the latter, and for that of the family, neighborhood, and town, and all those with whom we have any special connection. And this regard for ourselves, our own interest and happiness, which is necessarily included in universal benevolence, is not only a proper and reasonable regard, but is discerning, wise, and judicious, and seeks our true interest. Whereas self-love is partial and unreasonable in its own nature, and in every degree of it, and blinds men to their own true interest and happiness, and seeks happiness where it is not to be found, and as certainly and effectually renders them miserable, as if it were ill will to themselves.

2. As the great object of disinterested affection, or benevolence to being in general, is the greatest good of the whole, and it devotes all to this, it will give up any less good for the greater good, and the interest of individuals, for the sake of the greater public interest, and greatest good of the whole, when and so far as the former is inconsistent with the latter. And the benevolent person is disposed and willing to give up and relinquish his own interest and happiness, when inconsistent with the public good, or the greatest good of the whole; or when this may be necessary to promote a greater good, or

more happiness, on the whole, than that of which he deprives himself. Yea, he will be willing to suffer positive evil, to save others or the public from greater evil, or when necessary to promote and procure a greater and overbalancing good, on the whole. This is the nature of disinterested affection, and essential to it, which appears from what has been said of it above. In this the opposition and contrariety between holy love and self-love appears. He who has the former, devotes all to the greatest good of the whole; and gives up the interest of individuals, and his own interest, when necessary, to promote the good of the whole, and desires not his own happiness, or that of any other particular person, if inconsistent with a greater good to others, or with the greatest public good; and is willing to suffer, and that other particular persons should suffer, any deserved evil, which is necessary to prevent a greater public evil, or to promote the greater good of others, and of the whole. On the contrary, he who is under the government of self-love, and, so far as he is influenced by this, seeks and is wholly devoted to his own personal, private interest, as the supreme good, placing all good and happiness in this, and, therefore, will not give up and relinquish his own supposed interest, or any part or degree of it, for the sake of the interest and happiness of any other being in the universe; their good and interest being nothing to him, no object of his desires and wishes, any farther than he thinks his own selfish good is connected with theirs, and promoted by it. Consequently, he, in the feelings and exercises of his heart, subordinates the whole interest of the universe, and of every other being, to his own little, personal, selfish interest, and wishes no good to any one, or to the whole, any further than it may promote his own selfish ends, and turn to his own advantage. And were self-love under no restraints, but were acted out fully agreeable to the nature of it, it would give up and destroy all the good and happiness of the universe, and of every other being but the selfish person, and bring universal evil and misery on all, were this possible, in order to gain the least supposed advantage to himself. This is the true character of them who are "lovers of their own selves."

This view of disinterested affection will give, in some measure, the distinguishing character and properties of the new creature. It consists in the love of benevolence, which implies all that disinterested affection, in the exercise of which the true convert loves God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. It implies repentance, faith in Jesus Christ, joy in God, in the Redeemer, humility, resignation to the divine will: a cheerful and pleasing dedication of himself, and of every

thing with which he has any concern, to Christ, his interest and honor, and to be disposed of and used by him, in the way which he sees best, to answer his own infinitely wise designs; which shall in the highest degree possible promote the divine glory, and the greatest happiness of his kingdom. It is true wisdom which discerns and pursues the only objects worthy to be desired and sought. It is goodness and truth, putting on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, temperance, and sobriety. It is heavenly-minded, setting the affection on things above, not on things on the earth, etc.

IMPROVEMENT.

I. From this scriptural and rational view of disinterested affection, in which all true virtue, piety, and charity consist, may be seen what a great and dangerous mistake they have made, who suppose that there is no virtue or true religion but that which consists in self-love, or originates from it; and that no man ever acts or can act from any higher or other principle, whatever he may think or pretend. Surely these "call evil good, and good evil; put darkness for light, and light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter." (Is. v. 20.) They call that virtue and goodness which is directly opposed to all true virtue and goodness, and in which all moral evil consists. They call the only moral good, evil. They say there is no such thing as disinterested affection, and if there were, it must be evil; and all appearance of it, or pretension to it, is nothing but hypocrisy or delusion. They put that for light and wisdom which is darkness itself, in which all moral darkness consists. They recommend and delight in that, as the source of all happiness, which is the most odious thing in nature, and is the source of all the mischief and misery among creatures.

It is true, that mankind in general appear to act from no higher or better principle than self-love. But this affords not the least evidence that man is not capable of disinterested affection, or that self-love is not the essence and substance of all sin. It is indeed an evidence that the account the Scripture gives of man is true, that he is naturally totally depraved, and wholly corrupt; and that he must be renewed by the Spirit of God, in order to his becoming in the least degree virtuous and holy.

II. We hence learn how false and pernicious that doctrine is, which too many have held and asserted, namely, that true love to God originates from a knowledge or belief that he loves us, and designs to make us happy; or that a man cannot love

God, unless he first has evidence that God loves him with a design to save him. This is excluding disinterested affection entirely, and making all religious affection to consist in self-love; for that love to any being which is wholly owing to a knowledge or belief that he loves us, is nothing but self-love. Our Savior, therefore, condemns this, as not true Christian love, but a love which may be found in the most selfish, wicked man. He says, "If ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? For sinners also love those that love them." (Luke vi. 32.) There is no need that a man should be regenerated and born of the Spirit of God, in order to his loving God, so far as he is persuaded that God loves him, with a design to save him from eternal destruction, and make him happy forever. This is consistent with being a real enemy to the divine character; and the greatest enemy to God will do this, without any change of heart for the better; and if any person has no other love to God but this, it is certain he has not a new heart, is not converted, and has not the Spirit of God; but all his religious affection and devotion is nothing but wickedness and enmity against God and his law.

He who has a new heart, and universal disinterested benevolence, will be a friend to God, and must be pleased with his infinitely benevolent character, though he see not the least evidence, and has not a thought, that God loves him and designs to save him. And if he could know that God designed, for his own glory and the general good, to cast him into endless destruction, this would not make him cease to approve of his character; he would continue to be a friend of God, and to be pleased with his moral perfection. And he would, even on this supposition and in this case, exercise true gratitude to God for all the good he had received or did now enjoy, and for his great and wonderful love to the world in providing salvation for man. For benevolence exercised and manifested in doing good is the object of gratitude, and will excite it in him who has disinterested benevolent affection, though he receives no personal benefit by it.

Therefore, they who cannot love God unless he first manifest to them that he is their friend, and designs to save them, are the unregenerate, who have no disinterested affection, but are wholly selfish in all their religious exercises and affections; and their religion, whatever appearance it may put on, is false and destructive.

But, if such love to God as this were true love, and real piety, it is impossible it should ever take place; for God has not discovered, and never will discover, to any man that he loves him, and will save him, who has no love to God. It is

impossible, therefore, that he who does not now love God should have any real good evidence from any quarter that God loves him, or that he shall be saved. He must first love God in order to have any evidence that God will not destroy him forever. He, therefore, who cannot love God until he has evidence, and God discovers to him that he shall be saved, never can be brought to love him, because this discovery never will be made to him so long as he does not love God; and if he thinks he has had such a discovery, it is mere delusion, and he is made to believe a lie; consequently, all his love to God is built on a falsehood and delusion: so that they who can have no love to God unless he first discovers to them that he intends to save them, and think they have had such a discovery, and from this they began and continue to love him, are deluded two ways and in two respects. Their supposed discovery, that God loves them and will save them, and their belief of this, is altogether a delusion, and they only believe a lie. But if this were a true and real discovery, and this were possible, yet their love and religious affection, which is wholly founded on this discovery, — and they love God only because he loves them, and for no other reason, — has no moral goodness in it; it is nothing but self-love, and, therefore, nothing but sin. And such cannot be saved, or enjoy God, nor can God love them, unless they have new hearts given them, by which this same self-love will be destroyed, in a degree, at least, and disinterested affection takes place, which will be friendly to God, and love him, whether he be friendly to them or not.

An expression of St. John has been often produced to confront what has now been advanced, and to prove that the only ground and reason of Christians loving God is a belief of his love to them. This is in the following words: "We love him because he first loved us." (1 John iv. 9.) It is of importance carefully to consider what is the real meaning of these words of inspiration, lest, by inattention or prejudice, we should put a wrong sense upon them, and overlook the truth which is designed to be communicated by them. It has been observed, that, in this context, the apostle is considering and recommending the love of God in giving his Son to die for the redemption of sinners, and urging Christians to imitate this love, which is certainly disinterested love, — love to men while they hated God, and not love to them because they loved him. Christians, therefore, could not imitate the love of God here recommended by loving him purely because he loved them; for this would be so far from imitating the love of God, that it would be only an exercise of self-love, which is, in nature

and kind, directly opposed to the disinterested love of God. Therefore, the apostle cannot here mean to recommend self-love, or interested affection, and assert that the only ground and reason of their love to God was the manifestation and evidence given to them that God loved them, and that they had good evidence that God loved them, and designed to save them, before they began to love him, and as necessary in order to their loving him: not only because this would be inconsistent with the whole context, and make all his reasoning contradictory, futile, and absurd, but to suppose this is to make him assert that which is utterly impossible, as has been just now observed. Besides, by putting this sense upon these words, they are made inconsistent with the other parts of the Bible, which represent the holy love of Christians to consist in disinterested affection in opposition to self-love, which, it is presumed, has been made evident in this section. Moreover, by understanding these words in this sense, they stand in direct contradiction to the assertion of our Savior, viz., that to love those who love us, and that purely because they love us, is not a virtuous, holy love, but that which the worst of men may have. "For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? For sinners also love those that love them." (Luke vi. 32.) It is, therefore, certain, that those words of the apostle cannot be understood in this sense without making him contradict himself, and to assert that which is inconsistent with all the rest of the Bible, and with the plainest dictates of reason and common sense.

And if another meaning offers itself, which is consistent with all those, and which the context points out, and which is a natural and easy sense, who will hesitate to embrace it? The apostle is, in this passage, celebrating the love of God in giving his Son to be a propitiation for the sins of men as the pattern of all holy love. He says, "Herein is love: not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be a propitiation for our sins." He refers to the love of God as the original ground and cause of all the good which came to them: he loved them first, while men were sinners, and had no love to him, but were his enemies; his love laid the foundation of all good, moral and natural, in man. Therefore, "we love him, because he first loved us:" that is, had he not been first in his love before we loved him, and opened a way for our reconciliation, by sending his Son to be a propitiation for our sins, and by his Spirit regenerated us unto holy, disinterested love, to which the unrenewed heart is an utter stranger, — had he not thus first loved us and done all this for us, — we should never have known what true disinterested love

is. Therefore, we are certain that the cause of our loving God is his love to us, which has opened the way for it, and actually wrought it in us. "We love him, because he loved us," and gave us the spirit of love in our regeneration; for none but those who are born of God do love him. Thus it appears that these words perfectly coincide with the whole context, when understood in the sense now put upon them, and are very far from asserting that we cannot love God, unless we have evidence or believe that he loves us, and designs to save us; or that a Christian's love to God originates wholly from a belief that God loves him. It does originate from the love of God to him, in the sense now given. It is wholly owing to the love and kindness of God in giving his Son to die for him, and then saving him by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost. So that it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God who showeth mercy. Had not God first loved him, and done all this for him, he never would have had any true love to God.

III. From this subject may be inferred the propriety and importance of public teachers constantly and with clearness distinguishing between self-love and disinterested affection, and showing that true religion and all holy exercise consists in the latter, and not at all in the former. If this be not done, and a clear distinction between these two opposites be not constantly made and kept up, true religion cannot be set in a proper light, and distinguished from all counterfeits, and they may leave their hearers in ignorance, and lead them into deception in this important matter, and to rest in a religion that is nothing more than mere selfishness, and opposition to true holiness. If that religion be not taught and inculcated which is opposed to self-love, but, on the contrary, selfish affections are recommended as true holiness, the blind lead the blind, and they both are like to fall into the ditch. Mankind, when they turn their thoughts to religion, being naturally wholly selfish, are strongly inclined to approve and take up with a selfish religion, as this only is agreeable to their hearts. They are, therefore, disposed to like that preaching best which gratifies and flatters their self-love and pride; and if they are taught that they may be converted and be good Christians, without denying themselves and crossing their self-love, but in the full gratification of this, and disinterested affection, or that wherein it consists, be spoken of with disapprobation, and condemned as wrong or impossible, or is kept wholly out of sight; this tends to confirm them in a delusion, which doubtless proves fatal to thousands. The more men are inclined to embrace and be satisfied with a selfish religion, the more careful and

zealous should public teachers be to oppose it, and detect the delusion, and preach up that pure and undefiled religion, which consists in renouncing self, and in the exercise of disinterested affection. This would be striking at the root of self-love, pride, and human depravity, and setting holiness in a true and beautiful light; and though such preaching, when it is understood, may not please, but offend, those who have nothing but self-love, yet it ought to be inculcated, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.

And it is of importance to keep it in view, that universal benevolence and impartial disinterested goodness is the sum and source of all holy affection, as it is all implied and contained in this, by whatever different names it may be called, as has been shown. It tends to confuse and mislead the mind on this subject of LOVE, if, when love to God is spoken of and described, it is represented as consisting wholly in the love of complacency, and benevolent affection is implicitly excluded: whereas this is the essence of the whole; and the love of complacency and of gratitude ought to be considered as the exercise of universal, disinterested benevolence, in order to set the subject in the clearest light, and to prevent mistakes. Too many who hold the truth on this point in theory, or will assent to it, at least, when it is proposed and explained to them, yet, when they treat on love to God, do, either by the influence of habit and custom, or through inattention, leave out all idea of benevolence, as if the love of complacency and gratitude were distinct and stood alone, independent of universal benevolence. And this is too often the case, when love to our neighbor is mentioned. Disinterested benevolence, which is the sum, and comprehends all, is overlooked, as if no such affection existed. This is a misrepresentation of love, and has an evil tendency.

IV. This subject exhibits a rule by which all who suppose themselves to be converted, and real Christians, may try their conversion and religious exercises and conduct, in order to determine of what kind their religion is, whether true or false.

Many have asserted, as has been observed above, that it is impossible to love God, unless we first believe that he designs to save us; and that such belief is the necessary foundation of all friendly affection to him. If their hearts agree with their theory, and all their love to God originates from a persuasion that he loves them, it is certain that all their supposed piety is mere delusion, and that they are not friends, but enemies, to the true God; which has been shown above.

There have been, and now are, many who, when they have given a relation of their conversion, have represented that they were first brought to love God from a persuasion that he first

loved them, and designed to save them; that Christ died for them, etc.; and that all their after religious exercises and love are founded on this persuasion, and sink or rise, as that is stronger or weaker. If this account which they give of themselves, of their conversion and religious exercises, be in fact true, all their religion, from beginning to end, falls short of real Christianity, and is of a contrary nature. It was impossible they could have such a persuasion on good ground antecedent to their loving God; therefore they believed without any evidence, and all their religion was founded on delusion and falsehood. But if it were miraculously revealed to them, that God designed to save them, and all their love to him originated from such a revelation, and they could not love him on any other supposition, all their religious exercise has its foundation in selfishness, and is nothing but self-love, and consistent with enmity against God.

Others give a different account of their first conversion and after religious exercise, which may consist in disinterested affection, and has that appearance; yet ought to be carefully considered and examined, lest some fatal deception should lurk at bottom. They may reasonably inquire, whether old things are passed away, and all things are become new, in this respect; that, whereas they were naturally wholly selfish in their views, exercises, and desires, they now have disinterested affection, and new views and desires, which appear to be of this kind. Whether they have that benevolent regard to God and the Redeemer, as to lead them to desire, above all things, that he may be glorified, and his will be done, whatever it may be; that his interest and kingdom may be promoted, and come to perfection, so as to comprise the greatest possible happiness and glory of the universe: and whether they thus "seek first the kingdom of God," and devote all they have, and themselves, to his glory and the greatest good of the whole: having no other interest but this, and what is comprehended in it; not desiring their own happiness, or that of any other individual, unless it be consistent with the glory of God, and the greatest general good: and whether they are sincerely desiring and seeking the good of all men now living, and wishing every one to be happy, so far as may be consistent with the will of God, and the greatest general good; and actually endeavoring to do good to all men, as they have opportunity; and careful not to injure their character, persons, or interest, in any respect, by word or action; at the same time being liberal and bountiful to the poor and distressed, to the utmost of their ability; and expressing their benevolence to all, by praying for them: and whether they love their enemies with benevolent affection,

whatever injuries they may have done them: and are disposed to do good to them, and do wish them well, and pray for them: whether those who appear to them to be the benevolent friends of God and man are peculiarly dear to them, to whom their hearts are united in strong benevolent affection and complacential love. If they find their religious affection is of this nature, and implies all this, and their words and actions are in some good measure answerable, they may reasonably conclude that they are born of the Spirit of God, and that their religion consists in disinterested affection.

It must be added, that this disinterested benevolence will further evidence itself in religious, holy joy in God, his works, and revealed designs, in which there is no selfishness, but the contrary. It will rejoice in the infinite, independent, unchangeable, and eternal felicity of the triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that he is able, and will glorify himself to the highest possible degree forever. It rejoices in the hope and assurance of the glory of God, and that nothing has, or shall take place, which shall not turn to his glory: that the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain. It will also rejoice, that the greatest good and highest happiness of the creation will be promoted, and take place. That all the evil that does, or shall exist, cannot prevent this; but is all ordered, and will be overruled by infinite wisdom and goodness, to answer this end, so as to issue in the greatest good of the whole. Thus the felicity and glory of God, and the greatest good and happiness of the creation, as one united whole, is the great object of the desire, hope, and joy of the truly benevolent. They rejoice in the divine character and perfection; in the independent supremacy, and infinitely wise and good government of God, under which nothing can take place, but what is, all things considered, wisest and best, and necessary in the best manner to promote the greatest good of the whole. They acquiesce and rejoice in his infinitely wise and holy will, that it is done in heaven and on earth, and will be done forever: and that his counsel and designs, which have fixed all events, from the greatest to the least, are established forever, and cannot be obstructed or altered.

In all this the benevolent Christian does rejoice, independent of his own personal interest; and whatever may be the will of God concerning that, and whatever may become of him and other individuals, whether his or their particular personal interest and happiness be consistent with the glory of God and the general good, and included in these, or not. Yet he who exercises this disinterested affection, views his own personal interest as great and important; yea, he feels it to be much

greater and more important than when he was wholly selfish, and has a proper regard for it. But as the public interest now appears to him to be infinitely greater, and of more worth than the happiness of any individual, he is disposed to give up and renounce all the latter, so far as it is inconsistent with the public interest, and as is necessary to promote the greatest common good; and that self-love which is contrary to this, is enmity to the greatest good of the public, and to the good of society, and, therefore, enmity against God.

The true Christian, who, so far as he is such, exercises this disinterested affection, may consider all this and examine himself by it, and yet be left in doubt whether he has any degree of such affection or not; and sometimes may even conclude, against himself, that he is an utter stranger to it. This may, in some instances, be owing to not attending to, and understanding, the distinction and difference between a proper and great regard to their own interest, which is included in disinterested affection, as it has been stated above, and that self-love which seeks a selfish interest only: and they are ready to look upon all regard to their personal interest and desire of happiness to be self-love, and hence are led to doubt whether they have any other affection, and sometimes to conclude they are wholly selfish. This, also, may arise from a view and sense of the great degree and strength of self-love which yet continues with them. He who has any degree of disinterested affection, has a proportionable greater discerning of the nature and exercise of selfishness which is in his own heart. His disinterested love may be said to be the eye which discerns his self-love in all its secret workings, and the real odiousness of it. His attention is, therefore, turned to this; he looks upon it so much, and watches it so constantly, and sees so much of it, that sometimes he sees nothing else, and is ready to conclude he is wholly selfish in all he does, and is a stranger to disinterested affection. It is hoped that what has been said on this subject in this section, will be some help to all honest inquirers, who have some degree of disinterested affection to discern their own character, and to make proper distinction between the love of a true Christian and self-love, and thus obtain evidence that they are born of the Spirit of God; and that those who have never been renewed to holiness, but are wholly selfish in all their exercises, will, by attending to these things, if they will attend, be convinced that they are far from having any true religion.

These latter are in great danger of continuing in their deception and holding fast their delusion. They find religion so frequently and so much represented as a selfish thing, both in

public preaching, in books, and in conversation, and disinterested affection so much spoken against as a mere chimera, and impossible, and so much said in favor of self-love, that they may be disposed to treat what is the subject of this section as erroneous and whimsical, and not worthy of their attention.

And, if they be convinced that true religion does consist in disinterested affection, as described above, they are in danger of considering the exercises of their self-love as being disinterested benevolence; since, by the supposition, they know not what the latter is experimentally; and their self-love in so many ways puts on the garb of disinterested benevolence, and makes a plausible appearance, and they are so partial in favor of themselves and their own affections, that they are easily deceived into a favorable opinion of them. Even from self-love and pride they may exert themselves for the public good, either because they consider their own interest as connected with that of the public, and dependent upon it, or because this is the way to escape infamy and get the applause of their fellow-men. And they may be kind and generous to others, either because others love them, or from a selfish desire to have the name of generous, charitable persons. And they think they do these things from a disinterested regard to the public, and to others, because it has such an appearance. Besides, the most selfish person has some affections which are not self-love, nor disinterested benevolence, but have some resemblance to the latter. What is called natural affection,—the affection of parents to children, and of children to parents, etc.,—is not, of itself, and in the nature of it, moral affection, but what is called mere instinct. This is called love, by which parents and children are inclined to desire the welfare of each other, and looks like disinterested benevolence; but is really nothing but instinct, which falls below moral agency, accompanied and strengthened by self-love, in selfish persons, and, therefore, is no evidence that they who have this in the highest degree have the least degree of disinterested affection under consideration, or universal benevolence, which is essential to holy love.

And what is called natural pity, or compassion, is not self-love, nor is it universal benevolence, but an instinct which God, for wise reasons and for the good of mankind, has implanted in all men. ~~This being a sort of benevolence~~, is, by many, mistaken for disinterested, holy love, and so are deceiving themselves and others. Would men know their own moral character, they must distinguish these from universal

benevolence, and that disinterested affection, in which all true religion consists.*

V. This subject teaches us the excellency of real Christianity, and that it is suited to promote the happiness of individuals who partake of the true spirit of it, and of society where it prevails.

Self-love tends to natural evil, and always produces it, unless it be restrained and counteracted. It contracts the mind of him who is under the power of this selfish affection. It sinks it down to a sordid littleness and lowness of spirit, and prevents his proper enjoyment of the good and happiness of others, and subjects him to innumerable painful feelings and miseries, which are the necessary attendants of pride, envy, covetousness, etc. And this same self-love is the source of all the evils that take place in society. All instances of unrighteousness, oppression, and cruelty, — of contention and war, and of every injury done by one to another, or to the public, and all deceit, falsehood, and hypocrisy, incontinency and every unruly lust, and every thing which worketh evil to others and to society, — are the fruit of self-love. Take this away, and all these will cease. And this is removed as far as the spirit of true Christianity is imbibed.

But universal benevolence — Christian love — spreads happiness wherever it flourishes. It enlarges and ennobles the mind, and puts the benevolent person in possession of the good and happiness of others, so that he enjoys it all in a great degree, and rejoices with those who rejoice. By this he becomes a cordial and judicious friend to every one, and more especially to those with whom he has the most connection, and is disposed to do good to all as he has ability and opportunity, and is devoted to the good of the public and of the society to which he belongs, being ready to give up his private, personal interest in any part or the whole of it, when the public interest demands it, and this is necessary for the good of the whole. This disinterested benevolence will lead every one to take his proper place, and to be industrious, active, prudent, and faithful in his own business, and honest, upright, sincere, and true in all his concerns and dealings with his fellow-men. This love is kind; it is mercy, humility, condescension, meekness, peaceableness, temperance, long-suffering, and brotherly kindness. This will form rules by which they may fill their station with honor and usefulness, — to use their influence for the public good, and the happiness of every individual, so far as is consistent with the greatest public happi-

* See Edwards on the Nature of True Virtue, chap. vi.

ness. And this will induce those in more private stations to acquiesce in and support good government, — to live in peace with all men, if possible. And this will unite all the particular members of the society to each other, and form them into a band of brothers, all engaged to promote the general good, and the best interest of each other, so far as it may be consistent with, and subserve, the greatest good of the whole.

Whenever Christianity shall spread over the whole world, and the distinguishing spirit and power of it take place universally, forming men to a high degree of universal benevolence and disinterested affection, it will unite mankind into one happy society, teaching them to love each other as brethren, each one seeking and rejoicing in the public good and in the happiness of individuals: this will form the most happy state of public society that can be enjoyed on earth. And when we take into view their love to the Redeemer, their devotedness to his honor and service, and obedience to his laws in the practice of piety, devotion, and mercy, their joy in his character, exaltation, and honor, their gratitude to him for their redemption from infinite evil, and making them heirs of unspeakable felicity; their unshaken trust in him for the fulfilment of all his promises, and their clear and sure prospects of their eternal happiness, and the endless and increasing glory of his kingdom; — this will be the greatest likeness of heaven of any thing that has taken place on earth, or ever will. And they will hereby be made meet for the eternal inheritance of the saints in light.

This leads to a view of the most perfect, happy, and glorious society in heaven, in the eternal kingdom of God. All the beauty, happiness, and glory of it, will consist in this disinterested love, made perfect, reigning, and having its proper and full effect, without impediment, both in God, and in every member of this kingdom.

Section V.

Concerning Divine Illumination.

The divine oracles represent all the wicked, by which are meant all men who are not righteous, to be in a state of darkness, from which they only are recovered who are born of God, and become real Christians. "The way of the wicked is as darkness: they know not at what they stumble." (Pr. iv. 19.) "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know

them, because they are spiritually discerned." (1 Cor. ii. 14.) "Ye were once *darkness*, but now are ye light in the Lord." (Eph. v. 8.) All unbelievers, ungodly and disobedient, are said in Scripture to be blind, and not to know God, in places too many to mention here. St. Paul says, "If our gospel be hid, it *is hid* to them that are lost; in whom the god of this world hath *blinded* the minds of them which *believe not*, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." (2 Cor. iv. 3, 4. 1 Pet. ii. 9.) "The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that *know not God*, and that *obey not the gospel*." (2 Thess. i. 7, 8.) Agreeable to this, men are said by conversion, by which they become true Christians, to have their eyes opened and to be turned from darkness to light — to be called out of darkness into marvellous light — to be delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son. (Acts xxvi. 18. Col. i. 13.) And conversion from sin to God is described by being *enlightened*. (Heb. x. 32.)

This ignorance and darkness, and the contrary light or knowledge, are, according to Scripture, of a moral nature, and consequently consist not in intellectual ignorance and knowledge, as distinct from any thing which belongs to the heart, and not implying any sensations and exercises of the latter; for that darkness or light which belongs to the intellect, or speculative understanding, as distinct from the heart, and in which the heart has no influence or concern, has nothing moral in it, and is neither virtuous nor vicious, sin or holiness. Therefore the Scripture constantly speaks of this darkness and light, this ignorance or want of understanding, and the contrary understanding and knowledge, as having their seat in the heart, and belonging to that, and predicated of it, and as being, as that is, whether right or wrong, wholly corrupt or renewed. The following passages are sufficient to prove this: "Yet the Lord hath not given you *an heart to perceive*, and eyes to see, and ears to hear unto this day." (Deut. xxix. 4.) When the great ignorance and delusion and stupidity of idolators in worshipping an image, which they formed out of a tree, is described, it is, in the conclusion, all ascribed to their *hearts*. "They have not known nor understood; for he hath shut their eyes, that they cannot see; and *their hearts*, that they cannot understand. And none considereth *in his heart*, neither is there knowledge nor understanding, to say, I have burnt part of it in the fire, etc. He feedeth on ashes. *A deceived heart hath turned him aside*, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?" (Isa. xliv. 9–20.)

St. Paul asserts the same of the Gentiles in general. "They became vain in their imaginations, and *their foolish heart was darkened.* Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, *because of the blindness of their heart.*" (Rom. i. 21. Eph. iv. 18.) And he asserts the same of the Jews. That their blindness respecting Christ and the gospel was wholly in their hearts, or owing to the veil drawn over them by their opposition to God, and turning away from him; and that this blindness could not be removed unless their hearts were renewed and turned to the Lord. "Their minds were blinded. Even unto this day, when Moses is read, *the veil is upon their heart.* Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." (2 Cor. iii. 14–16.) The evangelist John says the same of the Jews, which Isaiah had long before said of them. "He hath blinded their eyes, *and hardened their hearts*, that they should not see with their eyes, *nor understand with their heart*, and be converted, and I should heal them." (John xii. 40.) So all their ignorance and errors are ascribed to their evil hearts in the following words, taken from the 95th Psalm: "Wherefore I was grieved with that generation, and said, *they do always err in their heart;* and they have not known my ways." (Heb. iii. 10.) "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now. He that hateth his brother, is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes." (1 John ii. 9, 11.) This darkness is here said to consist in the heart, in the evil disposition of that, in not loving but hating his brother, which is an exercise of the heart, and belongs to that only.

It hence appears why this darkness is always spoken of in divine revelation as criminal. It is sinful in every degree of it, as it consists in the moral depravity of the heart. This blindness of mind is not only connected with sinful depravity, but consists in the sinful exercises and lusts of the mind, and cannot be distinguished from sin in the heart. Sin is, in every degree and in every exercise of it, delusion and blindness itself; and when the heart is totally corrupt or sinful, which is true of every unrenewed heart, as has been proved, this blindness, this moral darkness, is total, and wholly excludes every degree of the opposite, which is called light, understanding, knowledge, and wisdom, in the Scriptures. It is, according to Scripture, a *wilful blindness*, being wholly owing to the opposition of the heart to the light of moral truth, or rather, consisting altogether in this. It is represented by closing the eyes to keep light out, however clearly it may shine, and can be kept

out by nothing but by not making a right use of the eyes — by refusing to open them. Men are naturally totally blind to the things of the moral world, except it be only in mere speculation, because they are totally corrupt, and wholly abuse and pervert the natural powers and faculties of their mind, and their capacity of moral exercises and true discernment, by loving darkness and hating the light. Consequently, this blindness is nothing but sin, and consists wholly in the criminal, inexcusable exercise of the will, or heart. Hence this darkness is condemned and forbidden by God in his Word; and they who are, in this sense, blind, are commanded to open their mental eye, — to renounce the darkness and delusions in which they are, and receive the knowledge of the truth in the love of it. "Hear, ye deaf, and look, ye blind, that ye may see." (Isa. xlii. 18.) "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." (Eph. v. 14.) And hence Christ, when he was on earth, and since his ascension to heaven, did so often say, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. He that hath an ear, let him hear."

And that the above representation of this matter is agreeable to truth and to Scripture is confirmed, beyond all dispute, by the most plain and express statement of it by our Savior himself. His words are, "He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light." (John iii. 18–20.) Believing on Christ implies a discerning the truth respecting the character of the Redeemer and redemption by him, and approving and loving it; and in this does faith consist. Unbelief is directly the opposite; it is blindness and darkness itself. St. Paul says, "If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: in whom the god of this world *hath blinded the minds of them which believe not.*" It consists in opposition to the most desirable, charming, glorious light and truth, and in hating it, and loving the opposite darkness. Therefore, this is a voluntary, chosen darkness; it is altogether criminal, and is that for which they are justly condemned.

It hence follows that the light and understanding which is opposed to this moral darkness does also belong to the heart, and implies a virtuous character, and does consist in true holiness, or moral excellence. And in this light it is represented in the sacred writings. What Solomon asks, and God promises to give him, is called *wisdom* and *knowledge* in one place, (2 Chron. i. 10, 11,) and in another place is called *a wise and*

understanding heart. (1 Kings iii. 9, 12.) Indeed, true wisdom has its seat in the heart, or will, and consists essentially in the right moral disposition of the mind, as has been shown; and it is abundantly evident that the word is generally used in this sense in the Scripture; and this, in Scripture, is the same with true light, or discerning, understanding, and knowledge. The virtuous, holy heart is an enlightened, wise, and understanding heart; and the totally depraved, vicious heart is darkness itself, — blind, foolish, and without understanding. That true light and knowledge — the knowledge of God — does not consist in mere speculation, but depends upon the heart, and consists in the moral disposition and exercises of that, is evident from the following words of God by Jeremiah: "I will give them *an heart to know me.*" (Jer. xxiv. 7.) Therefore, our Savior placed all holiness of heart, and all true happiness, in the knowledge of the only true God, and the Redeemer, — as the whole is comprehended in this. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." (John xvii. 3.) Agreeably to this the Psalmist says, "Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law: yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart. Give me understanding, and I shall live." (Ps. cxix. 34, 144.) That the illumination which takes place in the mind, in regeneration and conversion, respects the heart, and has its seat in that, is asserted by St. Paul in the following words: "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath *shined in our hearts*, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ." (2 Cor. iv. 6.) And that true light and knowledge implies renovation of heart, or true holiness, and is really the same thing, is evident from St. Paul's mentioning these as synonymous. In his Epistle to the Colossians he describes the new man, or renewed heart, in the following words: "And have put on the new man, which is *renewed in knowledge*, after the image of him that created him." (Col. iii. 10.) And, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, in describing the same new man, he uses these words: "And be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and put on the new man, which after God is created *in righteousness and true holiness.*" (Eph. iv. 23, 24.) From these two passages compared together it may be inferred with certainty that *knowledge* comprehends *righteousness* and *true holiness*, and is the same thing.

That true light and knowledge — the knowledge of God, which is peculiar to them who are renewed and born of the Spirit of God — is seated in the heart, and implies voluntary exercise, — even that love in which all holiness consists, according to Scripture, — may be proved from the following passage:

"Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God: *and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.* He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." (1 John iv. 7, 8.) In these words, *love* and *knowing God* are asserted to be so connected, that where love is there is the knowledge of God, and they who have no love do not know God. Hence it may be inferred that the knowledge of God is dependent on love; for he who does not love does not know him. There must, therefore, be this love in order to know God, as the latter cannot exist without the former, and does exist wherever the former exists. And it is further inferred that love and the knowledge of God cannot be distinguished, as the one implies the other, and are the same exercise of the heart. Loving God is knowing him, and knowing God is loving him. Love is the eye of the mind, by which the objects in the moral world are seen in a true light; and where this eye, this discerning, is not, the mind is in total darkness with respect to moral objects. The reason of this is here given, — "for God is love." As love comprehends all moral excellence, and in this the moral character of God consists, therefore, he who loveth not cannot have any true idea or conception of love; he cannot know the divine moral character, which is love. Love is here to be understood in its general nature — "every one that *loveth;*" "he that *loveth* not;" — that is, he whose heart is not formed to the exercise of universal, disinterested benevolence. This, as has been shown, comprehends all virtuous, holy love, and is the same affection, whether it be exercised towards God or our neighbor. All the difference is owing to the difference of the objects of this same love.

In this view it appears that the same thing is asserted by this apostle in the preceding part of this epistle. He says, "He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, even until now. But he that loveth his brother abideth in the light." (1 John ii. 9–11.) He that loveth is born of God, and is divinely illluminated, and knoweth God and the objects of the moral world, and walketh in the light. He that loveth not is in total darkness with respect to these objects: he hath not seen God, nor known him; for the pure in heart, only, — that is, they who love, — see God. (Matt. v. 8.) Love is the only light of the moral world. Could this be extinguished, all would be total darkness. And they who are fallen into the darkness of sin, or self-love, — in which all sin radically consists, as has been shown, — can be recovered to light by that renovation only, that purity of heart, which consists in love, or disinterested affection. Hence it appears that when this apostle says "God is light," (1 John i. 5,) and

"God is love," (1 John iv. 8,) he does not mean any thing really different by light and love, for they cannot be distinguished, but are the same thing. Light is love, and love is light.

This same sentiment, which is inculcated by the apostle John in the passages just considered, is also asserted by St. Paul, in the following words: "Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth. If any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know." That is, if any man who does not love, think he has true knowledge by mere speculation, and that all light and knowledge consists in this, and desires and seeks no other, he does yet know nothing respecting moral, spiritual objects, as he ought to know, and must know, in order to have the true knowledge of God. "But if any man love God, he (that is, God) is known by him." (1 Cor. viii. 1–3.) That is, if any man have love, he is illuminated, and has true light and knowledge, which does not consist in mere speculation, but in the sensations and taste of the heart, by which he discerns the divine character with approbation, and knows the only true God; which is the knowledge that all men *ought* to have, as they are commanded to love, and all their duty lies in this. All mere speculative knowledge that is possible to be attained without love, leaves men in total moral darkness, in the exercise of selfishness and pride, in opposition to every part and degree of their duty.

Agreeably to this, the same apostle says, "*With the heart* man believeth unto righteousness." (Rom. x. 10.) That light and discerning respecting the truths of the gospel and the character of Christ, which is implied in true faith, is not mere speculation, but depends on the disposition and exercises of the heart. Therefore, Christ says to the Jews, "How can ye believe, which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor which cometh from God only?" (John v. 44.) In these words it is declared that selfishness and pride, which are directly opposed to that love which consists in disinterested affection, do blind the mind to spiritual objects, and effectually shut out that light and discerning which is essential to faith in Christ; and that they only whose hearts are benevolent and humble, have the true light, and see spiritual objects as faith beholds them.

We are taught the same thing by Christ, when speaking expressly and particularly of illumination. His words are, "The light of the body is the eye. If, therefore, thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that dark-

ness!" (Matt. vi. 22, 23.) Our divine Teacher is here speaking of moral or spiritual light and darkness, and says, that these are as the eye of the mind is, and depend on the single or evil eye. If we attend to the Scripture, we may learn what is meant by the single and evil eye. Jesus Christ says, "From within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, *an evil eye*, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evil things come from within, and defile the man." (Mark vii. 21–23.) From these words we learn that an evil eye belongs to the heart, and is an exercise of the heart, as it cometh out of the heart. Therefore, it is of a moral nature, and is itself criminal, as it is called an *evil thing*, and is ranked among other things which are moral evils or sins, and defile men. We may infer from this with great certainty, that moral darkness belongs to the heart, and not the intellect, as distinguished from that, — that it consists in the exercise of the heart, and is in itself criminal in every degree of it.

And it may with equal certainty be determined, from other passages of Scripture, what is the particular nature of that disposition and exercise which is called an evil eye, and in what this evil eye consists. Our Lord represents the householder, who hired men to work in his vineyard, at different times in the day, and ordered his steward to give as much wages to those who had labored but one hour, as to those who had labored the whole day, as saying to one of the latter who complained of this, "Is thine *eye evil*, because I am good?" (Matt. xx. 15.) Here a contracted, selfish, envious spirit is called an evil eye, and is opposed to goodness of heart, or benevolence, which is here called a good eye, and must be the same with a single eye. An evil eye always means selfishness, and that affection of heart which is included in it, whenever it is mentioned in Scripture. There are the following instances of this. When God commands the Israelites to open their hand wide and give liberally to their poor brethren, he adds the following words: "Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, The seventh year, the year of release, is at hand: and *thine eye be evil* against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought, and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee." (Deut. xv. 9.) Here, again, an evil eye is a selfish disposition of heart, in opposition to goodness or benevolence of heart. The same thing is denoted by an evil eye in the following passages: "Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an *evil eye;* neither desire thou his dainty meat. For as he thinketh in his heart, so is he.

Eat and drink, saith he to thee; but his heart is not with thee." (Prov. xxiii. 6, 7.) Here his evil eye consists in the thoughts and disposition of his heart, which are opposed to his generous, benevolent expressions, and really against his guest, which can be nothing but a selfish, covetous disposition. "He that hasteth to be rich, hath an evil eye." (Prov. xxviii. 22.) Nothing but a selfish, inordinate craving, and a covetous spirit, will prompt men to make haste to be rich.

Having found what an evil eye is, that it consists in that disposition and those exercises of heart which are evil and criminal, in that self-love which is contrary to benevolence and true goodness of heart, and fills the mind with moral darkness, it is easy to determine what is meant by a single eye, viz., that disposition of heart which is opposed to selfishness. It is an upright, good, benevolent heart, or true, disinterested, benevolent love. This is evident from the passages of Scripture already mentioned. A liberal, benevolent disposition, and a good eye, which is the same, is set in opposition to an evil eye. The single eye is the same with a bountiful eye. "He that hath a *bountiful eye* shall be blessed: for he giveth of his bread to the poor." (Prov. xxii. 9.)

That the single eye consists in benevolence and goodness of heart, is evident, (if any further evidence be needed,) in that the word in the original απλους, translated *single*, when a substantive, απλοτης, is used for liberality, bountifulness, or benevolence. It is so used in the following passages of Scripture: "He that giveth, let him do it with *simplicity*." [απλοτητι.] That is, with a liberal, bountiful heart. (Rom. xii. 8.)

"How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, abounded unto the riches of their liberality." (2 Cor. viii. 2.) [απλοτητος] "Being enriched in every thing, *to all bountifulness*." (Chap. ix. 11.) [εις πασαν απλοτητα] "While, by the experiment of this ministration, they glorify God for your professed subjection unto the gospel of Christ, and for your *liberal distribution* [απλοτητι της κοινωνιας] unto them, and unto all men." (Verse 13.) "Who giveth to all men *liberally*, [απλως,] and upbraideth not." (James i. 5.)

It is easy to see that this representation of a single and an evil eye agrees exactly with those passages of Scripture which have been mentioned above, in which disinterested love, as opposed to selfishness, is spoken of as essential to true light and discerning, with respect to things of a moral nature: so that he who *loveth*, knoweth God, and he who loveth not, knoweth not God, and consequently has no true knowledge of the things of the moral world, but is in total darkness; and that self-love by which a man hateth his brother, is moral

darkness itself, and causeth him to walk in darkness. Herein the apostles perfectly agree with Jesus Christ, when he says that a single eye — that is, love, or a benevolent disposition of heart — is that which illuminates the mind, and is moral light and discerning; and that the evil eye — that is, selfishness — is moral darkness, and holds the mind in this darkness where it reigns. Love — or universal, disinterested benevolence, which implies all moral goodness, or righteousness and holiness — is the single eye which illuminates the mind, and fills the heart with moral, divine light. This *single eye* fixes on one grand object, — the glory of God, — which implies the greatest good of his eternal kingdom and the best good of every individual creature, so far as it tends to promote the general good, or is consistent with it. The evil eye is selfishness, and all that is implied in this; in which all moral evil, or sin, consists. This is moral blindness, or spiritual darkness; and, while the heart is under the dominion of this, all the light which is set before the man, and all his speculations, will not in the least remove this darkness, but all the light that is in him is darkness; and "how great is that darkness!"

The same thing is asserted by Jesus Christ in the following passages: "Every one that doeth evil" — that is, is wholly selfish in all he does — "hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doth truth," — he that loveth, — "cometh to the light." (John iii. 20, 21.) "If any man *will do his will*, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (John vii. 17.) He only doth the will of God who loveth: he shall know God and Christ; he, and he only, has light and discerning to see and know the truth, and distinguish it from error.

St. Paul sets this point in the same light when he says, "And this I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgment." (Phil. i. 9.) The word here translated "judgment" signifies taste and sensibility of heart, which is true moral light and discerning. This knowledge and judgment is here represented as consisting in love, or the concomitant or fruit of it.

The above scriptural account of the moral darkness of the minds of depraved men, and of divine illumination, or spiritual light and discerning, is agreeable to reason, and supported by it, and is implied in what has been generally granted by those who have attended to the subject. It has been generally, if not universally, conceded, and seems to be a plain dictate of reason and common sense, that the inordinate lusts of men, when they prevail and govern, do blind their minds with re-

spect to moral objects, so that those lusts and evil inclinations of men must be suppressed and mortified, in some degree at least, in order to their discerning these objects, and seeing them in a true and proper light. The man who gives himself up to covetousness and worldly pursuits, to unrighteousness or sensuality, must, by the reigning of any or all of these lusts, be blind to the beauty and excellence of spiritual, moral objects and truths, and those exercises of mind in which true virtue and holiness consist. And there is no other way to recover such a one to a true and proper discerning of the reality, importance, the beauty and excellence, of the truths and objects of the moral world, — including God, his law, Jesus Christ, the gospel, the nature and excellence of true religion, — but by an alteration in the taste, disposition, and desires of his heart, and recovering him to a contrary taste and disposition of mind.

And it is equally reasonable and certain that the more inward lusts of the heart — selfishness and pride, which are the essence, root, strength, and support of these lusts which have been mentioned, and of all others — should be attended with moral blindness where they reign, and are blindness and moral darkness itself, and that true illumination and moral light consist in an opposite disposition and taste of mind. Things of a moral nature have relation to the exercises of the heart; and sin and holiness consist in self-love and benevolence, as has been shown. He whose heart is destitute of benevolent affection can have no true idea of it, because ideas of exercises of heart are obtained by having exercises of that kind, and no other way. Therefore, he who exercises no true love knows not the true moral character of God, for this consists in love. And when this affection takes place in his heart, he has spiritual discerning, moral light breaks in upon his mind, he is turned from darkness to light, and sees and knows God in his true moral character, and has some right view of things of the moral world. Agreeably to this Solomon says, "Evil men understand not judgment; but they that seek the Lord understand all things." (Prov. xxviii. 5.)

This light and discerning, by which the true beauty and excellence of moral objects is seen, is not attainable by any kind or degree of mere intellectual speculation, as distinguished from relish and exercise of the heart. Moral beauty, amiableness, and excellence is not the object of mere intellect or understanding, as distinguished from the will or heart; it is the object of taste, which belongs to the heart, and implies inclination and exercise of heart, and consists in it. Beauty and amiableness is discerned by taste; and seeing beauty im-

plies inclination to it, or love of it. Benevolent, disinterested affection, which, as has been observed, is the single eye, is that in which true moral taste consists. This belongs to the heart, and, where this exists, things of the moral world appear in their true beauty and amiableness, and are relished and loved. On the contrary, self-love, which implies every sinful affection and lust, is that in which a wrong bias and taste of heart consists. It is blind to moral beauty; and those moral objects and affections in which all the true beauty, amiableness, and excellence in the universe consist, appear disagreeable and odious, so far as they are seen, which is real aversion and hatred of them. This is blindness indeed! — the only moral blindness, and the greatest darkness and delusion that can be in nature. It calls evil good, and good evil; it puts darkness for light, and light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.* (Isa. v. 20.)

This will appear more evident and clear, perhaps, by considering the nature and tendency of self-love, — which comprehends every vice and lust of the mind, and is exercised in all sin, — and the opposite nature of universal, disinterested benevolence, in which all true virtue is implied.

Self-love is an evil eye which will not admit the light that discovers, and brings into clear view, all the grand, beautiful, and glorious objects in the moral world. It is fast shut against all those, and excludes them wholly from sight. It sees and regards but one infinitely little, diminutive object — *self*. It sinks the mind down, and contracts it to this, and will not look at any other object, or interest, but this contracted, selfish one. It feels as if this was the great and only interest, and subordinates every other being and interest, and every possible public good, to a private, personal interest, seeing no other good but that which is suited to promote a personal, selfish good. This self-love is, therefore, in the nature of it, total blindness to the infinite importance of the being of God and the amiableness and excellence of his character, and to the

* All this is implied in what Hierocles, a heathen, has observed and asserted, viz., "The mind destitute of virtue cannot see the beauty of truth."

"Spiritual understanding consists primarily in *a sense of heart of spiritual beauty:* I say, *a sense of heart;* for it is not speculation, merely, that is concerned in this kind of understanding; nor can there be a clear distinction made between the two faculties of understanding and will, as acting distinctly and separately in this matter. When the mind is sensible of the sweet beauty and amiableness of a thing, that implies a sensibleness of sweetness and delight in the presence of the idea of it. And this sensibleness of the amiableness or delightfulness of beauty carries in the very nature of it the sense of the heart, or an effect and impression the soul is the subject of, as a subject possessed of taste, inclination, and will." — *Edwards on Gracious Affections*, pp. 163, 164. First edition.

worth and glory of his kingdom and desirableness of the greatest public good; and, consequently, does not see the amiableness and worth of that disinterested, universal benevolence which seeks the greatest good of the whole, and fixes on this as the grand and most desirable object, and subordinates the interest of individuals to the common interest and greatest good of the whole; and cannot have any relish or taste for this, but must be displeased with it, and hate it and all the beings who are of this character, — as they are disposed to sacrifice and give up all his personal interest, which he holds as the only good when necessary to promote the general good. This self-love, therefore, is enmity against God and the general good; and that affection must be hateful to the selfish person which seeks the glory of God, and the greatest good of his kingdom, and does not regard, but gives up, the interest of individuals so far as the latter is inconsistent with the former. Thus self-love is totally blind to the only great and real good in the universe, and to all the true beauty and excellence in it. This is the blindness, the darkness and deception, of every one who loves his own self only. This darkness, as it has its foundation in the heart, and consists in the reigning affection of it, cannot be removed by any merely intellectual light, knowledge and reasoning, but remains in its greatness and full strength whatever the understanding, considered as distinct from the will, may dictate, — as there is no connection between mere intellectual knowledge and the taste and inclination of the heart, and the former cannot alter the latter. This is verified, by experience, in the innumerable instances of the taste and inclination of the heart contradicting and counteracting the conviction and dictates of the understanding, — the former choosing that as good and best, and pursuing it, while the latter pronounces it to be wrong and evil.*

Disinterested, universal benevolence, or that disposition of heart which implies this, which is "an honest and good, or benevolent heart," is the SINGLE EYE. This gives that light to the mind in which it discerns the grand objects comprised in universal being, and sees what is the true, the greatest and only

* This was perceived by a heathen poet, and expressed in the following words: —

Sed trahit invitam nova vis, aliudque cupido;
Mens aliud suadet. Video meliora proboque:
Deteriora sequor. — *Ovid.*

Translated thus: —

"My reason *this*, my passion *that*, persuades;
I see the right, and I approve it too, —
Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

good of the universe, and fixes on this as the first object of choice and pursuit. This brings into view the first cause of all, the infinite source, and the sum of all being, as really existing, and sees him to be the first and great object of regard and benevolence. This discerns, tastes, and relishes the true moral beauty and excellence of universal benevolence, approves of it and delights in it as the supreme moral good, and as comprehending the whole of it. It sees God as infinitely great and infinitely benevolent, or good, rejoices in his felicity and glory, and says, "Let him reign supreme, and be glorified to the highest degree forever," as involving the greatest good, the highest happiness and glory of his kingdom. It is pleased with the divine moral character comprehended in his infinite benevolence or goodness, and delights in it above all things else. Thus he who *loveth*, knoweth God, for God is *love*.

And he who has this *honest and good heart*, this disinterested, benevolent affection, sees the beauty, importance, righteousness, and goodness of the law of God, which requires perfect love, universal benevolence, with all that affection which is involved in it, of every moral agent, on pain of his highest displeasure. He consequently sees all opposition to this law to be infinitely odious and detestable; and, therefore, views his own character, as a sinner, as unspeakably hateful, and abhors himself, and sees the reason why God does hate all sin, and the propriety and desirableness that he should express and manifest his high displeasure at it, and infinite opposition to it, in threatening it with a just, deserved, endless punishment. And by all this, he is prepared to behold and understand the gospel, and see the truth, wisdom, and glory of it, which exhibits infinite benevolence in the most advantageous and striking light, and is suited in the best manner to promote the honor of God, and the greatest happiness of his kingdom; and the character of Christ will come into view as infinitely amiable, worthy, and important, and the benevolent heart will approve, love, and rejoice. This is that knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, which is eternal life. It is the light of life, which is the attainment of all the followers of Christ He who hath this love, "abideth in the light, and there is no occasion of stumbling in him." (John viii. 12; xvii. 3. 1 John ii. 10.)

From all that has been now observed on this subject, it is easy to see that divine illumination is effected by the renovation of the heart of man by the Spirit of God, by which it is no longer wholly selfish, and under the dominion of pride and lust, but is formed to universal, disinterested benevolence, or true love. Nothing is wanting but such a change of heart, in

order to the true light of the moral world shining into it. By this renovation the single eye is formed, and the mind is full of light. This is that change and illumination which is ascribed in Scripture to the Spirit of God. This is that change of heart which Jesus calls a being born again of the Spirit, without which men cannot *see* the kingdom of God. (John iii. 3, 5.) And by which their eyes are opened, and they are turned from darkness to marvellous light, and know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. By this renovation a wise and understanding heart is given, and God gives a *heart to know him;* and he shines in the heart by giving this single eye, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ. (Jer. xxiv. 7. 2 Cor. iv. 6.) This is the same with giving a new heart and a new spirit, (Ezek. xxxvi. 26,) and is expressed in the following words: "I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts. And they shall not teach every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; *for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest.*" (Heb. viii. 10, 11.) Jesus Christ speaks of this illumination when he says, "It is written in the prophets, And they shall all be *taught of God.* Every one, therefore, that hath heard, and hath *learned* of the Father, cometh unto me." (John vi. 45.) And when he says to Peter, upon his professing his faith in him as the Christ, the Son of the living God, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. xvi. 17.) St. Paul speaks of this renovation of heart as necessary in order to true light and knowledge, and that the latter is implied in the former. "Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed, *by the renewing of your mind,* that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." (Rom. xii. 2.)

This illumination, therefore, does not consist in discovering or revealing to men any new truth not already made known and contained in divine revelation; but in forming the heart to true discerning, and hereby opening the eye of the mind to see the truths revealed in the Scriptures; or in forming the single eye, which will receive the light which before shined, but was not admitted, and could not shine in the heart, because the eye was evil and shut against the truth. This is expressed by the Psalmist, in the following words: "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law." (Ps. cxix. 18.) The Scriptures contain a fulness of moral light and instruction; they will make him wise unto salvation who understands and believes, who discerns the truths there revealed. There is, therefore, no need that any new truth

should be immediately suggested to the mind which is not contained in the Bible. All that is wanting, is, to have the mind disposed and prepared to receive the light which is extant and shines in the Word of God: this is to have a single eye, a new, benevolent heart. He who has such a heart, is hereby brought into a new moral world; sees the things revealed in the Scriptures in a new light; they now appear in their reality and divinity, beautiful, consistent, harmonious, important, and affecting, as they never did before, infinitely above any thing else that can be imagined. Thus the light shines in the heart to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ. (2 Cor. iv. 6.) This establishes the heart in a belief and assurance of the truth of the gospel and of divine revelation, as no degree of mere speculation can do. This is expressed by St. John in the following words: "We know that the Son of God is come, and *hath given us an understanding* that we may know him that is true. This is the true God, and eternal life." (1 John v. 20.)

As the renovation of the heart is but in a small degree at first, and the eye of the mind is not fully opened at once, but this work is begun in an imperfect degree, and carried on to perfection; so this light is comparatively small and imperfect in the beginning, and gradually increases, and the Christian grows in grace, in holiness, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which implies the knowledge of all divine things. "The path of the just is as the shining light, which shineth more and more to the perfect day." And as the enlightened mind sees but in part in this world, and is never omniscient, some truths and objects are more particularly and clearly in view at one time, and others at another; which may be owing to particular divine, internal influence, or the agency of other invisible beings, or to external circumstances and occurrences, all which are under the immediate influence and guidance of the omnipotent, omnipresent, all-wise Being, who worketh all in all. (1 Cor. xii. 6.)

It is proper to observe here, that though the heart or will be the seat of this illumination, and moral light and darkness are as the disposition of the heart is, yet the whole mind, in all the faculties of it, is concerned, and some way included and affected, in this affair. Intellectual light and conviction, considered as distinct from the heart, is included in this illumination. Ideas are conveyed to the heart by this medium. Where there are no speculative ideas, which are in some measure agreeable to the truth, and no right judgment and conviction respecting intellectual objects, the benevolent heart will not be properly illuminated, or be under advantage to

exercise itself properly towards external objects. When the single eye is formed, it will receive light and view the objects of moral sight by the medium of the intellect. Therefore, there appears to be a propriety that there should be some degree of speculative light and conviction in the minds of the adult, before a new heart or single eye is given, in order to prepare them to discern the truth properly and to have exercises agreeable to it.

And when a new heart, a single eye, is given, it will help to rectify the mistakes which may have been made by the intellectual judgment, as the latter is influenced and biased in judging of things by the taste and inclination of the heart. So far as the heart is honest and good, the prejudices which bias the speculative judgment will be removed, and the mind will speculate more clearly, and a conviction of the truth will be more clear, strong, and steady, and the attention of the mind to moral, divine subjects will be more fixed and engaged, and a foundation is laid for the enlargement of the mind in intellectual knowledge of these things and the rational powers of the soul; for the taste and benevolent exercises of the new heart are perfectly rational, and will be approved by right reason and a rectified judgment. Thus, by the renovation of the heart, forming it to a right taste, a disposition to disinterested benevolence, all the powers of the soul are sanctified; the ignorance and mistakes of reason and judgment, which originated from an evil eye, or self-love, are removed; the whole mind is enlightened, and all the faculties of the soul harmonize and do their office well. When the heart is perfectly right in the exercise of benevolent, disinterested affection, the soul is full of light, and the man is perfectly holy in all his faculties and powers.

The sum of what has been said above on the subject of divine illumination is this. As all mankind are, while in their natural state, totally depraved and sinful, and this depravity is in the nature of it moral darkness, they are wholly blind to the things of the Spirit of God. This blindness has its foundation in the heart, and consists in the wrong taste and sinful inclination of that, and not in any natural defect in the intellectual and reasoning faculties of the soul, as distinguished from the inclination of the heart. This blindness is, therefore, a *wilful blindness*, as it consists in the disposition and exercise of the heart or will. They have eyes, they have all the natural mental faculties which are necessary to discern spiritual things, as well as any other objects: but they see them not, because they voluntarily shut their eyes, and refuse to open them and admit the light which shines around them, as this light of divine truth is above all things disagreeable to them; they hate it,

and will not come unto it, lest their deeds should be reproved. This blindness is, therefore, wholly the fault of man, and criminal in every degree of it, being moral depravity itself. It consists in self-love, which implies the whole of moral depravity, of every thing in the heart that is or can be contrary to the law of God. This is the evil eye which fills the whole mind with moral darkness. This is blindness to invisible spiritual things, does not see the beauty, consistence and harmony of moral truth, and, therefore, has no sense and cordial belief of their reality, or that they do indeed exist, whatever reason and speculative judgment may dictate. Therefore, "the fool," every man in his natural state, who is in this moral darkness, "saith in his heart, There is no God." (Ps. xiv. 1.) This is the feeling and language of a heart wholly depraved and under the power of self-love, which cannot be removed by any mere speculations and reasoning on the subject, so long as the heart is thus wholly corrupt, and this selfishness and pride, with all the lusts implied in this, tend to weaken and pervert the reasoning powers of the mind, and bribe and bias the reason and speculative judgment, so as to reject the truth and embrace error in speculation, respecting things of a moral nature. And this is the ground and source of all the false, unreasonable reasoning, and errors in judgment upon subjects of a moral nature, which do take place among mankind; and, therefore, all false reasoning, and every error and delusion in speculation and judgment, is blamable and sinful, as all these have their foundation in the corrupt biases of the heart, and are altogether governed and produced by them.

The real Christian is, in becoming such, turned from this darkness to marvellous light, which is effected by the omnipotent influences of the Spirit of God, in the renovation of the heart, which was before totally corrupt, forming it to disinterested, universal benevolence, and so making it an honest and good heart; and forming the single eye, by which the truths revealed in the Scriptures relating to the being and perfections of God, his law and moral government, the state and character of man, the character and works of the Mediator, the way of salvation by him, the nature of duty and true holiness, etc., are seen in their true light, as realities, beautiful, divine, important, excellent, harmonious, glorious, and above all things else interesting and affecting, and the mind is filled with this spiritual, marvellous, glorious light. By this all the powers of the mind are enlarged and strengthened. Reason and judgment, being no longer biased by an evil heart, are rectified, and the reasoning, speculative faculty is exerted in an honest, attentive pursuit in the investigation of truth.

Though the blindness of man in his natural, totally depraved state be of a moral nature, and voluntary, and, therefore, wholly criminal, yet it is as great, and is as much beyond the power of means to remove it, and the man is as far from recovering himself to light, as if the blindness was owing to an essential defect in the natural powers of the soul; and the immediate, almighty energy of the divine Spirit is as necessary to remove this darkness, and illuminate the mind, as if natural faculties were wanting. Therefore, this illumination is constantly ascribed in the Scripture to God, as the agent and cause in producing this effect. It is a common observation, in which all agree, *that none are blinder than they who* WILL NOT *see.* They have eyes, but see not. He who has eyes, and shuts them fast, and will not open them to admit the light from an obstinate aversion for the light, is as much in the dark as he who has no eyes; and the former can be no more made to see than the latter, so long as his will is obstinately set against opening his eyes; and it may require the same power and agent to alter his disposition, and give him a contrary one, that is necessary to give eyes to him who has none. Yea, in the case before us a greater exertion of power is necessary to form the single eye than to create the natural faculties of the soul; for the former is effected in opposition to the whole strength of the will, and of Satan who possesses the corrupt heart, and blinds the mind of them who do not believe, whereas there can be no opposition to the latter. Therefore, this illumination is said, in the Scripture, to be the effect of the exceeding great and mighty power of God. (Eph. ii. 19. 2 Thess. i. 11.)

IMPROVEMENT.

I. From the view we have now had of divine illumination, we are led particularly to reflect on the mistake many have made in supposing that this saving light is communicated to the understanding independent of the will, or heart, and considered as a power distinct from it; — that this light has its seat in the understanding, and belongs to that, and not to the will, — the former, and not the latter, being the leading, governing power of the mind. This is not agreeable to the representation of the matter in the Scripture, as has been shown. And this is not only unscriptural, but leads to dangerous and hurtful consequences.

It has not been uncommon to represent the moral depravity of man to consist in the understanding being darkened, as a

distinct thing from the moral disorders and corruption of the heart, and to speak of enlightening the understanding and subduing the will, or renewing the heart, as two distinct and different operations. This tends to darken and confuse the subject of divine illumination, and places it in that in which it does not consist according to the Scriptures. And it represents the blindness of men to things of the Spirit of God as a natural defect, and not in the least criminal, since the understanding, as distinguished from the will or heart, is not capable of virtue, or vice, or of any thing that is criminal. For whatever darkness there be in the understanding, which is independent of the will and does not originate from that, it is not a moral disorder, but purely natural, and, therefore, cannot be blamable. This way of representing this matter has, therefore, doubtless led many to consider the darkness in which all unrenewed men are, with respect to the things of the Spirit of God, as being in no degree criminal; and many, if not most, who have considered themselves in this state of darkness, have viewed it only as an unhappiness, and not as their sin.

Others have supposed that nothing is necessary in order to enlighten men, and their becoming virtuous and holy, but to have light take place in the understanding; — that the proper illumination of this will influence and gain the will to a compliance with that which reason dictates to be truth — to be right and best. Of these, some suppose that nothing is done in order to enlighten the understanding, and lead men to reason and judge right, but to set light before them by external application in a way suited to excite the attention, etc. Others suppose a powerful divine operation is necessary to let that light and conviction into the understanding which will effectually move the will to choose that which is right, and persuade the heart to love God and embrace the gospel, etc. Both these really deny the moral depravity of man either expressly or implicitly, — at least, that the heart is totally corrupt. For, if the will be always disposed and ready to comply with the truth, whenever the understanding is convinced of it and sees it, then the will is not depraved, there is no obstinacy and rebellion in the heart. All the defect is in the understanding, in not dictating the truth to the heart. But this defect in the understanding, however great it may be, is not a moral, but a natural defect; for, as has been shown, the understanding, considered as not including the will or heart, or the mere speculative faculty of the soul, is not a moral faculty, and is not capable of virtue or vice. According to this, the heart cannot be faulty while it acts according to the dictates of the understanding, whatever they may be, which it is supposed always

to do, and, therefore, never can be guilty of any moral evil; and the understanding, as such, and as distinguished from the will, is incapable of fault. Therefore, there can be no such thing as moral evil, or sin: to be sure, *man* is not capable of any such thing.

It appears, from what has been said on this subject, that all these suppositions are contrary to the representation which the Scripture gives of this matter, and not agreeable to reason, or to fact and experience. They who thus set the understanding, or intellect — considered as a faculty distinct from the will — first, as the leading faculty of the soul, by which the will is, in all cases, directed and governed, do certainly make a great mistake, and turn things upside down. The will is the only active faculty of the soul. The understanding, so far as it can be considered as a distinct faculty, and not implying any degree of will, is wholly passive, and not capable of action. Every motion and action of the mind of man is *voluntary*, and, therefore, is the motion or action of the will. All mental exercise originates in the will, which is the seat of all moral action.

Besides, they suppose what is, in the nature of things, absolutely impossible, and build their whole theory upon it, viz.: that the understanding, independent of the heart, is capable of receiving or having a true idea of moral exercise, or of the real beauty and excellence of the things of the Spirit of God. Such ideas suppose taste and affection of heart, without which they cannot be perceived, or take place in the mind. This is as impossible as that a blind man should have a true idea of the beauty of light and colors, or that a man may perceive the sweetness of honey, and be pleased with it, by mere reasoning upon it, or touching it with his finger, while he has not the least degree of taste or relish for it, as has been before observed.

II. From what has been said on this subject, other mistakes which have been made about divine illumination are detected, and appear to be delusive and dangerous. Some have thought they were savingly enlightened by their being led to see, in an unaccountable manner to them, an extraordinary external light and brightness, — either by their bodily eyes, or in their imagination, — which has affected them much. Or, they have had their eyes opened, as they suppose, clearly to see Christ on the cross, or seated in heaven; and heaven, and the inhabitants of it, have been seen by them, etc. All things of this kind are as far from spiritual discoveries as darkness is from light, and are mere imaginary conceptions, of which he who has the most depraved heart is as capable as any other person. And, as they do not suppose a renewed heart, so they have no tendency to make it better.

Others have thought themselves divinely taught and illuminated, by having some new thing, which they call truth, suggested to their minds by a voice from heaven, or some immediate impulse, which is not contained in the Bible. And not a few, instead of learning their duty from the Bible, have expected and thought they have had light and direction given to them immediately from heaven to make known what they were to say and do, and have thought themselves directed in all their actions by some invisible, divine impulse. All these are not only entirely different from divine illumination, but are dangerous delusions, and have proved fatal to many who have depended upon them.

Imaginary ideas may attend divine illumination, and often do in this very imperfect state; — that is, a person may have a discerning heart given to him, by which he sees the saving truth, yet, by the influence of his imagination, he may have many ideas imposed on his mind, which accompany the true light which shines in his heart. But these mere imaginary ideas are no part of the truth which the enlightened mind sees, and, therefore, ought not to be regarded as such.

III. We are led by this subject more particularly to reflect upon the total and very great criminality of moral blindness, which is opposed to divine illumination. This has been brought into view in considering this subject, and it is of importance that it should be always remembered, believed, and realized by every person. Since this darkness consists wholly in the sinful inclinations of the heart, it must be wholly sinful; and the greater, the more strong and fixed, it is, the more criminal it must be. The necessity of divine influence and power in order to remove this darkness, is so far from proving it no crime, that it is a demonstrative evidence that it is a very great crime, as it is so strongly fixed in the heart. We are, and must be, under obligation to understand and approve all that moral truth of which our natural capacities are capable, and which we have opportunity and are under advantage to see. All that blindness and error which is contrary to this, and prevents our seeing it, is contrary to our obligation, — a violation of it, — and, therefore, altogether criminal. There is a great difference between a person who has no eyes, — and, therefore, cannot see the light, it being naturally impossible, — and another who has good eyes, but, from an aversion from seeing, shuts them fast, and will not open them to admit the light. The former cannot be under obligation to see, or blamed for not seeing; the latter may, and it is wholly his own fault that he does not see. The Scripture represents moral blindness by this, and says, men

have eyes and see not, because they hate the light, and shut their eyes.

We are wholly blamable and have no excuse for all our blindness respecting the things of the Spirit of God, and for every error and mistake into which we fall concerning things of a moral nature; and the greater our blindness is, and the more gross and numerous are our errors and mistakes in these things, and the more clear the light is which is set before us, the more inexcusable and guilty we are. Our Savior says, "If the light which is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!" And we are prepared now to say, if all this great darkness be wholly criminal, and that in proportion to the greatness of it, how great is our guilt!

IV. How reasonable is it that men should be called upon and commanded to open their eyes and see, in a moral sense! It has been observed that God does so in the Scripture. He says, "O ye simple, understand wisdom; and ye fools, be ye of an understanding heart." (Pr. viii. 5.) If men be wholly blamable for not seeing when God has given them capacity to see and sets light before them, and their blindness be wholly wilful, no reason can be given why they should not be exhorted and commanded to do what they ought to do, and can have no excuse for not doing it, however fixed and obstinate they are in their blindness, and however far they are from a disposition, or moral power, or possibility, to come to the light, from their fixed and strong hatred of it; so that they never will obey, if left to themselves. It is of great importance that this should be well understood and believed, as it is necessary in order to our understanding the Scripture, and our own character and blamableness.

CHAPTER XIII.

SAVING FAITH.

SECTION I.

THERE have been, and still are, various and opposite opinions in the Christian world, and among Protestants, respecting saving faith, and very different definitions have been given of it. Instead of particularly describing these, and attempting to refute

any of them now, it is proposed to examine the Scriptures, and endeavor from them to find what is the nature, and what are the properties, of this faith; and, if, in this way, which is doubtless the most proper to be taken, a clear and satisfactory idea of this subject may be obtained, all erroneous opinions respecting it, which have been imbibed and propagated, will, of course, be detected. In this view the following things may be observed: —

I. Saving faith is represented in many passages of Scripture as consisting in a belief and assurance of the truth and reality of those things which are revealed and asserted by God in the divine oracles; or a conviction and assured knowledge that the Gospel is true; that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and the Savior of the world; and they who have this belief, assurance, or knowledge, are considered and declared to be in a state of salvation.

This is the account given of faith in the most express definition of it in the Bible. "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen." (Heb. xi. 1.) Here faith is described in the general nature of it, and is said to be that by which invisible and future things are seen as evident realities. Hence it appears, that he who realizes and is assured of the truths contained in divine revelation, has true faith, by which men believe to the saving of their souls. which is the faith here defined, as appears from the words immediately preceding these, in the last verse of the foregoing chapter: "We are of them that believe to the saving of the soul. Now faith," etc.

When Peter said to Jesus, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Jesus answered and said unto him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Upon this we may observe, —

1. That the faith which Peter professes, is a belief and assurance that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed the Son of God, the Messiah who was to come into the world.

2. That Christ declares this to be saving faith, in pronouncing Peter blessed upon this, and asserting that this faith was the effect of divine, supernatural influences.

Very parallel to this is what St. John asserts concerning faith. "Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God. God dwelleth in him, and he in God." (1 John iv. 15.) This is the same confession which Peter made, and this is here declared to be peculiar to a good man, a true Christian who shall be saved. By confessing that Jesus is the Son of God, is meant a sincere and true declaration of a belief and assur-

ance of this truth. Such a belief and assurance of this truth is the only proper ground of this confession, and is saving faith. Both these passages are explained and illustrated by the following words of this same apostle: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." (Chap. v. 1.) Here a belief of this single proposition, *Jesus is the Christ*, is asserted to be justifying, saving faith, which is peculiar to those who are born of God.

The same description of saving faith is found in the words of St. Paul: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." (Rom. x. 9.) To believe that Jesus was raised from the dead, is the same with believing that Jesus is the Christ; and this is here asserted to be saving faith. This same faith the eunuch professed, upon which he was baptized by Philip, and admitted among the number of true believers in Christ. "And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." (Acts viii. 37.) Agreeably to this Christ says, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." (John xvii. 3.) Here eternal life is connected with having a true idea or knowledge of God and the Savior, or seeing their true character and believing them to be such as they are. This, therefore, must be the same with that faith to which our Savior so often promises salvation, and without which he repeatedly says men cannot be saved.

In all these passages faith is represented as that by which the truth is seen, so that the truths of the gospel become present and real to the mind, attended with an assurance of their truth and reality; and that this belief of the truth, with what it necessarily includes, is the whole of saving faith, and is the same thing which is elsewhere called "coming to the light." (John iii. 31.) "Being in the light." (1 John ii. 9.) "Knowing the truth." (John viii. 31.) "Coming to the knowledge of the truth." (1 Tim. ii. 4.) "A belief of the truth." (2 Thess. ii. 13.) "A being illuminated." (Heb. x. 32.) "The light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ shining in the heart." (2 Cor. iv. 6.) "Beholding, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord." (Chap. iii. 18.)

II. Saving faith, in a number of places, is represented in a light which, to some, especially at first view, may appear different from the description of it in the forementioned passages, if not contrary to it. It is considered and represented as consisting in the exercise of the heart and choice of the will; this being essential to it, and including the whole.

Believing on the name of Christ, and *receiving him*, is mentioned as being one and the same thing: "But to as many as *received him*, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that *believe on his name*." (John i. 12.) Here receiving Christ, and *believing on him*, are synonymous expressions, and must mean the same thing. But receiving Christ is an exercise of will or choice, and is the same thing with voluntarily embracing him, as he is offered in the gospel. Faith in Christ, or believing on him, is termed *coming to him*, as being one and the same. "He that *cometh to me*, shall never hunger; and he that *believeth on me*, shall never thirst." (John vi. 35.) As hungering and thirsting are the same mental exercise, so are believing on Christ and coming to him. This is further evident from the words following: "But I said unto you, that ye also have seen me, and *believe not*. All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and he that *cometh to me*, I will in no wise cast out." (Verses 36, 37.) Here Christ speaks of *coming to him*, as the condition of salvation by him, and as directly the reverse to *not believing on him*, with which he charges the Jews; and, therefore, by coming to him he can mean nothing but saving faith, even the same which he, in this discourse, repeatedly calls *believing on him*. (Verses 35, 40, 47.) It may be also observed, that what Christ here calls *not believing*, he in another place denotes by *not coming to him*. "Ye will not *come unto me*, that ye might have life." (Chap. v. 40.) The charge of *not coming to him*, and *not believing on him*, is evidently the same. And that coming to Christ is the same with believing on him, is confirmed from the evident synonymous use of those phrases in the words which follow those which have been mentioned. "And this is the will of the Father, that every one that seeth the Son and *believeth on him*, may have everlasting life. No man can *come unto me*, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him. Every man, therefore, that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, *cometh unto me*. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he *that believeth on me*, hath everlasting life." (John vi. 40, 44–47.) And we find him speaking again after the same manner. "If any man thirst, let him *come unto me* and drink. He that *believeth on me*, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters." (John vii. 37, 38.)

Faith in Christ is denoted by *eating his flesh*, and *drinking his blood*. (John vi. 50, 51, 53, 54, 56–58.) "Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." It is not only evident from the words themselves, that by eating his flesh and drinking his blood, that uniting act of the soul to Christ is expressed, which

is necessary in order to enjoy what he has obtained for men, which must be saving faith; but this is yet more evident by comparing them with the foregoing words, of which these are evidently designed as an explanation: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life." (Verse 47.) And again, "This is the will of him that sent me, that every one that seeth the Son, and *believeth on him*, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day." (Verse 40.) Here eternal life, and to be raised up by Christ at the last day, is promised in one place to believing on Christ, and in the other to *eating his flesh and drinking his blood;* therefore, it is certain that these are not two different things, but one and the same, which is connected with eternal life, and the condition of enjoying it. But eating the flesh of Christ, and drinking his blood, can mean nothing less than voluntary exercise, by which, from a taste and relish for the character of Christ and his excellence, the heart receives and embraces him as a suitable and all-sufficient Savior.

Calling on the name of Christ is spoken of as an exercise of faith, or a proper expression of faith in him. For the Scripture saith, "Whosoever *believeth on him* shall not be ashamed. For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that *call upon him.* For whosoever shall *call upon the name of the Lord*, shall be saved." (Rom. x. 11–13.) No one who attends to these words can suppose that believing on Christ, and calling on his name, are two distinct things, or doubt whether they are one and the same exercise.

To the same purpose are those Scriptures which represent faith in Christ by *looking unto him* and *trusting in him.* "Look unto me, all the ends of the earth, and be ye saved." (Isa. xlv. 22.) Here looking to Christ, and salvation, are connected; and this is represented as necessary to salvation, and the only condition of it. But this is the same thing with seeking him, coming to him, and accepting of him. In this passage there is doubtless a reference to the direction which God gave to the Israelites to set a brazen serpent upon a pole, in the wilderness, with a promise that every one who, being bitten of a fiery serpent, looked upon it, should live. For this was a designed type of Christ, which our Savior therefore applies to himself; and at the same time declares that looking upon the exalted serpent, denoted faith in him. "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever *believeth in him* should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John iii. 14, 15.)

Trusting in God is often mentioned in the Book of Psalms,

and in other parts of the Old Testament, as necessary in order to enjoy his favor, to which promises of all good are made, in the same manner as faith in Christ is in the New Testament; from whence it may be safely inferred that they are the same. And agreeably to this, believing in Christ is called *trusting in him*, by St. Paul. "That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first *trusted in Christ*." (Eph. i. 12.) "Isaiah saith, There shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles *trust*." (Rom. xv. 12.) *Trust in Christ* implies the exercise of the disposition or will, even the receiving and embracing of the heart: for men do not trust in any person or object for any thing but that which to them is a GOOD, what is agreeable to them, what they desire and choose. Yea, *trusting* is commonly used with respect to some great good upon which men set their hearts, and depend upon it for support, satisfaction, and happiness; and that trusting in Christ is the same with looking and coming to him, and seeking him, will be evident from the last-mentioned passage, by turning to the words of Isaiah, from which it is taken: for what the apostle renders, "In him shall the Gentiles *trust*," is in the following words in the place quoted, "To it (that is, to Christ) shall the Gentiles *seek*."

From these passages of Scripture, and many others of the like tenor, it may be determined with certainty, that saving faith implies the consent of the will, accepting of Christ; choosing and embracing him, as he is revealed in the gospel; and that this is essential to it; so that where this exercise and consent of heart is not, there is no faith, and no real and proper conviction, knowledge, or belief of the truth.

And if what has been said in the foregoing section, on divine illumination, be understood and kept in mind, the account we have had of saving faith from the Scripture, under the two preceding observations, will appear to be consistent and intelligible. It has been there proved from Scripture, that a right disposition of mind is necessary in order to have that true discerning in things of a moral and spiritual nature which is implied in saving faith; and that seeing and understanding the truths of the gospel implies exercise of heart, and the former cannot be distinguished and separated from the latter, even in idea and conception. Therefore, a saving belief of the truth of the gospel supposes and implies right exercises of heart, in tasting and relishing moral beauty, and embracing it as good and excellent, and thus embracing Christ and the gospel implies all that light, conviction, and assurance of the truth, which is essential to saving faith; and both these, or rather, *all this*, is really but one and the same whole.

The gospel is all of a *moral* nature; by it is exhibited the plan of the moral government of God, or his moral, spiritual kingdom, to the best advantage, in the clearest and most striking light. In *this* is the greatest and most clear manifestation of the Deity; and it comprises the sum of all the moral beauty and excellence that is to be seen by created intelligences, in the whole universe. In Jesus Christ, the glory of God, his moral beauty and perfection, shines with the brightest effulgence, and to the greatest advantage. The glory of God, the bright emanation of the divine fulness, beauty, and perfection, is to be seen in the face of Jesus Christ. (2 Cor. iv. 6.) He is the image of God. In him, as in a mirror, the rays of the divine glory centre, and by him are to the greatest advantage reflected on all finite intelligences. He, therefore, who sees Jesus Christ in his true character, as a beautiful, suitable, and all-sufficient Savior, or understands the gospel, sees and understands what is the sum of all moral beauty and perfection; which is the glory of the gospel, and infinitely distinguishes it from every thing which is merely human, or is not divine, and without which the gospel would be infinitely unworthy of God, and want the evidence which the believer has that it is from God. Therefore, he who discerns not this moral beauty and excellence, which is the same with having no taste of heart for it, the gospel is hid from him. He does not understand it; has no true idea of Jesus Christ; and, consequently, discerns not the proper and all-convincing evidence that he is the Son of God, and a suitable and all-sufficient Savior: therefore, does not, and cannot, believe it with that faith which it demands.

But such a true idea of Jesus Christ, such a knowledge of him in his true character, such a sight of his moral beauty and excellence, supposes and takes place in the exercise of a right taste and disposition of heart, without which it cannot possibly be perceived. For, as has been proved, a discerning and sight of beauty, especially of moral beauty and excellence, depends upon the taste and disposition of the heart, and it cannot be discerned by the speculative understanding, as distinct from the will, and independent of it. But such taste and disposition of heart, which discerns the moral beauty and excellence of Christ and the gospel, and opens to the mind the all-convincing evidence of their reality, necessarily implies and carries in it approbation of the gospel, and a cordial embracing it as excellent and divine, which is the same with receiving Jesus Christ, and trusting in him as a worthy and all-sufficient Savior.

All this, it is presumed, has been made so evident in the foregoing section, from Scripture and the reason and nature of things, that it is needless to enlarge on the subject here,

or repeat what has been said there. However, it may be proper to mention several passages of Scripture, in addition to those there cited, which represent that light, knowledge, and belief respecting the truths of the gospel, in which saving faith consists, to imply a right temper of mind, which is the same with a benevolent heart, without which there can be no true light and discerning with respect to those things, and, therefore, no saving faith; — and, consequently, that an evil heart — that is, a rebellious, disobedient heart, under the power of selfishness, pride, and lust — does not and cannot believe on Jesus Christ with that faith which is reasonable, and which the gospel requires.

Christ says to the unbelieving Jews, "How can ye believe which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only?" (John v. 44.) Here a selfish, proud, worldly spirit, which alienated them from God, and rendered them so unfriendly to him as not to desire the honor which he gives, is represented as inconsistent with believing on Christ, or a sight of that evidence of the truth of the gospel which is implied in saving faith. Therefore, a contrary temper of mind to this is necessary in order to believe in Christ, and is implied in saving faith, which must be a benevolent, humble, spiritual disposition, which is friendly to the divine character, and sincerely desires the spiritual blessings which he gives — the honor which cometh from God. According to this, all the mere speculative knowledge — all the light and conviction — relating to the truths of the gospel, of which unrenewed men are capable, falls essentially short of true faith in Christ, so that they are wholly destitute of any thing of the kind. Therefore, men must have an obedient, holy disposition of heart in order to exercise saving faith. It is with such a renewed heart that men believe unto righteousness. (Rom. x. 10.) With such a heart the eunuch believed on Christ. (Acts viii. 37.) St. John asserts this in the strongest terms, in the following words: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God." (1 John v. 1.) Thus faith in Christ implies renovation of heart — a right disposition of mind. Where this is not, there can be no faith.

We find the same thing implied and inculcated in our Savior's parable of the sower, as he explains it. (Matt. xiii. 23. Mark iv. 20. Luke viii. 15.) He that received seed into good ground is he who, with an *honest and good heart*, heareth the word, understandeth, receiveth, and keepeth it, and bringeth forth fruit with patience. Upon this it may be observed, that what is called *understanding the word*, by Matthew, is expressed by *receiving* it, by Mark. From

hence it is certain that understanding the word is the same with receiving it, or, at least, that one implies the other. But *receiving* the word is an exercise of heart, which appears with great certainty from the words which Luke uses, — "which in *an honest and good heart*, having heard the word, keep it." It is the honest and good heart which understands, receives, and keeps the word; and he who has not such a heart, — that is, an upright and benevolent heart, — does neither receive nor understand it. It is needless, perhaps, to observe that saving faith consists in understanding or receiving the word, — the truth of the gospel, — which, according to this representation, is found in an honest and good heart, and in no other, and implies the upright, disinterested, benevolent exercises of such a heart. Before we leave this passage, it may be useful to observe, that, according to this representation of our Savior, the word of truth does not make the evil, hard, selfish heart good; but where it finds such a heart, it produces no saving good, but leaves it as bad as it finds it. The heart must first be made honest and good; for such a heart only understands, receives, loves, and keeps the truth, and brings forth good fruit, as the seed takes root so as to bring forth fruit only in good ground.

The following words of Christ are to the same purpose: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." (John vii. 17.) To understand the doctrine which Christ taught, to see the divine stamp which is upon it, and to know that it is of God, is the description of saving faith, or the character of a true believer. They who have a heart to do the will of God, and none but such, have this discerning of true faith. Such a heart, therefore, or a disposition and will to do the will of God, is essential to saving faith. This is a discerning, wise, and understanding heart, which sees the evidence of divine truth, and knows it to be of God; whereas he whose heart opposes the revealed will of God, which requires LOVE, remains in darkness and unbelief.

It must be further observed, —

III. It appears from the Scriptures that LOVE is implied in saving faith, and is essential to it; so that, where there is no holy love, there is no true faith. This is asserted by St. Paul, — by which he distinguishes true faith from all counterfeits, — in the following words: "In Jesus Christ, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love." (Gal. v. 6.) The apostle does not here say that faith *worketh love*, or *produces it*, — as if faith preceded as the cause of love, and that love is connected with faith, and fol-

lows it as the certain consequence and effect of it,—but he says faith worketh BY love, as some machines move *by* wind or water, springs or weights; he asserts that love is the life and active nature of saving faith: by this it is a living, active faith, love being the life and soul of it, so that, where there is no love, there can be no more than an inactive, dead faith. The Apostle James says, "As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also." (Jam. ii. 26.) The operative nature of any thing is the life of it: things are said to be alive from the active nature which is observed to be in them: the active nature of man is the spirit which is in him: therefore, as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith, without a working nature, is dead also. What this working nature, or active, fruitful spirit, is, which is in true faith, St. Paul tells us in the words before us: it is LOVE. Love is the spirit and life of faith, by which it acts and produces all its operations, and is distinguished from a spurious, dead faith. These two apostles perfectly agree in this point. According to them, that which distinguishes true saving faith from every kind of faith which is not so is the life and operative nature of it, which consists in true love.

And that St. Paul is to be understood as has been now explained, when he said "faith worketh by love," is confirmed by his following words: "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not love,* I am nothing." (1 Cor. xiii. 2.) Here he asserts there can be no faith that is of any worth where there is not love. It follows, that saving faith implies love in the nature of it. No faith availeth any thing but that living, active faith, to which love is essential, and of which it is the life and active nature. And when he goes on to say, "Love beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things," (1 Cor. xiii. 7,) the most easy, natural, and consistent meaning of these words is thought to be, that love is the active nature and life of Christian fortitude, faith, hope, and patience,—that these Christian graces are exercised and maintained by love, which is the foundation and soul of the whole; so that, where there is no love, there is nothing borne, believed, hoped for, or endured, as Christian exercises. Love *believeth* all things; that is, every exercise of true faith is an exercise of love; and he who has love believeth all things which are the proper objects of faith,

* The word in the original is *love*: αγαπη, with its derivatives αγαταω, and αγαπητος, is used above three hundred times in the New Testament, and translated *love*, *to love*, and *beloved*, except in about twenty places, besides the instances in this chapter, where it is translated *charity*, but ought to have been always translated *love*.

and ought to be believed. In this view we see the force and propriety of his concluding words,—"And now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love." Love is the greatest, as faith and hope are comprehended in love as the active nature, life, and essence of them.

That love comes into the essence of saving faith, will be evident by attending to a quotation of St. Paul from the prophet Isaiah. (1 Cor. ii. 9.) The words of the prophet are, "Men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, . . . what he hath prepared for him that *waiteth for him*." (Isa. lxiv. 4.) For which the apostle uses these words: "For them that *love him*." Waiting on God, or waiting for him, in the Old Testament, is the same with faith and trust in God, and, therefore, is the same with what is called faith, or believing, in the New Testament. But for this St. Paul uses the word *love*, which he would not have done had not love been so essential to faith, and so far implied in it, that to trust or believe in God, and to love him, express nearly the same idea, and are, in a measure, synonymous.

The words of Christ to Nicodemus represent love as implied in saving faith, and essential to it. "He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." (John iii. 18–20.) On these words may be observed the following things:—

1. That our Savior here represents men as condemned, or not, according as they believe on him, or not. He that believeth is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned.

2. That the ground of this condemnation is their *loving* darkness, and *hating* the light or truth. It follows from this that loving darkness is the reason and ground of unbelief; and, therefore, that the love of the truth is necessary in order to believing on the Son of God, and is implied in it. Yea, it appears from this representation, that *loving* darkness rather than light, and so refusing to come to the light, is unbelief itself; and, therefore, coming to the truth in the love of it, or in the exercise of love, is saving faith.

This is very parallel with St. Paul's account of this matter. He says, "Because they *received not the love of the truth*, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: that they all

might be damned who *believe not the truth*, but *had pleasure in unrighteousness*." (2 Thess. ii. 10–12.) It appears from these words, *that not receiving the love of the truth*, or not loving the truth, and *not believing the truth*, are one and the same thing; and that *having pleasure in unrighteousness*, and believing the truth, are opposite to each other; therefore, *receiving the love of the truth*, or loving it, and *believing the truth*, are not distinct exercises, but one and the same.

What our Savior says to the Jews, implies that love to God is essential to saving faith. "I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you. I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive. How can ye believe, which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only?" (John v. 42–44.) Here Christ ascribes their unbelief, and rejecting him, to their want of love to God, and speaks of their *unbelief* as an evidence that they had no love. Therefore, love is here represented as so essential to faith, that where there is no love, there can be no faith; and faith is such a concomitant of love, that where there is no faith, it is certain there is no love. And the last words do plainly assert that it is impossible any one should believe on Christ, who has no suitable respect or love to God.

Other passages of Scripture hold forth the same truth; but it is needless to mention them particularly, since those which have been mentioned are so clear and express on the point before us; and if this were not so, and there were no such Scriptures to be produced, the truth asserted may be demonstrated from what has been before proved from Scripture respecting divine illumination and saving faith, namely, that true faith implies a right taste and exercise of heart, which can be nothing but love. And the light and discerning which is essential to faith, implies disinterested benevolence, or love. And who can help seeing that approbation of the character of Christ, and receiving and trusting in him as the Savior of sinners, which has been shown is the Scripture account of faith, does necessarily imply, and really is, love to him? From all this the perfect consistency of the Scripture on this head is apparent, and that it is agreeable to the reason and nature of things.

IV. It appears from the Scripture that true repentance is included in saving faith, — that repentance comes into the nature and essence of faith, so that where there is no repentance, there is not, nor can be, any saving faith.

This will be evident to any one who will well observe the following things: —

1. The Scripture represents repentance as necessary in order

to pardon. We are told that John did "preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins." (Mark i. 4.) That is, he preached repentance, as necessary in order to their obtaining forgiveness. Jesus Christ taught his disciples, "that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." (Luke xxiv. 47.) That is, that forgiveness of sins should be proclaimed and offered to all that should repent, and to none but such; to which exercises all should be invited and called. Accordingly, we find the apostles preached agreeably to this direction. "*Repent* and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." (Acts ii. 38.) "*Repent* ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." (Acts iii. 19.)

2. As repentance is necessary in order to forgiveness, so forgiveness of sins is promised to repentance.

The passages mentioned under the foregoing particular are so full and express in this, that it is needless to repeat them, or to turn to others which assert the same thing. As repentance is required in order to forgiveness, so forgiveness is connected with repentance.

3. Faith is represented in Scripture as the only condition of pardon and salvation by Christ, — as that without which no man shall be forgiven and saved, and to which pardon and salvation are promised. "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." (Mark xvi. 16.) "He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." (John viii. 36.) "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins." (Acts x. 43.) A great number of passages to the same purpose might be cited.

From these premises it follows, that saving faith and repentance are not two distinct exercises, but imply and include each other, so that repentance comes into the nature and essence of faith. There is no other possible supposition by which the Scripture account of this matter can be reconciled. If he who believes is forgiven, and shall be saved, and he who believeth not is condemned, and yet no one is forgiven, or shall be saved, unless he repent, and pardon and salvation are promised to repentance; then he who believes does also repent, and he who does not repent, does not believe; which could not be true, unless repentance and faith imply each other, so that there is faith in evangelical repentance, and repentance comes into the nature of saving faith, and is essential to it. Faith and repentance are not two distinct parallel conditions

of pardon and salvation. They cannot be so, consistent with the representation of Scripture respecting this matter, which has been produced; but they are so implied in each other, and so far connected, that one is not without the other.

It is abundantly evident that the evangelists and apostles viewed and treated the matter in this light. This appears not only from what has been already observed, but it will be further evident by attending to the account which the evangelists, Mark and Luke, give of the gospel which Jesus Christ directed his apostles to preach to all nations. In Mark, we have it in the following words: "And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned." (Mark xvi. 16.) The good news to be proclaimed is summed up in these words, holding forth the condition on which eternal life is to be offered and obtained, which is here called *believing*. Luke says that Christ directed "that *repentance* and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." (Luke xxiv. 47.) These words contain the sum of what Christ ordered to be preached, and express the condition on which pardon and salvation were to be offered to all nations, and, therefore, are parallel with the passage just cited from Mark, and do express the very same thing, though in different words. But what Mark calls *believing*, Luke calls *repentance*. Therefore, saving faith and repentance are not essentially different; but repentance implies what is essential to faith, and faith takes into the nature of it what is essential to true repentance, so that one may be put for the other consistent with propriety and truth.

The account we have of the apostles' preaching this same gospel, in the execution of their Lord's instructions, serves to prove that the above-cited words of the evangelists are intended to express one and the same thing, and point out the only condition on which they were to offer pardon and salvation, and that the apostles understood it thus. When the hearers of Peter's first sermon were brought solicitously to ask, "What shall we do?" he said unto them, "*Repent*, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." (Acts ii. 38.) Here he expressly preached "repentance and remission of sins," — exactly agreeable to the direction of Christ, as it is expressed by Luke. But, when this same apostle is called to preach the gospel to Cornelius, and tell him "what he ought to do," we find him expressing himself in the following words: "To him give all the prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever *believeth* in him shall receive the remission of sins." Here, instead of *repent*,

St. Peter uses the word *believe*, which is the only difference between this and the above-cited direction to his hearers. And in this he comes nearer the words in which Mark expresses the direction of our Lord, which was to be regarded as their rule in this case: "He that BELIEVETH, . . shall be saved." This apostle cannot be reconciled to himself in any other way but that in which the evangelists may be reconciled to each other, viz., that by *repentance* he means the same thing which, at another time, he expresses by *faith* or *believing*. And we cannot account for his expressing himself thus but by supposing that faith implies repentance, so that he who believes does, in the very act of believing, repent.

But, aside from the express testimony of Scripture, it is demonstratively certain that repentance comes into the nature of saving faith from what has been proved concerning it under the preceding particulars, viz., that saving faith implies a right disposition of heart, and that this right taste and disposition consists in love to God; for there can be no degree of right disposition and love to God, or friendly disposition towards him, in an impenitent heart. Every degree of right exercise, and of love to God, in a sinner, implies repentance as essential to such exercises. Therefore, the impenitent man is always an unbeliever, and every believer is a true penitent. Where there is no repentance, there is no faith.

That repentance is implied in saving faith, and the reason of it, will be still more evident by considering the nature of true repentance, and in what it consists according to Scripture. The definition given of repentance by the Assembly of Divines, in the Shorter Catechism, appears to be agreeable to the Scripture, which is in the following words: "Repentance unto life is a saving grace, whereby a sinner, out of a true sense of his sin, and apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ, doth, with grief and hatred of his sin, turn from it unto God, . . . with full purpose of, and endeavor after, new obedience." Here repentance is defined as including the whole of a saving conversion; and he who attends to his Bible must be sensible that repentance is commonly used there in this sense, and always, unless it be evidently used in a limited sense. Repentance has a first and more immediate respect to sin, discerning, realizing, and confessing the malignant nature, odiousness, and ill desert of it, as committed against God, and a violation of his law. It, therefore, supposes and implies the true knowledge of God, — discerning and realizing his being, greatness, excellence, worthiness, and authority, — and, consequently, a conviction and sense of heart of the righteousness, excellence, and perfection of the law of God both in the

precepts and sanctions of it, or an understanding, cordial approbation of it. For it is in the light of those objects that sin, which is the transgression of this law, which derives its foundation and reason from the divine character and perfection, appears in its true colors and extent, and as infinitely odious, and deserving infinite evil, even endless punishment. Repentance includes right views and exercises of heart respecting these objects — GOD, LAW, SIN; which right exercises of heart are supposed and implied in right views and sentiments concerning them. Therefore, repentance implies and consists in a hearty regard to God as infinitely excellent and glorious; or, which is the same, in love to the Deity, and in a cordial approbation of the law of God, in which the divine character appears and is effectually asserted, and in a true love to this law rightly understood, and in hatred of sin as committed against this law and this God, and a hearty acknowledgment of his own guilt and vileness and desert of the punishment which the law of God threatens to sin. All this will be acknowledged to be implied in true repentance, and essential to it, by all who have properly attended to this subject.

But these sentiments and exercises are supposed and implied in saving faith, or faith in Jesus Christ. If we suppose this faith to consist in right speculative views of the gospel,— in a conviction of the truth and excellence of it, exclusive of any exercise of heart, if this could be,—yet even this supposes and includes right sentiments of God, law, and sin; for, without a right view of these, the gospel, or way of salvation by Jesus Christ, cannot be understood. For the gospel implies these truths respecting God, law, and sin, and is founded upon them; and the existence, wisdom, and glory of it are derived from the nature and perfection of God and his law, and the consequent nature and ill desert of sin. If these be left out of view, there cannot be any true idea or conception of the gospel in the mind. The ideas and sentiments, therefore, which are essential to repentance, are equally essential to faith in Christ.

But, if saving faith includes a right disposition and exercises of heart,—in receiving Jesus Christ as he is offered in the gospel as essential to the nature of it, which has been proved, —then it necessarily supposes and implies those exercises in which true repentance consists. Embracing Jesus Christ as a Savior, or looking to him and trusting in him for salvation from sin and misery, implies a true view and cordial approbation of the character of God and of his law,—an acknowledgment of the desert of sin, and of his desert of endless destruction, and a hatred of sin, and hearty renouncing it, and desire

of deliverance from it. It is easy to see that a person cannot heartily approve of Christ as a Savior from sin, and misery to which he is justly exposed by sin, and look to him and accept of him in this character, unless he sees and acknowledges himself to be a sinner, deserving eternal destruction, and in his heart hates sin and forsakes it, as no impenitent person does or can do. For the heart, in turning or cleaving to Christ, turns from and renounces sin in this very act. And applying to Christ for deliverance from the curse of the law carries in it an acknowledgment of the desert of sin, and the righteousness of the divine law. It is, therefore, certain that repentance is implied in saving faith, and comes into the nature of it, and has a coëxistence with it, and is not properly a fruit or effect of faith in Christ. Therefore, as saving faith and true repentance are thus implied in each other, so that the exercise of faith is also an exercise of repentance, we may hence clearly see the reason and propriety of the apostles' speaking sometimes of repentance as the condition of salvation, and at other times representing faith in Christ as the only condition, and that they are perfectly consistent in this.

Sometimes, indeed, repentance and faith seem to be used in a more limited sense, and, in this view, distinguished from each other. Thus we find St. Paul speaking: "Testifying, both to the Jews and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." (Acts xx. 21.) Here the apostle limits the meaning of the words repentance and faith, and so makes a distinction between them. And by *repentance toward God*, he appears to mean right views and exercises with respect to God as Lawgiver and Judge, asserting and maintaining the rights of the Deity, and so right notions and exercises respecting the law of God, and sin, the transgression of this law; — such sentiments and exercises as ought to take place in the mind of a sinner, and must take place, whenever he comes to a right taste and temper of heart, whether he have any distinct views of Christ, and the way of salvation by him, or not; and which are necessary in order to understand and embrace the gospel, as has been shown. By *faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ* he intends those views and exercises of heart toward Jesus Christ, as a suitable and all-sufficient Savior from sin and the curse of the law, which are agreeable to the gospel, and to which sinners are invited. According to this distinction, as repentance toward God is put first, so it takes place in the mind first in the order of nature, and precedes faith in Jesus Christ. Repentance toward God, in this sense of it, respects the term *from which* the sinner turns in conversion, and consists in a cordial approbation of the law

of God, and self-condemnation for his sin, and hating and renouncing it in his heart. Faith in Jesus Christ respects the term *to which* the sinner turns, viz., God in Jesus Christ, or God manifest in the flesh, and consists in believing the gospel with all his heart, which implies receiving and trusting in Christ as a sufficient and suitable Savior for such a sinner.

The same distinction seems to be made between repentance and faith in Christ, in the following passages: "Repent ye, and believe the gospel." (Mark i. 15.) "And ye, when ye had seen it, repented not afterward, that ye might believe him." (Matt. xxi. 32.) "But showed unto them — that they should repent and turn unto God." (Acts xxvi. 20.) But all this is consistent with repentance being implied in faith, so that where there is no repentance, there is no faith in Christ; and repentance, taken in the full sense of it, implying saving faith. And the whole may be considered as one and the same complex act of the mind, viewed and distinguished according to the different and opposite objects to which it has respect, viz., sin and the curse; and God in Jesus Christ, which is a turning from sin to God, revealed in the gospel. And, therefore, when faith or repentance is mentioned without any limitation, each comprehends the whole, even active conversion, or turning from sin to God, by Jesus Christ.*

To prevent mistakes, and further to elucidate this point, it must be observed, that repentance toward God, which, in the order of nature, at least, is antecedent to faith in Jesus Christ, implies faith in God, or a real belief of his being and glorious perfection. For, as has been observed, God must be seen in some measure in his true character, in order to see the reason and foundation of his law, and consequently the evil nature of sin, which can be known only by understanding the divine law. This discerning and belief of the existence and perfection of God; of the reason, reality, existence, and extent of the divine law, and of the sinfulness and ill desert of man, is faith. It is the faith of a mind divinely illuminated, and implies right taste and exercise of heart; or it is a belief peculiar to a renewed heart. And even this faith implies repentance; for an impenitent heart is not capable of it, and does not discern and believe the existence and character of God, as the renewed penitent heart does. This faith now described is, in the order of nature, antecedent to faith in Jesus Christ, as those objects must be seen as they are, and believed with a faith which implies exercises of heart in some measure answerable to them,

* See Mr. Edwards's Discourse on Justification by Faith alone, p. 103, 114, published in the year 1738. And Mr. Bellamy's Essay on the Nature and Glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, section viii.

before the gospel can be understood, or there can be any discerning or faith respecting Jesus Christ and the way of salvation by him. That the discerning and belief of these objects, God, law, sin, is true faith, and of the same nature with that by which men believe in Jesus Christ, is evident from Scripture. "Faith is the evidence of things not seen. Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen, were not made of things which do appear. He that cometh to God, must believe that he is." (Heb. xi. 1, 3, 6.) Here the apostle is speaking of the faith which is peculiar to good men, true saints; — it is a belief that God is. It is true, indeed, that this faith is not complete, without believing that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him, which is the same with believing the gospel, or believing in Jesus Christ; but the belief of the former is first in the order of nature, and is necessarily implied in the latter; and the latter implies a true view and belief of the existence of the divine law and the character of the sinner, as has been shown. Our Savior makes this same distinction between believing in God and believing in him, and speaks of the former as prior to the latter and the foundation of it, in his exhortation to his disciples, "Believe in God; believe also in me." *

It must also be observed, that what is properly called *evangelical repentance*, is not prior to faith in Christ. The repentance which precedes faith in Jesus Christ, respects the objects and truths which are discerned prior to any true regard to Jesus Christ, or the knowledge of his character as the Savior of sinners, the former being necessary in order to the latter, as has been shown. Repentance, considered as it respects sins against Jesus Christ and the gospel, and the great sin of unbelief, does not precede a belief of the truths of the gospel, or faith in Jesus Christ; for this is impossible. But repentance towards God, as it has been described above, is of the same nature with evangelical repentance, and implies a disposition to repent of the sin of not believing on Christ, when his character comes into view, and does always accompany and is implied in faith in Jesus Christ.

But though these distinctions may be made in theory, and are founded in the nature of things and the connection of revealed truth, and dependence of one revealed object upon another; and such distinctions may be proper and necessary in order more clearly to understand the subject to which we

* John xiv. 1. The words in the original, in both parts of the sentence, translated *believe*, are exactly the same, without any variation, and should have been so translated, not *ye do believe in God*, but *believe in God*.

are attending; yet a person may doubtless be a true believer in Jesus Christ, and not distinguish his views and exercises so as to perceive experimentally which is prior to the other, and in what particular order they have taken place in his mind, and may entertain notions in theory on this point which are really contrary to the truth of things which may have been imbibed by education and wrong instruction, or some other way. But whatever contrary opinions have been advanced in theory on this head, it is presumed that it has been now proved from Scripture and the reason and nature of things, that repentance is implied in saving faith, and comes into the nature and essence of it, so that where there is no repentance there is no saving faith, and that it is impossible that any person should believe on Jesus Christ in a saving manner, with an impenitent heart, which was the truth advanced and to be supported under this head.

V. It is evident from the Holy Scriptures that the whole of evangelical obedience is included in saving faith. Or, that saving faith implies all the holy exercises and works of a Christian, and is the sum of all, so that where there is no faith there is no true obedience, and where there is faith, there is obedience, and in this obedience saving faith does essentially consist. Saving faith does not *produce* obedience, or the latter flow from the former, as the effect from the cause; but faith itself is evangelical obedience, and cannot be distinguished from it.*

When the Jews asked Jesus, "What shall we do, that we might work the works of God?" he answered, "This is the work of God, *that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.*" (John vi. 28, 29.) The plain meaning of the question put by the Jews is this: What are these exercises, duties, and works which God requires under the dispensation, and in the kingdom which the Messiah is to set up, in order to obtain that everlasting life which he will give? And Jesus comprised it all in *believing on the Messiah.* It is observable, that our Lord does not say, that in order to work the works of God, they must believe, so that their faith should become the foundation and principle of good works; but he says, This is the work itself. It will doubtless appear, that the natural and plain import of the words is, that faith in the Messiah, or believing in Jesus Christ, com-

* When Peter says, the hearts of the uncircumcised Gentiles were *purified by faith*, Acts xv. 9, the meaning is not, that faith was the cause, and purity of heart the effect; but that faith was the purity of heart itself. This is illustrated by one expression of this same apostle. "Seeing ye have purified your souls in (or by) obeying the truth, through the Spirit." (1 Peter i. 22.) None will suppose that purity of heart and obeying the truth can be distinguished here, as if the former were the effect of the latter.

prehends the whole of what the gospel requires, or is that in which conformity to the gospel in heart and life consists, and is, therefore, the sum of gospel holiness, or evangelical obedience.

Agreeably to this are the words of St. Paul: "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God." (Gal. ii. 20.) The apostle is here speaking of his life as a Christian, a life of Christian holiness or evangelical obedience, and says, he lived this life by the faith of the Son of God; that is, by faith in Jesus Christ. For the faith of Christ is the faith by which men believe in Christ for righteousness and justification. Hence it appears, that the spiritual life of a Christian is his faith, or it is a life of faith. Therefore, that conformity to the gospel in which Christian obedience consists, is called *the obedience of faith.* "According to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the *obedience of faith.*" (Rom. xvi. 25, 26.) St. Paul uses the same expression in the beginning of this epistle, though it is a little varied in our translation. "By whom we have received grace and apostleship, for *obedience to the faith* among all nations." (Chap. i. 5.) He is evidently speaking here of the same thing as in the above-cited words, and the words which are there translated *for obedience of faith*, are exactly the same here as in the original, and should have been so translated, as such a translation is most exact and literal. And that *the obedience of faith* intends conformity in heart and life to the gospel revelation, or evangelical holiness or obedience, not only appears from the words themselves, in the connection in which they stand, but also from a parallel expression in this same epistle. "I have, therefore, whereof I may glory through Jesus Christ, in these things which pertain to God — *to make the Gentiles obedient in word and deed.*" (Rom. xv. 17, 18.) The apostle is evidently speaking here of the same thing as in the above-cited passages; he is speaking of the same persons, the Gentiles; of the same causes, means, and operation, the gospel preached and attended with the power of God; and, therefore, he is doubtless speaking of the same effect. This he here expresses by their being *made obedient in word and deed.* Hence it follows, that the obedience of faith is the same with obedience to the gospel, or evangelical holiness. Agreeably to this, faith is called *obeying the gospel*, in this epistle. "But they have not all *obeyed the gospel;* for Isaiah saith, Who hath *believed* our report?" (Chap. x. 16.) Faith, then, is gospel

obedience; that is, evangelical obedience. Therefore, obeying Christ is mentioned as the same thing with believing in him. "And being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that *obey him.*" (Heb. v. 9.) The Christian life of holy obedience is expressed by "fighting the fight of faith." (1 Tim. vi. 12.)

What the apostle James says of faith serves further to establish the point under consideration. He, speaking of saving faith, says, "Faith without works is dead." And again, "As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also." (James ii. 20, 26.) According to this, works, or holy exercises and obedience, are essential to true faith. They are the life of faith, by which faith lives and acts, and, therefore, are faith living and acting. As the body without the spirit is not a true living man, but the spirit or life is an essential part of a man, so nothing can be called true faith, which is or can exist without works; and works, or evangelical obedience, are included in faith and essential to it, and as really, and as much faith itself, as the spirit or life of a man is essential to the man, and is indeed the man himself.

The apostle does not say, that faith *produces* works which may be distinguished from saving faith, and are the effect and consequence of it; nor is there any thing in the Bible to warrant such a representation of the matter; nor does he mean any thing like this; for then the similitude by which he illustrates the subject would be ill chosen, and nothing to the purpose; for the body does not *produce* the spirit and life of a man, but this coëxists with the body, without which it would not be a man, and does itself produce every thing done by the man externally.

But it must be carefully noted that the apostle does not mean external actions merely, but those exercises of heart, that disposition of will, of which external actions are the proper and genuine expression, and in which all true evangelical obedience essentially and summarily consists. He does not mean mere external motions and actions, for there is no life in them, any further than they are the fruit and expression of internal life and motion, which internal life and motion is the life of faith, or faith living and acting, and not any effect produced by faith, any more than the life and motion of the spirit of a man is the fruit and effect of a dead body.

It will further appear that St. James includes the works of which he speaks, — by which he means evangelical obedience in saving faith as essential to it, — by attending to what he says of the faith of Abraham, the father and pattern of all believers: "Seest thou how faith wrought with his works, and

by works was faith made perfect?" (James ii. 22.) If faith operates in, or together with, works, then works are the operation of faith, or faith exerting and exercising itself. And if faith be not perfect without works, then works are a part of faith, and belong to it, being included in the nature of it. If faith does not include evangelical obedience, which the apostle means by works, then faith may be perfect without it, and cannot be perfected by it. But James says faith is not perfect without this; therefore it is implied and included in faith. Evangelical obedience is saving faith in such a sense and manner that the one cannot be distinguished from the other. It is the obedience of faith; and where there is no such obedience, there is no faith.

If we compare three remarkable sentences of the apostle Paul, it will appear that, according to him, saving faith and gospel holiness, or evangelical obedience, are not two distinct things, but really one and the same. They are the following: "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, *but faith which worketh by love.*" (Gal. v. 6.) "For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, *but a new creature.*" (Gal. vi. 15.) "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, *but the keeping of the commandments of God.*" (1 Cor. vii. 19.) The two first of these sentences are the same in words, except the last clause in them. For *faith which worketh by love*, in the first, he puts *a new creature* in the second. There appears no way to make the apostle consistent, but taking faith that worketh by love, and the new creature, to mean one and the same thing. But by the new creature is meant that holiness which takes place in men under the gospel, by their being "created in Christ Jesus *unto good works.*" (Eph. ii. 10.) Faith, then, which worketh by love, is the new creature exercising itself in acts of evangelical holiness; and it can be nothing else, according to the natural and necessary meaning of the phrase, "faith which worketh by love," as it has been explained; for, if the life and operative nature of faith be love, then gospel holiness is the essence of faith, and this is the new creature. And it hence appears that the last sentence is perfectly agreeable to the former, and asserts the same thing; for "faith which worketh by love" and the "new creature" are gospel holiness, or evangelical obedience; and this consists in keeping the commandments of God our Savior, and can mean nothing more or less.

Thus it appears evident, from the representation of this subject in the Scripture, that saving faith and evangelical obedience are not two distinct things, or different kinds of exer-

cises, but are so far one and the same that believing on Jesus Christ intends and implies the whole. Not only is faith an act of evangelical obedience, but every act of gospel holiness is an exercise of saving faith, which implies the whole. And the reason and consistence of this will appear, if the whole that has been observed from Scripture concerning faith be kept in view and properly considered.

It has been shown that saving faith does not consist in mere speculation, but right and holy disposition and exercise of heart is implied in it and essential to it, and that this exercise of heart is *love*, which is the life and operative nature of saving faith. It is love, discerning, tasting, and approving of the divine perfections and truths revealed in the gospel, and particularly discerning and delighting in the character of Jesus Christ, and heartily receiving, adhering to him, and trusting in him, in the character and offices which he sustains as the Savior of sinners; and in these exercises all gospel holiness, or evangelical obedience, consists. It all consists in *love;* for there is no obedience which does not consist in love — love to God manifest in the flesh, and the love to our neighbor which is implied in this. This love is exercised in viewing Jesus Christ in the light in which the gospel sets him, — in receiving and trusting in him, and paying proper acknowledgments to him; or, which is the same, in conforming to him — his character, example, doctrines, and precepts — in heart and life. In one word, it is all comprehended and consists in RECEIVING Jesus Christ; and all external obedience, or holiness, expressed in words and actions, is but a proper outward expression of an inward hearty *receiving* Jesus Christ in a cordial compliance with the gospel.

This may be illustrated further by attending to a few particulars. Hearkening to Christ, or yielding and submitting to his teaching and instructions, is the same with receiving him as a prophet and teacher. Every act of true submission to Christ and obeying him, is receiving him in his kingly office. All self-denial for his sake, and every instance of voluntary suffering in his cause, is an exercise and expression of faith in him, and relying on his promises, or *trusting* in him. Following Christ as his disciple and cleaving to him, in hope of salvation by him, is the same with actually receiving him and trusting in him as a Savior. The exercise of true humility, in self-condemnation and renouncing all self-dependence, is implied in receiving Christ as our righteousness and strength. Actually forsaking sin in heart and life is an actual acceptance of deliverance and freedom from sin, and, therefore, an actual acceptance of Christ as a Savior from sin; and the

practice of Christian holiness, in every branch of it, is an actual acceptance of Christ as our sanctification. Heartily engaging in the cause of Christ, forsaking all things for his sake, seeking the interest of his kingdom as the first and most important object, is an exercise and expression of love and union of heart to him, and a cordial *receiving* him as the Son of God and Savior of men.

Therefore, if *receiving* Christ is the same with believing on him, or comes into the essence of saving faith, then all gospel holiness, as it has respect to Christ and is a practical receiving him in his true character, is really the exercise of saving faith, and is all included in it. This is that by which faith operates, in the proper exertions of it, and is made perfect. And we are hence led to see the meaning and propriety of the following words, as a concise description of evangelical faith and holiness: "As ye have therefore *received* Christ Jesus the Lord, *so* walk ye IN HIM. And whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, *do all in the name of the Lord Jesus.*"* (Col. ii. 6; iii. 17.)

But a question may be suggested in the minds of some, from the foregoing account of saving faith, which it will be proper to answer, as this may serve to render the subject more clear and intelligible. It is as follows: —

QUESTION. If hope, love, and repentance are saving faith, and if every Christian grace and all the branches of gospel holiness are implied in faith, and really are faith, why are these distinguished and called by these different names in the Scriptures? We find faith, hope, and love mentioned and distinguished as different graces. And we often find a particular enumeration of the several Christian graces, such as faith, love, hope, joy, humility, repentance, righteousness, goodness, godliness, meekness, patience, temperance, etc. If all these are faith, or included in it, why are they distinguished from it, as they seem to be?

ANS. 1. It must be evident to every one who will attend, that the various Christian exercises which are denoted by different names in Scripture, and commonly called *Christian graces*, are not in themselves so distinct and different as not to imply each other. To suppose them to be distinct, separate, and independent one of another, is manifestly contrary to

* "The obedience of a Christian, so far as it is truly evangelical and performed with the spirit of the Son sent forth into the heart, has all relation to Christ the Mediator, *and is but an expression of the soul's believing unition to Christ.* All evangelical works are works of that faith that worketh by love; and every such act of obedience, wherein it is inward and the act of the soul, is only a new, effective act of reception of Christ, and adherence to the glorious Savior." — *President Edwards's Discourse on Justification by Faith alone*, p. 83.

truth, and tends to confuse and mislead the mind in attending to subjects of this nature.

True grace, or Christian holiness, is, in the nature of it, one and the same thing, though as it is exerted and appears in various exercises, on different occasions, in different circumstances, and towards different objects, there is a diversity, or it puts on different forms, from which it is called by different names: while yet, in substance and essence, it is the same thing.

It is abundantly evident from Scripture, that love is the whole of all Christian grace. This is all that is required of men. In this the law is fulfilled and obeyed. Therefore, all Christian holiness consists in this. It follows, that all Christian graces are love in the various branches of it, exercised and expressed on various occasions, in different circumstances, and towards different objects.

The apostle Paul says, "All the law (meaning the second table of it) is fulfilled in one word, even in this, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Gal. v. 14.) Yet he denominates the various exercises in which men do, by this love, serve one another by different names, such as goodness, mercy, gentleness, patience, meekness, long suffering, etc. In the same manner, love to God, which is the whole that is required in the first table of the law, is called love, faith, trust in God, fear, hope, joy, repentance, humility, etc., according to the different views and circumstances in which this same love is exercised; all which, therefore, are the exercises of one and the same affection, and do involve and imply each other, and are in substance and essence the same.

The new creature, produced by the Spirit of God in regeneration, by which men are created in Christ Jesus unto good works, is that in which all Christian holiness consists. This is the moral image of God; the divine nature communicated and implanted; or Christ formed in the soul. And this consists in a principle of true love; and all the exercises and obedience of a Christian, through the course of a holy life, are the exertions and exercises of this love, this new creature. It is the same life and active nature by which the Christian lives, and acts in a holy manner, on all occasions, — the new creature living and acting; — as much so as the various exercises of an animal are the same life, exerting itself and acting.

Unless we have this view of the grace or holiness of a Christian, as it is exercised on all proper occasions and towards different objects, and in manifold various circumstances, called love, faith, hope, repentance, etc., our thoughts on this subject will be attended with a degree of darkness and confusion.

ANS. 2. Notwithstanding Christian holiness is one and the same thing in the nature and essence of it, and every branch of evangelical obedience is the exercise of the same principle and life, yet this same love or holiness, as it is exercised in different modes and forms, on various occasions, in peculiar circumstances, and with respect to different and opposite objects, may properly be distinguished by different names. Yea, this is convenient and necessary, in order to the most exact and clear communication of the ideas which are essential to the right understanding of this subject. In the course of a Christian life, the same holy principle, the same in kind, nature, and substance, exerts itself on various occasions, and puts on different modes, and appears in different forms, as it respects the different circumstances of the subject exercising himself, and the different and opposite objects which are particularly regarded by the mind. And it is proper and necessary, in order to represent and express, in the best manner, this exercise in the different modes and forms of it, to call it by different names; and none can talk or write intelligibly on the subject any other way, without a perpetual, tedious circumlocution.

Right views and exercises of heart respecting God, considered as being what he is in himself, is *love*, considered in the general nature of it, as consisting primarily in disinterested benevolence, and comprehending all holy love. This is generally meant perhaps by love, when spoken of in Scripture, in distinction from other graces, such as faith and hope, etc., and is the root and essence of all right exercises of the heart.

The love of a sinner towards God, whom he has offended, so far as it regards those objects which relate to his essence, exercises itself in justifying God in all his declarations and proceedings against the sinner; in confessing his sin with self-condemnation and abhorrence; in hating sin, and turning from it. And this is true repentance.

This same love, as it consists in believing in, realizing, and relishing the true character of the invisible God and Savior, as exhibited in divine revelation, is exercised in receiving and trusting in him as a wonderful, all-sufficient, excellent, and glorious Savior of sinners. And this is saving faith, as distinguished from repentance, hope, and love.

Love, considered as realizing and desiring the future good things brought to light in the gospel as the portion of the redeemed, and relying upon the divine declarations and promises, is hope, as distinguished from faith and love.

But it must be observed and remembered, that as faith, hope, repentance, etc., partake of the nature of love, and are

really love diversified, with respect to the objects and operations of it; so they are included in each other, and where one is, there the others are, as comprehended in that. Yea, repentance, faith, hope, and every Christian grace, may all be comprised in the same exercise of heart. Thus, faith and repentance cannot be separated, but imply each other, and come into the very same act of the mind, as a true sight and sense of the divine character and of the nature of sin are implied in both, and essential to each; and a turning from sin to Christ is both repentance and saving faith.

Hence it is that, though there is this variety and distinction in the exercises of the new creature, which is the proper ground of their being called by distinct names, yet as what is called by these different names is really involved in the same act of the mind, and one is implied in the other, they are often used to denote the whole, or the whole is often intended to be comprehended by one of these names. Thus love is often mentioned in the Scriptures as intending the whole of Christian holiness; and repentance is frequently put for the whole of active conversion, and the same is often denoted by faith, as has been observed and shown; and hope is used to express the whole of saving faith.

The whole of the foregoing, concerning the nature of saving faith, will lead to the following definition of it:—

Saving faith is an understanding, cordial receiving the divine testimony concerning Jesus Christ and the way of salvation by him, in which the heart accords and conforms to the gospel.

The following observations may serve to illustrate this definition, and further explain and confirm what has been offered on this important subject:—

I. The things which the gospel contains, as peculiar to it, which relate to Jesus Christ and redemption by him, and which are the objects about which Christian holiness is chiefly exercised, are matters of *pure revelation.* The exhibition of them to us is by revelation only; and it is a revelation of spiritual, supernatural, mysterious, and wonderful things, which, without such revelation, are wholly out of sight, altogether above our senses and reason, and out of the reach of any created faculties, as they depend entirely on the mere good pleasure of God. In this revelation alone are exhibited the person and character of Jesus Christ, an invisible, wonderful, and mysterious person. And here we have our state revealed as it respects him and his character and works, our need of him, and concern with him, as offering himself to us as an all-sufficient Savior. And the benefits offered by Christ are deliverance from invisible, eternal evil, and the bestowment of good things, which

are invisible, wonderful, incomprehensible, and future, belonging to the unseen world.

II. The gospel is not of the nature of a law exhibiting the sovereign authority and will of God, demanding of man what is his duty which he is to perform and offer to him, being what he expects to receive of man as the price of his favor; but it is of the nature of a *testimony*, — a revelation not of works to be done by us, in order to a reward, and the price of it; but of what God has done for us, and an offer made to us, to be received by us. It is a revelation testifying to us God's mysterious, wonderful mercy, wisdom, and power, exercised in our behalf, making ample provision for the redemption of man, and offered to us, in order to a reception by us, answerable to such a revelation. It is a record and testimony which God has given of invisible, spiritual, supernatural good things, which are provided and suited to our circumstances and necessities, and freely offered to all who are willing to receive, as a free bounty, without money, and without price. This leads to observe again, —

III. This revelation represents man as altogether universally and remarkably dependent on God for salvation and happiness. Nothing could set this in a more visible, sensible, striking light, than the gospel does. This represents man as infinitely guilty and miserable, as wholly undone, helpless, and lost, and altogether dependent on the Redeemer for that help and grace, of which he is, and ever will be, infinitely unworthy.

Now, in the view of these observations, it appears that the leading and principal exercise and manifestation of a right taste, or of the new creature, which consists in the concord or agreement of the heart with the divine truths exhibited in the gospel, is, in *believing* them, and acquiescing in them as true, and as really being just as they are reported by the word and testimony of God. And this, as has been shown, is not an act of intellect merely, but of the whole soul in the exercise of a right taste and temper of mind, which is holiness, or the new creature.

And as this divine revelation, in which the things of the gospel are exhibited, is a testimony of good things provided by God and freely offered to man in order to his reception, that exercise of the heart which is answerable to this testimony, and by which the heart accords with this revelation and embraces it as true and good, consists in a proper and cordial reception of the good things therein offered, which is the same with receiving Christ, in which, as has been shown, Christian virtue or holiness consists. And this also has been shown to be saving faith.

And as the gospel represents man as standing in infinite need of the good things therein brought to view and offered, he being in himself altogether undone and helpless, in an infinitely wretched and dangerous state, that exercise of soul which is answerable to this view of the case, by which it consents to this revelation and testimony, is a renouncing all self-dependence and looking to and trusting in Christ alone for righteousness and strength and complete redemption. And this also is saving faith.

Saving faith is the proper, active union of the soul to Jesus Christ as he is revealed in the gospel. But such union with Christ consists in the actual agreement of the heart with Christ and suiting and adapting itself to him and redemption by him, or actively receiving and embracing the testimony given concerning him, in exercises conformable to this revelation, as a revelation of invisible things, which are supernatural and wonderful, altogether beyond the notice of our senses, and above our reason and comprehension; — a revelation of an invisible, wonderful, divine Savior, and his supernatural, miraculous works of power and grace, and as one who was dead, and yet is alive, and lives forever; — a revelation not of a law or command, as an expression of the authority of God, demanding something of us which we should render to him as the price of his favor; but a revelation of his sufficiency for us; his wonderful grace and mercy to us, needy, helpless creatures, infinitely unworthy and guilty; a revelation of a way of salvation consisting in deliverance from infinite, invisible evil, and the possession of good things which are unseen, spiritual, incomprehensible, future, and eternal; which are all freely offered to him who will receive them, however unworthy and ill deserving he be. When the soul actively conforms in its views and exercises to such a revelation and testimony as this, and acquiesces in the truths and objects revealed as certain realities, excellent and divine, it does actively unite itself to Jesus Christ, and in this active union to him consists. And that act, and that course of exercises of the heart which are proper and suitable to such an exhibition as this, to a revelation by God of such things, may most properly be called *believing*, receiving, seeking, looking, trusting, or, in one word, FAITH. It may be presumed that no word can be found which so properly and fully expresses those views and exercises of the mind by which it actively unites itself to Christ, as he is revealed in the gospel, as the word FAITH, according to the proper meaning of the word in the original, as it was used when the New Testament was written, or according to the meaning and general use of the word *faith*.

The revelation which God first made to innocent man, was a law, or covenant of works, expressing his will and authority in requiring of them supreme and perfect respect and love, which they must render to him as the price of his favor, and which he would reward with eternal life; and the least neglect of duty required, he threatened with his awful displeasure. This is properly called a law, or covenant of works, and compliance with such a revelation and command consists in *works*, working in order to a reward. These are "the *works* of the law."

The revelation made in the gospel, which is the exhibition of a covenant of grace to guilty man, is exceedingly diverse in many respects from the other. This is not a manifestation of the authority of God as Lawgiver, demanding obedience as a worthiness to recommend to his favor and rewards, but the revelation of a Savior for lost man; the unspeakable free gift of God, as a remedy suited to his necessities; the offer of free, undeserved mercy and glorious grace, through a worthy Mediator; and every one is invited to partake in this wonderful, glorious provision, however unworthy and guilty. Here, then, no virtue or moral goodness is, or can be, *given* as a price of the salvation exhibited and offered; but all the virtue and holiness that can be exercised in this case consists in believing and receiving the things exhibited and offered, or acquiescing in them as real and excellent. And this, as it is opposed to obedience or works, as a worthiness to recommend to favor and a reward, is more properly called FAITH.

The apostle Paul makes this distinction, as a very important one. He calls the gospel *the law of faith*, by which he distinguishes it from the first covenant, and sets it in opposition to it, which he calls *the law of works*. "Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? of works? Nay, by the law of faith." (Rom. iii. 27.) The gospel, or covenant of grace, is the law of faith. It is a revelation and testimony, a proper conformity to which, puts on that peculiar form which is best denominated by calling it FAITH, in distinction from the obedience required by the law of works. He sets this in the same light in the following words: "Received ye the spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" (Gal. iii. 2.) Here he sets the covenant, or law of works, in opposition to the hearing of faith, or the report or revelation of the gospel or covenant of grace. The former requires works, perfect works, as the price of a reward; the latter brings and offers all good to him who will *receive* it, or, which is the same, to him who believeth. In this same view he puts faith in opposition to the works of the law, or obedience to a covenant of works,

in the following words: "Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law." (Rom. ix. 32.) To seek righteousness as it were by the works of the law, is to do works, or attempt acts of obedience to law, with a view to offer this as their righteousness and worthiness, to recommend themselves hereby to acceptance and favor with God. To seek righteousness by faith, is to receive and trust in the atonement and righteousness of the Mediator, or cordially to embrace the gospel, which is evangelical obedience, and as much a work and exercise of gospel holiness as any obedience to the gospel whatever, and is the obedience of faith, as has been proved.

From the foregoing, the following question may arise in the minds of some: —

QUESTION. The apostle Paul says, men are not justified by works. But, if saving faith implies works, and cannot be distinguished from evangelical obedience, and men are justified by faith, they are really justified by works, or evangelical obedience. Is not there an inconsistency in this? And why is not evangelical holiness a righteousness which recommends him who has it to the favor of God, as a moral worthiness and a ground of boasting?

ANSWER. What has been already said is a full answer to the first part of this question, and it is presumed every one who has understood it will see the question to be wholly without ground. By the works and deeds of the law is meant obedience to law as a covenant of works, in order to obtain the righteousness of the law, to be thereby recommended to the favor of God, as has been observed and shown. This the apostle opposes to faith, but does not oppose evangelical holiness to faith, but considers these as implying each other; — which gospel obedience is not offered as a righteousness to recommend, but consists in renouncing all worthiness, or claim to any favor, and receiving pardon and salvation as a free gift to an infinitely unworthy and ill-deserving sinner. This point, and the latter part of the question, will be more particularly considered in the next section.

IMPROVEMENT.

I. From the above description of saving faith, taken from the Holy Scripture, we learn that what has been called saving faith by some is not so.

1. Saving faith does not consist in a person's believing that his sins are forgiven, that Jesus Christ died for him, and he

shall be saved, and the like. A person may have a strong and most confident persuasion of this without any good reason for it, and all may be gross delusion. No one can have any ground for such a belief until he has exercised saving faith, and has evidence that he does believe in Christ, repent, etc., for none but such are pardoned, or can have any evidence that they shall be saved. Men must *first* repent and believe in Christ in order to pardon and a title to salvation; and, therefore, they cannot know, or have any evidence, that they are forgiven and shall be saved, until they have exercised saving faith. To believe they shall be saved, from any other supposed evidence, is mere delusion, and contrary to the express declaration of Scripture. Indeed, a person's faith which consists in true taste and discerning and a cordial embracing the gospel, may be so strong and sensible as to be attended with a consciousness and assurance that he does believe with a saving faith, and, consequently, that he is pardoned and shall be saved. But saving faith does not consist in this belief and assurance, but must first exist in the mind as the proper ground of such consciousness and assurance. Therefore, the former may, and often, if not commonly, does, take place without the latter.

2. A mere speculative belief of the truth, not including any exercise of heart, is not saving faith. This, it is presumed, has been abundantly proved from Scripture.

3. Saving faith does not consist in that belief which includes works of the law, done in order to recommend persons to the divine favor on account of their moral worth and excellence. This is the faith for which Arminians have pleaded. They say true faith implies good works; but by good works they evidently mean what the apostle Paul means by the works of the law done as the price of the favor of God, and not evangelical obedience, which stands opposed to the former, as it has been described above. Their faith and their works are wholly anti-Christian, and, therefore, opposed to true evangelical, saving faith.

4. That is not saving faith which can be separated, even in theory, from good works and evangelical obedience. This has been abundantly proved from Scripture in this section. It has been too common for those who describe faith as implying exercise of heart, even a cordial reception of Christ, yet to speak of good works and gospel holiness and obedience as the fruit and effect, of which saving faith is the cause, and as if they were too distinct things. It is not agreeable to Scripture to make such a distinction. It is inconsistent with their own definition of faith, and contrary to the truth, and, therefore, of a bad tendency.

5. That is not saving faith which precedes regeneration and the new heart. Some have supposed that the impenitent, unrenewed person believes, and by this faith his heart is renewed and becomes penitent and obedient. This is contrary to Scripture and all reason, which has been made evident. Faith implies a right disposition of heart, and, therefore, does not precede it and produce it. No person but a regenerate one has saving faith.

II. The view we have had of saving faith serves to show why it is represented in Scripture as a duty, and men are commanded to believe on Jesus Christ, and why unbelief is represented as wholly inexcusable, and a great sin.

If saving faith did consist in mere speculation, and the heart had no concern in it, and no degree of disposition and exercise of that were implied in believing, it could not be required as a duty, or unbelief condemned and forbidden as a sin. For that in which the heart has no concern, and which does not imply any exercise of disposition or will, is neither virtue nor vice, sin nor holiness; it has no moral good or evil in it, and cannot be the subject of command or prohibition, of blame or commendation. But whatsoever implies exercise of the heart, and depends upon the disposition of that, and in any measure consists in this, is morally right or wrong, holiness or sin, and must be commanded or forbidden. As, therefore, saving faith implies the whole of Christian obedience and holiness, it must be considered not only as a duty, but as comprising the whole of it; and unbelief must imply the contrary, and, therefore, be wholly criminal.

Agreeably to this, we find men are commanded in Scripture to believe on Jesus Christ; and this faith is every where represented as a duty. It is needless to mention all the particular passages of Scripture which prove this to the attentive reader of the Bible; the following are sufficient to establish this point: Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, "Repent ye, and *believe the gospel.*" (Mark i. 14, 15.) "Jesus answered and said unto them, *This is* the work of God, *that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.*" (John vi. 29.) "Ye believe in God, *believe also in me.*" (John xiv. 1.) "And this is his commandment, that ye should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ." (1 John iii. 23.)

On the contrary, unbelief is considered as a great sin. Our Savior blames and condemns the Jews for not believing on him, and ascribes it to the corrupt and wicked disposition of their hearts; and unbelief is ascribed wholly to an evil heart, and forbidden in the Epistle to the Hebrews. "Take heed,

brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, in departing from the living God." (Heb. iii. 12.) Our divine Teacher not only represents unbelief as a sin of the first magnitude, but as comprehending all the sin of which men are guilty under the gospel. "And when he [the Holy Spirit] is come, he will reprove the world of sin, *because they believe not on me*." (John xvi. 8, 9.) "Not to believe the record God has given of his Son, is to make him a liar." (1 John v. 10.) To slight and reject Jesus Christ — which is unbelief, as it is opposed to faith — is the greatest sin of which man can be guilty; and every sin which men commit under the gospel is unbelief, or a sin of unbelief, as it carries in it opposition to Christ and a rejection of him. Therefore, as saving faith, taken in its full latitude, comprehends all gospel duty, or evangelical holiness, so unbelief involves all the sin which men commit under the gospel.

III. From the above account of saving faith, we learn that the interest of holiness is secured and promoted in the salvation of sinners by faith in Jesus Christ.

The doctrine of justification by faith alone has been objected to, and opposed by many, as a doctrine tending to licentiousness, and encouraging men to neglect good works and a holy life, — depending on their faith to save them. But this objection has been formed wholly from ignorance of the doctrine, and misunderstanding it, not knowing what is implied in saving faith.

It is true that many have abused this doctrine, and expected to be saved by a spurious, dead faith, without works and holiness of life; but this affords no argument against the doctrine rightly understood, for there is no truth of the gospel which is not liable to be misunderstood and abused to bad purposes, and which has not been so abused. Such there were in the days of the apostles, whose dangerous mistake, and wicked abuse of this doctrine, the apostle James exposes and confutes, by showing what saving faith is, viz., — that true holiness, and all the virtue and life contained in good works, is implied in saving faith, and comes into the nature of it; and that faith which does not imply, and is not, all this, will not save, but is a vain, dead faith. This is the faith which has been described in this section, as has been shown, by explaining what this apostle says upon it.

If faith implies the whole of evangelical holiness, then men cannot be justified and saved by faith without holiness; and holiness of heart and life is as necessary as it could be, were they justified by the works of the law.

There is as real holiness exercised in approving of the holy

character of Christ, and the way of salvation by him, and in receiving him, submitting to him, and trusting in him, as there can be in obedience to law as a covenant of works. There is as real love to the law of God and conformity of heart to it, in approving and trusting in the righteousness of Christ, for pardon and salvation, which consists in his honoring the law, by suffering the penalty of it and obeying it, as there would be in obeying the law perfectly as our own righteousness, were this possible.

IV. It appears from what has been said on this subject of saving faith, that the apostles, Paul and James, are perfectly consistent, wherein they have been, by some, thought to differ. Their consistence and agreement will appear only by observing, that the apostle Paul means the same thing by "faith which worketh by love," which the apostle James does, by faith which operates by works, and by works is made perfect, as the working life of faith. By this living, active, holy faith, implying all the good works and gospel obedience of a Christian, James says, a man is justified, and cannot be justified by any other kind of faith which does not include all this. Paul says, a man is justified by faith, and that this faith operates by love, as the life and active nature of it, in which all the holiness and good works of a Christian are implied and consist. In this they perfectly agree, and assert the same thing in different words. The apostle Paul opposes this faith to *the works of the law*, to obedience to law as a covenant of works, as the price of the favor of God; and it has been shown above wherein the difference and opposition between these consist, therefore it is needless to repeat it here. The apostle James says nothing relating to the works of the law, and speaks only of those works which are implied in faith and Christian obedience, or the *obedience of faith*.

V. From the view we have had of saving faith, we may learn why pardon of sin and salvation are in the Bible promised to the least degree of true holiness and Christian obedience, in whatever way it be exercised; such as love to God, or to our neighbor, and to our fellow Christians; to hungering and thirsting after righteousness, humility, meekness, a forgiving spirit, etc. The reason is, not because evangelical holiness, in the least degree of it, is only *a sign of faith*, as something distinct from it, but because it is saving faith itself, and is that in the exercise of which the soul does unite itself to Christ; for every holy exercise of the Christian has the nature of saving faith in it, as has been shown. Every act of gospel holiness is connected with pardon and salvation, as it is an act of faith, and implies in it a believing in Christ and acceptance of pardon and salvation, as a free, undeserved gift.

Therefore, any person may know that he has saving faith, if he have evidence that he does exercise any degree of real holiness in any branch of it.

VI. We may hence see why saving faith is the gift of God, and in what respect it is so. The apostle Paul says, "By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." (Eph. ii. 8.) "For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, *not only to believe on him*, but also to suffer for his sake." (Phil. i. 29.) The disciples of Christ prayed him to *increase their faith.* (Luke xvii. 5.)

Christ says, "No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him. It is written in the prophets, And they shall all be taught of God. Every man, therefore, that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me." (John vi. 44, 45.) And he said to Peter, when he professed his faith in him as the Son of God, "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. xvi. 17.)

Faith is the gift of God, as holiness is his gift, because they involve each other, and are really the same. If saving faith did not imply holiness, and were not holiness itself, it would be no more the gift of God than any of the natural exercises of unrenewed men, and in no other sense; for there would be no more opposition to it in their hearts than to any thing else whatsoever. It is the holiness of saving faith which puts it out of the reach of the unrenewed man, and all the difficulty of believing on Christ lies in this, and this is the only ground of the opposition of the carnal mind to saving faith. This difficulty and opposition to believing, therefore, cannot be removed in any possible way, but by "taking away the stony heart, and giving a new heart, by which men are created in Christ Jesus unto good works, being saved by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." This point is illustrated by what has been observed in the preceding section on divine illumination.

Section II.

Justification by Faith in Christ.

This doctrine has been considered by Calvinistic divines, even in the sense in which they understand it, of great importance, and essential to the system of truth revealed in the Scriptures; so that, if it be secluded, or not understood, the whole system of Christian doctrine falls with it, and comes to

nothing. And, if we attend to the writings of the apostle Paul, especially his letters to the churches at Rome and Galatia, we shall find that he considers the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, for which he earnestly contends, as essential to the Christian scheme; so that Christ and Christianity can be of no advantage to them who oppose and reject it. What is proposed in this section, is, to attempt to explain this doctrine according to the Scripture, and to evince the truth and importance of it.

What has been already said, in the foregoing part of this system, concerning the law of God, the apostasy of man, and the guilty, lost state in which he is, the nature and demerit of sin, the character, design, and work of the Redeemer, and the nature of saving faith, prepares the way to understand the doctrine we are now to consider, as it is involved in these particular truths as the foundation of it; and the proper application of them to this subject will show what is meant by being justified by faith in Jesus Christ, according to the Scripture, and that it is an important and essential article of the Christian doctrine.

The justification of a sinner, now under consideration, consists in forgiving his sins, or acquitting him from the curse and condemnation of the law, and receiving him to favor, and a title to all the blessings contained in eternal life; which is treating him as well, at least, as if he never had sinned, and had been always perfectly obedient. Though these may be considered distinctly, as in some respects two, yet they are never separated, but are both always implied in the justification of a sinner. Both these are mentioned by St. Paul, as included in justification by faith. "Therefore, being justified by faith, *we have peace with God*, through our Lord Jesus Christ. By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and *rejoice in hope of the glory of God*." (Rom. v. 1, 2.) By faith men are justified, in which they receive the forgiveness of their sins, and are made heirs of an eternal inheritance, — heirs of God and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ, — agreeably to the following words of Christ: "That they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified, by faith that is in me." (Acts xxvi. 18.)

For the illustration of this point, the following things must be observed: —

I. The sinner has nothing in himself, nor is it possible he ever should have any thing, that could render it proper and reasonable that he should, out of respect to that, be pardoned and received to favor. He is under the curse of the law, which

curses every one who once transgresses it. Therefore, every sinner is under this curse who is not delivered from it by Jesus Christ. Thus St. Paul states the case: "For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law, to do them. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." (Gal. iii. 10, 13.) The law curses the sinner, and leaves him under the curse, and that is all the law can do. The curse dooms him to eternal destruction, as the just punishment of his crime, unless, by some means, it can be taken off, and yet the law be maintained and honored as just and good. Nothing that can be done by the sinner to make atonement for his sin, or recommend himself to favor, will do any thing towards removing the curse. The reason of this is plain, and easy to be seen. The sin of which he has been guilty is an infinite evil, and has, therefore, rendered him infinitely ill deserving. It is as a weight infinitely heavy lying upon him, and he must eternally sink under it. Though he had all possible finite power, it could not remove it, or lighten it in the least degree; for finite power is nothing before an infinite weight, and can do nothing to remove or make it less. Supposing the sinner comes to repentance, renounces his sin, returns to his duty, and becomes perfectly holy and obedient, he does no more than his present duty by the supposition. This cannot make up or atone for his past faults, or do any thing towards it, and, therefore, can do nothing towards removing the curse. Besides, if he could do more than his present duty, and continued in his obedience a thousand years, or ever so long, this would do nothing towards removing the curse, or counterbalancing his crime; for his crime is infinite, and all that he offers, or can offer, by his obedience, is but finite at most, and, therefore, as just nothing towards counterbalancing his guilt; as what is finite sinks into nothing in comparison with that which is infinite.

When that which is infinite is put into one scale, and something finite in the other, the latter does nothing towards weighing down or lightening the former, and is just as if there were nothing put into the scale against that which is infinite. For the same reason, no past obedience of a creature will, in the least, extenuate a crime committed after a course of obedience, however long, but he is as guilty, and deserves punishment as much, as if he had performed no antecedent obedience, according to the divine law. It cannot be remembered in his favor, when he has once transgressed. It cannot prevent, remove, or lighten the curse in the least degree. No

preceding or consequent obedience can atone for the transgression, or remove or mitigate the curse. Sin being an infinite evil, and deserving an infinite punishment, it swallows up, cancels, and reduces to nothing, all the possible holiness of the creature, whether it take place before or after the sin, so that it cannot be reckoned in his favor any more than if he had no holiness; for the law says, "Cursed is every one that *continueth not in all things*, written in the book of the law, to do them."

II. God will not show favor to the sinner, by pardoning and saving him, so as, in the least degree, to counteract and disregard his holy law; and, therefore, will not, cannot, consistently forgive him — or treat him any otherwise than as an accursed creature — on account of any thing amiable or worthy in him, while no righteousness and worthiness, answerable to the demands of his law, can be reckoned and properly improved in his favor. The law of God is perfectly reasonable and right. It is founded in the divine character and perfections. It is the voice of God. He looks upon the sinner just as the law represents him, — as infinitely odious and ill deserving; and he cannot be rendered acceptable to God, and obtain his pardon, on the account of any thing which is not agreeable to this law, and consistent with paying a proper regard to it in all respects. Hence it is impossible that the sinner should be pardoned and restored to favor on account of his own worthiness and righteousness.

III. In Jesus Christ the Redeemer there is righteousness and worthiness enough to answer the law, and to deliver the sinner from the curse of it, and recommend him to all the favor he wants when it may be with propriety reckoned in his favor, or when he is interested in it so that he may, consistently with reason and truth, have the benefit of it.* "He is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." (Rom. x. 4.) He has been made a curse, that he might deliver all who believe in him from the curse of the law. (Gal. iii. 13.) And God can be just, — can act consistent with his righteousness, and make a display of it, and do no injury to himself, his law and government, or to his creatures, — but maintain the rights of all, and yet justify the sinner who believes in Jesus. "Being justified freely through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness; *that* he might be just, and the justifier of him who

* This has been before considered in stating the character, design, and work of the Redeemer, Chap. II. III.

believeth in Jesus." (Rom. iii. 24, 26.) The Scripture represents all favor, pardon of sin, redemption and eternal life, as given to men, not out of regard to any righteousness or worthiness of theirs, but purely for the sake of Christ, out of regard for the atonement he has made by his own blood and his righteousness and worthiness. The whole that is comprised in redemption, pardon of sin, peace with God, and eternal life, are given *through* Christ, that is, on his account and for his sake. "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God, *through our Lord Jesus Christ.*" (Rom. v. 1.) "Being justified freely by his grace, *through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ.*" (Chap. iii. 24.) Righteousness recommends to favor; this the justified sinner has not in himself, but in Christ. His righteousness is unto all, and upon all them that believe. He is the end of the law for righteousness. (Rom. iii. 22.; x. 4.) On this St. Paul placed his whole dependence. He says, "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him; not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith." (Phil. iii. 8, 9.) Believers are accepted *in the beloved*, that is, purely out of respect to the worthiness of Christ. (Eph. i. 6.) Therefore, they are directed to ask for all the favor they want, in his name, that is, for his sake.

IV. In order to be interested in the righteousness of Christ, so as to have the benefit of it and be recommended to favor, and justified on his account and for his sake, it is necessary that men should be *united* to him by a peculiar union, so as to be the members of the body of which he is the head.

This union, or relation, which actually takes place between Christ and the justified, by which they obtain this privilege, it has been before observed, is represented by various similitudes; by the union of the branches with the vine, by which they are one tree, and have the same life and sap running through the whole; by the head and members, which make one body; by the union of husband and wife, by which they become one flesh, and the wife shares in the riches, worthiness and honors of the husband, however poor, mean, and unworthy she was, antecedent to her union to him. This union of the justified with Christ is often expressed in Scripture by being IN Christ. "That I may win Christ, and be found IN him." (Phil. iii. 8, 9.) And "we are *in* him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ." (1 John v. 20.) "Abide *in* me, and I *in* you." (John xv. 4.)

The children of the first Adam were to partake of the benefit of his righteousness, had he, by his obedience, obtained the righteousness of the law; and they do actually share with him in the evil consequences of his sin, by virtue of their union with him. He and they are naturally united, as he is their common progenitor, and they his posterity; and by divine constitution he was appointed in such a sense their common, public head, that the effects of his righteousness, should he obtain it, or his sin, should he transgress, should be transmitted to them. Yet they could not be justified by his obedience or righteousness, or condemned for his sin, without an express, or implicit, *moral*, voluntary union to him, which was indeed supposed and secured by the constitution. If Adam had obeyed the law perfectly, and obtained righteousness and life, his children could not have the benefit of it when they came to exist, in any other way but by a moral, voluntary union of heart to him, by approving of his character and conduct, and of that constitution, which in this way would bring them to share in the benefit of his obedience, so that they should have the benefit of his righteousness, and be made heirs of eternal life, without being in a state of trial themselves; and were it possible, in that case, and should any of his posterity actually withhold their consent to what their father had done, and refuse to be thus united to him, and to be justified in this way, they must be excluded from all interest in his righteousness and benefit by it. And since Adam did sin, guilt and condemnation came upon his posterity by their moral union to him, by either an implicit or express consent to his sinning and approbation of him in this character. Therefore, if there be any one of the human race who has lived heretofore, is now on the stage, or shall exist from this time to the end of the world, who never consents in any degree, either explicitly, or by implication, to the first transgression, but perfectly and constantly, through life, refuses to unite himself to him as a sinner; that is, does not commit one sin, but continues perfectly holy; he will not partake of any of the guilt of the sin of Adam, nor be condemned by any law or constitution whatever.

The second Man, the last Adam, of whom the first was a figure and type, is as really a public head and substitute for others as the first, but not in every respect and circumstance like him; yea, infinitely different in some respects. He has so far united himself to man, as to become a real man, and take the place of man, under the law; and has made full atonement for sin, by taking the curse on himself, and suffering it in man's stead, the just for the unjust; and has obtained the righteousness of the law by perfect obedience to it, by which

he has brought in everlasting righteousness, a righteousness unspeakably more excellent, and meritorious, and worthy of respect and reward, than all possible obedience of men or angels. And having thus obtained all that sinful, lost man wants, in order to complete his redemption and happiness he freely offers himself, with all his fulness, for man, to every one who comes within hearing of the gospel, and is willing to be united to him, and receive him with the blessings he has to give, without money or price, without requiring or expecting any returns to be made by the sinner as any degree of compensation.

But all this does not put the sinner in possession of the pardon of his sins, and a title to life. But he will as certainly perish in his sins, as if there had been no such Redeemer, unless a moral union take place between him and the Savior, by his hearty approbation of his character, of his design, and of what he has done and suffered for the salvation of men, and he cordially unite himself to him in the character he sustains as the Redeemer of sinners. It is not proper, it is not right and fit, it is incongruous, and, therefore, impossible, that he should have any interest in the atonement and righteousness of Christ, so as to be pardoned and received to favor out of respect to that, while with his whole heart he opposes and rejects him, and is disposed not to come to him, that he might have life; because by this there is a moral discord between him and the Redeemer, and opposition to him, and refusal to be in any union or relation to him.

If a rich and honorable prince offer himself to a mean woman, who is poor and greatly in debt, to be her husband, and make her honorable, rich, and happy, this will not put her in possession of these benefits, or give her the least interest in them, or title to them, unless she consents to take him as her husband, and cordially receive him as he offers himself. It is by accepting the offer that the relation of husband and wife takes place, and they are so united as to become one flesh, in consequence of which she becomes rich and honorable by the interest she has in her husband's riches and honors.

So, no sinner can obtain an interest in the atonement and righteousness of Christ, unless there be a real consent of heart, either explicit or implied, to receive him as he offers himself, by which a moral union, or union of heart, exists between him and the Savior, by which they are, in such a sense and degree, ONE, that it is proper to reckon or impute the righteousness of the Redeemer to the sinner, so that he shall have as much benefit by it as if it were personally his righteousness.

It has been thought by some, that if the sin of Adam be not

imputed to his posterity, and they considered as guilty and condemned antecedent to their union to him by consenting to his sin, there is no parallel between the imputation of the sin of Adam to his children and of the righteousness of Christ to them who believe in him, which the apostle Paul supposes there is, and asserts in the fifth chapter of his letter to the Romans. But the above representation of this point may serve to show that this objection is groundless. As the posterity of Adam become guilty, and fall under condemnation, by consenting to his sin, and a union of heart to him as a transgressor, that is, by sinning themselves, so the righteousness of the Mediator comes upon men, or is imputed to them, for their justification, by their uniting themselves to him in a cordial approbation of his righteousness and his holy character. It is true there is a necessary difference in many respects, but in this there is a parallel.

One great and remarkable difference, besides those mentioned in that chapter by St. Paul, is, that the first Adam was constituted the public head and representative of all the human race, of whom he was the natural head and father, so that they should be holy or sinful, and consequently justified or condemned, according to his conduct in a state of trial, as he should persevere in obedience, or fall by transgression. The constitution or covenant with the first Adam secured the obedience and holiness of all his children, that they should be united in their hearts to him, by a cordial, voluntary approbation of his character and righteousness, if he should persevere in obedience through the time of his trial, and consequently have eternal life. And, on the contrary, if he should be guilty of disobedience, all his children should join with him in his rebellion, as soon as they existed capable of moral agency, and have that in their hearts, which, at least, would imply a full consent to his transgression, and in their hearts unite with him in it, and consequently fall under condemnation with him. Thus, by one man sin entered into the world, and has spread and taken hold of all the children of Adam, and by sin they are involved in condemnation and the curse. (Rom. v. 12, 19.)

The last Adam, the Redeemer of men, has no such particular relation and union to all the human race, either by nature, or divine constitution, as the first Adam had. He has, indeed, become a man, and united himself to the human nature, and, in consequence of what he has done and suffered, he has obtained a righteousness as sufficient for the salvation of one as of another, of all as well as of one, or of any part. He is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him. (Heb. vii. 25.) And consequently invites all to come unto

him, and be saved; and has ordered his gospel to be preached to all nations, to every son and daughter of Adam. But there is no provision or security in any divine constitution, or the covenant of redemption between the Father and the Mediator, that all shall believe on him and unite themselves to him, by a cordial approbation of his character and righteousness, so as to render it fit and proper that they should be justified and saved by him. But in this constitution or covenant between the Father and the Son, only a certain number, a part of mankind, are given to the Redeemer, and the voluntary union of these to him by faith, by which the church, the body, of which he is the constituted head, shall be formed, is secured and made certain. This is declared by Christ in the most express, unequivocal words: "All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out. And this is the Father's will who hath sent me, *that of all which he hath given me*, I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me, where I am, that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me." (John vi. 37, 39; xvii. 24.)

That Christ means by those who were given to him, not only his present disciples, but all that should be finally saved by him, and that these are not all mankind, but a part, who are taken out of the rest of the world, and to be united to him, and made one with him, as others are not, is evident from the following words of his: "I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me, for they are thine. And all mine are thine, and thine are mine. Neither pray I for those alone, [my present disciples, whom I have been particularly mentioning,] but for them also which shall believe on me, through their word; that they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may be *one* in us." (John xvii. 9, 10, 20, 21.)

To the first Adam, all the human race were given, to be justified or ruined by him, in the manner explained above. To the last Adam, only a part of mankind are given, to be redeemed and saved by him, and their actual and everlasting union with him is made sure, without which union they could not be justified and saved by him. They shall come unto him, and shall never be cast out or separated from him.

These who are given to Christ, the elect, are his seed. "When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, *he shall see his seed*, and shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hands. *A seed* shall serve him; it shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation." (Ps. xxii.

30. Isa. liii. 10.) They are his adopted children. "Behold I and the *children which God hath given me.* According as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy, and without blame before him in love, having predestinated us unto the *adoption of children*, by Jesus Christ, to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will." (Eph. i. 4, 5. Heb. ii. 13.) All mankind were the first Adam's seed, his children. The elect only, who were chosen and given to Christ before the foundation of the world, are his seed, his children.*

V. Sinners are thus united to Christ by faith, or believing in him.

It has been shown, in the preceding section, that saving faith consists in a cordial approbation of Christ, and receiving him in the character he sustains, as the Redeemer of sinners, by which the sinner unites himself to Christ, and becomes one heart, and one soul, with him. It is by this faith, according to Scripture, that the heart is so united to Christ, that he dwells in the heart; and by faith they come into the relation of children of God, and *put on* Christ. "Ye are all the children of God, *by faith* in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. That Christ may dwell in your hearts *by faith.*" (Gal. iii. 26, 27. Eph. iii. 17.) "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them who believe on his name." (John i. 12.) "He that hath the Son, hath life." (1 John v. 12.) Faith so unites the believer to Christ, that it is fit and proper that he should be considered and treated as so far one with him, as to pardon and justify him for the sake of Christ, out of respect to his sufferings and obedience, by which he has merited such favor for all his, for all who are thus united to him.

Therefore, it is abundantly declared in Scripture, that men are justified by faith, or through faith; that faith is counted for righteousness, and imputed to the believer for righteous-

* From this scriptural view of the matter, we see how contrary to the Scripture, how unreasonable, as well as whimsical, their notion is, who advance that Christ is originally so united to all mankind, that he and they are so *one*, that whatever one is and does, the other is and does also: so that the sins of men are the sins of Christ, and mankind did and suffered what was done and suffered by Christ. This they imagine is implied in the representation of the union of Christ with his people; by the union of the head and members of the human body; of the husband and wife; the vine and the branches, etc. And that, on this supposition only, there can be any justice or propriety in the suffering of Christ for the sins of men, or in the justification or salvation of men, by the righteousness of Christ. And they hence infer, as a certain consequence, that all mankind shall be saved. This consequence is contrary to numerous express declarations in divine revelation, and is built on a precarious, sandy foundation indeed. See *Relly's Doctrine of Union.*

ness; and the righteousness by which they are justified is called "the righteousness of faith," not because there is any righteousness in faith to justify the sinner, or do any thing towards it, but because faith receives the righteousness of Christ, and so unites the believer to the Redeemer, that by divine constitution and promise, the righteousness of Christ is reckoned in his favor, and avails for his justification. Faith is not connected with justification because of any moral excellency or worthiness which is, or can be supposed to be, in it; for the believing sinner cannot have any such worthiness in himself, or in any of his exercises, as in the least degree to recommend him to favor on that account, which is to be more particularly considered before this section is concluded; but men are justified by faith, because it is connected with the righteousness of Christ, and the believer is so united to him, that it is proper and fit that his righteousness should be improved in the sinner's favor, and he be justified on that account. Therefore, justification by faith is always opposed to justification by works, the works of the law, especially in the writings of the apostle Paul, as has been particularly observed in the foregoing section, and the reason of it given. It will be sufficient to mention the following passages of his, omitting a great number of others to the same purpose. "But now the righteousness of God, without the law, is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all them that believe. Therefore, we conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law." (Rom. iii. 22, 28.) "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ: even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." (Gal. ii. 16.) "That I may be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God through faith."* (Phil. iii. 9.)

* Some have supposed that by the *faith of Christ*, mentioned several times in the passages quoted, and in one or two other places, is meant *Christ's faith*, which intends the whole of the righteousness of Christ. But there does not appear any reason for such a construction. This is, at best, a very obscure and unusual way to express the obedience and righteousness of Christ. This the apostle often mentions, and constantly holds up to view in his writings, in clear and intelligible expressions; such as his righteousness, his dying for sinners, and giving himself for them; the atonement; his obedience, obedience unto death, etc. And since he always means the faith of the believer when he says men are justified by faith, except in these few places, it seems to be doing violence to those, to understand them in a quite different sense; especially,

Some have supposed that it was necessary to exclude all moral goodness, and consequently all exercise of heart, from the faith by which men are justified, in order to their being justified by free grace, in opposition to justification by works; and have thought, that if there be any moral goodness in justifying faith, especially all that moral goodness which is comprised in gospel holiness, as has been represented in the preceding section, they have a righteousness of their own which will recommend them to favor, and therefore do not stand in need, or, at most, in so much need of the righteousness of Christ, and of free grace, as if they had no moral goodness, but have some ground of boasting; and that this, therefore, tends to flatter the pride of man. Whereas the Scripture says, that the way of justification by faith excludes all boasting, and that the ungodly, who have no works, are justified by faith.

What has been already said in the preceding section, and in this, it is thought, is sufficient to show that such an opinion is wholly without foundation, and contrary to the truth. But as this is a point of no small importance, it is proposed to attend to it more particularly, by bringing into view and applying some things which have been before observed, and introducing some other considerations, which may serve to remove mistakes, and elucidate and confirm the truth on this head. To this end, the following things may be observed: —

1. It is impossible, according to the reason and nature of things, and the law of God which is founded on this, that he who has once sinned should, by any moral qualification or holiness, render himself acceptable to God, or so as to be looked upon or treated any otherwise than an accursed, infinitely odious creature. The reason of this has been given. It is because the law of God, which is most reasonable, just, and good, does curse the transgressor: let his character be otherwise what it may, either before or after his sin, this cannot, in the least degree, remove the curse. "For it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things, written in the book of the law, to do them." As this is the law of

since the expression, though a little varied, may most naturally be understood to mean faith in Christ, or the faith by which men believe in him, and of which he is the object; and more especially, since this phrase must be understood so in a number of other places. The following are instances of it: "Have faith in God." Ἔχετε πίστιν Θεοῦ, *have faith of God.* (Mark xi. 22.) "Through faith in his name." (Acts iii. 16.) In the original it is, *through the faith of his name.* "The justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." (Rom. iii. 26.) In the original it is, τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ, Him who is *of the faith of Jesus.* "My brethren, have not the *faith of our Lord Jesus Christ,* with respect to persons." (Jam. ii. 1.) "Here are they that keep the commandments of God, and *that faith of Jesus.*" (Rev. xiv. 12.)

God, and perfectly agreeable to unalterable reason and truth, he will look upon the sinner in the light in which the law sets him, and treat him accordingly, and, therefore, will not pardon him out of respect to any thing he does, or can do, as recommending him in the least degree to any favor. All moral qualifications of his, however great and good, must stand for just nothing, and be of no avail to recommend the sinner to pardon, etc. Whenever such a one is justified, it must be altogether on the account of the atonement and worthiness of Christ, who was made under the law, and so made a curse, that he might deliver the believer in him from the curse. And whatever moral goodness there is in faith, he is not justified on this account any more than if there were no moral goodness in it. The believer obtains justification by his faith, not out of respect to any moral goodness in it, how much soever it may contain, but because by it he is united to Christ, so as that it is proper he should have an interest in his righteousness, and be justified out of respect to that, and consistent with the law of God. "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness, to every one that believeth."

It is, indeed, impossible that he who has once sinned, if he have any degree of virtue and true love to God, in the exercise of that to seek or desire to recommend himself to God by it, so as to obtain pardon and his favor merely out of respect to that, for this would be to oppose God and all goodness, — to rise in rebellion against his law and holy government, and, therefore, contrary to love to God, and all true virtue, or moral goodness. The reason of this has been given, viz.: that it is contrary to the law of God, which curses the sinner, that he should be considered and treated any otherwise than as being accursed out of regard to any thing he has, or can do, and while he is not united to Christ so as to have the benefit to his righteousness by receiving justification purely out of respect to that. Hence it is certain, that, if a man seek righteousness and justification by the works of the law, or by any supposed virtue or goodness of his own, he does, in that, act as an enemy to God and to his law, and his supposed moral goodness is nothing but sin and rebellion. But if it were not so, and he were really and perfectly holy, this could not recommend him to pardon, and would be no reason why he should be pardoned, and delivered from the curse of the law, rather than another who is wholly destitute of all moral goodness. The reason of this has been given. Therefore, whenever he who has sinned is brought to love God, and exercise any degree of moral goodness, he will not desire to be justified by it, and will be so far from offering it as a righteous-

ness to recommend him to favor, that he will approve of the law of God which curses him, and condemn himself as that does, as infinitely guilty and ill deserving, and, consequently, place all his hope of pardon in the atonement of Christ, and, with Paul, not desire to be found in his own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith. But of this, more hereafter.

2. Though a sinner, upon his becoming perfectly obedient after he had sinned, might be justified by his own righteousness, which has been proved to be impossible, yet man is cut off from all hope of acceptance in this way, because every believer is, in this life, very imperfect and sinful. In every act of his there is much sin, — sin enough to condemn him had he never sinned before. He has a great degree of opposition in his heart to God and his law; and all his exercises, in which there is a degree of moral goodness, are so defective, that he has reason to be ashamed of himself and of them, for every degree of defect is sinful. He does not love God half so much as he ought, and his heart is exceeding corrupt and abominable, viewed in all the exercises and defects of it. On this account the believer is unworthy of any favor, his goodness is infinitely far from rendering him worthy of the least favor, and every act of his is attended with sin enough to condemn him forever, if viewed and treated as he is in himself, and according to his present character. In this view the Psalmist says, "If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?" (Ps. cxxx. 3.) "Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." (Ps. cxliii. 2.) And Job says, "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear: but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." (Job xlii. 5, 6.)

When it is considered how much sin attends the believer in all his exercises, — how far he falls below his duty in every thing, — how much moral evil is constantly in his heart, and how greatly every thing wrong and defective in him is aggravated, and more criminal than it was before he believed, by the greater light and conviction he now has, and the great, peculiar, and distinguishing favors he has received from God, — and the advantages and motives he now has to be holy as God is holy, by which his obligations are unspeakably increased, — when all this is considered, there will doubtless appear reason to conclude that he is now more criminal in the sight of God, and in this sense a greater sinner and more hateful and abominable, than he was before he believed, or than any unbeliever whatsoever, notwithstanding his faith,

virtue, and holiness. Surely, then, he has nothing in himself suited to flatter and raise his pride, by becoming a believer and uniting himself to Christ, but every thing is suited to lead him to humble himself in the sight of the Lord, and walk humbly with God, and constantly cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner!"

This leads to another particular.

3. All the virtue or holiness, all the right taste and exercises, which are implied in saving faith as described in the foregoing section, as was there observed, imply and consist chiefly in disclaiming and renouncing all pretences to any worthiness that the believer has, or can possibly be in man, that should recommend him to any favor, and in coming to Christ as in himself infinitely guilty and ill deserving, and trusting in his atonement and merit for justification. How, then, can this possibly lead men to trust in themselves that they are righteous, or flatter and encourage their pride? It is the only thing that destroys such a spirit, and tends to pluck it up by the roots, and by which a believer humbles himself in the sight of the Lord and walks humbly before him all his days. The more of this faith he has, the farther he is from pride, and the more humble. And he who has not this faith, and does not live by it, his soul is lifted up in pride, and is not upright in him. (Hab. ii. 4.)

Faith which worketh by love discerns the excellence of the divine character and law, and the infinite evil of sin, — approves of the former, and condemns the latter. In the exercise of this faith the law comes, sin revives, and the sinner dies, — feels himself undone and lost forever, notwithstanding any help or righteousness in himself, if treated according to the righteous law of God. By this faith the sinner flies to the Redeemer for righteousness, justification, and redemption, as a free gift to an infinitely unworthy creature, who has no righteousness of his own to recommend him to the least favor, and never can have any. And the more the sinner has of this faith, which implies love and repentance, and the longer he lives by it, the more he sees and feels the evil nature and ill desert of sin, and a view and sense of his own sinfulness increases, and the more he prizes and trusts in Christ for pardon, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. And, if he be not really a greater criminal than he was before, he now sees much more of his sin and guilt, and a view and sense of this increases as he grows in faith and grace. Thus all boasting is most effectually excluded by the law of faith, as faith itself discards and opposes all that which could be the ground of boasting.

Hence it appears that they who exclude repentance and love from faith take an effectual way to support boasting and the pride of man; for that faith in which there is no repentance does not oppose the pride of the human heart, but leaves man as proud as before, and with the same disposition to exalt himself, and trust in himself that he is righteous. No one who has not a heart that is truly penitent and friendly to God will humble himself before God, and be willing to be wholly indebted to free sovereign grace for justification and redemption.*

4. If faith did not imply a right taste and disposition and true love to Christ, it would not in any manner or degree unite the sinner to Christ so as to render it fit and proper that his righteousness should be reckoned in his favor, or be any reason why such a believer should be justified, rather than another who does not believe. It has been shown that, in the Scripture, the believer is said to be in a particular relation to Christ, to be *in* Christ, and to put him on; to be united to him as the wife is to the husband, and the members of the body to the head, and that this union is by faith. This gives him an interest in Christ, as on account of this union he may with reason and propriety be considered and treated as belonging to Christ, so as to have the benefit of his worthiness and righteousness for his justification, and in this sense he is justified by faith. That faith, therefore, which does not unite to Christ, cannot be justifying, saving faith. No faith can do this but that which implies love, for in this all true moral union consists. That faith which is consistent with the sinner's being at heart an enemy to Christ, does in no true sense unite to him, but is consistent with the greatest, with total alienation from him, and opposition to him. Therefore, there is no more reason or fitness that the man who has such a faith should be justified by the righteousness of Christ, than he who has it not, but is in every sense an unbeliever.

It must be still kept in mind, that faith does not bring into a justified state, because it is a good work, or out of respect to the moral goodness there is in it; but because of the *natural* fitness there is that he whose heart is united to Christ, as it is by believing, should be recommended to favor, and justified by his worthiness and righteousness, to whom he is thus united,

* "There is that in the nature of repentance which peculiarly tends to establish the contrary of justification by works; for nothing so much renounces our own worthiness and excellency as repentance. The very nature of it is to acknowledge our own utter sinfulness and unworthiness, and to renounce our own goodness and all confidence in self, and to trust in the propitiation of the Mediator, and ascribe all the glory of forgiveness to *him*." — *President Edwards's Discourse on Justification by Faith alone.*

and in whom he trusts. The believing sinner is considered, when viewed in and by himself, as destitute of any thing to recommend him to favor, and as unworthy and ill deserving, as if he had no faith and no kind or degree of moral goodness: and must be viewed so, according to the reason of things and the law of God; so that when he is justified, he is justified as being *ungodly*, because he really is so; that is, has no moral goodness to recommend him, as the reason why he should be justified, rather than another, who has no moral goodness. In this respect all are alike and upon equal grounds. This leads us to the true sense of the following words of the apostle Paul, "To him that *worketh not*, but believeth on him that justifieth the *ungodly*, his faith is counted for righteousness." (Rom. iv. 5.)

By him that *worketh not*, is evidently meant one who does not attempt to work, in order to recommend himself to the favor of God by his moral goodness; is not of those who are of the works of the law, and consequently under the curse of it, notwithstanding any thing they can do; but renounces all pretence and desire to be justified in this way by his works; but, directly contrary to this, believeth on him, and receives from him, as a free, undeserved favor, justification, who gives it to all such, though they have no righteousness or works to recommend them, but are in this respect *ungodly*. This is evidently the apostle's meaning; for he puts *not working* and believing in opposition to working in order to recommend themselves and render themselves worthy of a reward, so as, in this sense, to bring God into debt to them. This appears by the foregoing words, with which those are connected. "Now to him that *worketh* is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that *worketh not*, but *believeth* on him that justifieth the ungodly," etc. By *working*, he means the deeds, the works of the law, of which he speaks, and sets them in opposition to faith, as he does here. What is meant by working to merit a reward, has been often explained in the preceding section and in this. Faith is opposed to this, and looks to Christ, and receives justification, pardon and righteousness, as a free, undeserved gift to the ungodly, that is, to one who has no good works, no worthiness to recommend him to the least favor, but is infinitely unworthy, guilty, and ill deserving. All this is consistent with faith, implying and consisting in all that moral goodness, gospel holiness, and obedience, which, according to Scripture, it does, as has been shown in the section on saving faith.

5. If moral goodness in justifying faith would recommend

the believer to favor on account of the worth in it, and render a sinner more worthy and deserving, or less unworthy and ill deserving in the sight of God, and, therefore, is inconsistent with justification by free grace, and consequently all moral goodness must be excluded from it; then it is equally necessary that the believer should never have any moral goodness in order to his being saved by grace. They who would exclude all moral goodness from faith, and suppose, if it involves repentance and love, and is really a holy exercise, this moral goodness would render the sinner more deserving or less ill deserving, and so would be inconsistent with his being justified wholly by the righteousness of Christ, and saved by free grace, do suppose, at the same time, that gospel holiness and obedience is somehow connected with saving faith, and does take place, sooner or later, in the heart of every believer. But if moral goodness in those who have sinned, in itself considered, recommend to favor, and render them worthy of it, then when they attain to this they will have no more need of the righteousness of Christ, nor of free grace, but may and must trust in their own righteousness. And when they come to be perfectly holy, they may justly consider themselves as worthy of eternal life, and claim it as a debt, and not receive it as a free gift. Do not they who carefully exclude all moral goodness from saving faith, for the reason above mentioned, appear inconsistent with themselves in this respect? It is not yet seen how those things can be reconciled.

But if what has been proved concerning the law of God and the true state of the sinner, viz., that no possible degree of holiness and obedience continued any length of time by the sinner, can atone for one sin; but if he once transgress the law, he falls under the curse of it, from which no moral goodness, afterwards attained, can deliver him, but he will forever deserve to be the subject of the displeasure of God, and condemned to eternal misery: if this be kept in view, it will appear that, whatever moral goodness he attains, it does not render him the less unworthy, and if he be pardoned and saved, it must be as much through the righteousness of Christ, and as really a free gift to him, and he as much the subject of free grace, as if he had no moral good; and the believer must receive all favors and continue in a justified state through life, however obedient he be, and forever, though perfectly holy, out of respect to the righteousness of Christ, and as a gift of free grace, as much as he received justification at first; and there does not appear any inconsistence or difficulty in the matter, when viewed in this Scripture light.

The redeemed, when perfectly holy in heaven, will, considered in and by themselves, be as deserving of the divine displeasure and everlasting punishment as they ever were, and will be so forever. They continue in a justified state, and in the enjoyment of the favor of God, by continuing united to Christ; and were it possible that this union between the Redeemer and them should cease, they would, they must fall under condemnation, and sink into hell. It is true, that the obedience and holiness of believers is acceptable to God, and may be rewarded, as a testimony of this, in consequence of their union to Christ, and out of respect to his atonement and worthiness, because they are united to him and love him, who is so infinitely worthy in the sight of God. Their persons and their obedience and offerings to God are pleasing and acceptable to him for the sake of Christ, and because they belong to him, and are in him, and do all in his name. This is the account the Scripture gives of the matter. "To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein *he hath made us accepted* in *the beloved.*" (Eph. i. 6.) "And whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, giving thanks to God and the Father *by* him." (Col. iii. 17.) "To whom coming, as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God and precious; ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, *acceptable to God, by Jesus Christ.*" (1 Pet. ii. 4, 5.) "Now the God of peace — make you perfect in every good work, to do his will, working in you that which is *well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ.*" (Heb. xiii. 21.) The reason of this is, that by the atonement which Christ has made for sin, and out of respect to that, their sins are all forgiven; they are blotted out, so as not to be remembered against them. In this respect, their guilt is cancelled and done away, which otherwise would counterbalance, swallow up, and destroy, all their moral goodness. In this sense, God is reconciled to them in Christ, not imputing their trespasses unto them. (2 Cor. v. 19.) And by reason of their relation to Christ, their moral goodness, in the exercise of which they cleave to Christ, and love and honor him, is more acceptable, precious, and worthy in the sight of God, than it could be in any creature not so united to the infinitely worthy Redeemer. Their relation to him gives them a dignity and worthiness, which they have not in themselves, considered as separate from Christ, and renders all their holiness more acceptable and rewardable than otherwise it could be. This is expressed by Christ in the following words: "He that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father. The Father himself loveth you, *because*

ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God." (John xiv. 21; xvi. 27.)*

But further to explain the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, now under consideration, it must be observed, —

VI. Men are brought into a justified state by one, the first act of saving faith. The promise of salvation is made to him who believeth. "He that believeth shall be saved; he hath eternal life, and shall never come into condemnation." He, therefore, who believes and exercises one act of true faith, however imperfect and weak, comes within the reach of this promise, is justified, and shall be saved. The reason of it is, because the first act of faith as really unites the sinner to Christ, as many, or a course of acts do, and therefore is sufficient to render it fit and suitable that he should have an interest in his merit and righteousness.

It is true, indeed, that in order to a person's continuing in a justified state, he must continue united to Christ, and, therefore, must persevere in his faith, in which the union on his part consists, and by which it is maintained. And in this respect the faith by which a man is justified, and obtains the promises of life, is a *persevering* faith. Though a man is pardoned and has a promise of eternal life, upon the first act of faith, yet this first act is not regarded by God, in his justifying him, as the only act; but it is viewed as connected with a continued series of the acts of the same faith to the end. And the first act entitles to life, as the first or beginning of a continued course of exercises of the same kind, or as a persevering faith.

The first act of faith entitles to perseverance in faith, by virtue of a divine constitution and promise. God has promised that he who once believes shall continue to believe, so that his faith shall not fail, — that they shall be "kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation." (1 Pet. i. 5.) If this were not the case, it would not be fit or congruous, that he who once believes should have the promise of salvation, and justification to eternal life would be suspended until the believer had persevered in faith.

In the first act of saving faith, the believer does virtually and implicitly, if not expressly, look to Christ and trust in him for perseverance, together with other blessings, and so it gives a title to this benefit among others. In this view, perseverance in faith is implied in the first act; and as such, it is justifying faith, and has the promise of salvation. The Scripture sets this point in the same light. "Now, the just shall

* See President Edwards on Justification by Faith alone.

live by faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. But we are not of them who draw back unto perdition; but of them that believe to the saving of the soul." (Heb. x. 38, 39.) Here saving faith is represented as persevering faith; and perseverance, as being that in faith, by which it becomes saving; for believing to the saving of the soul is put in opposition to drawing back unto perdition, and therefore must mean a persevering faith.

In this view it may be seen why believers are daily to pray for the forgiveness of the sins which they commit after they are in a justified state, and why God is represented as actually forgiving them, and that this forgiveness is suspended upon their renewed acts of repentance and faith. The believer, upon his first believing, has the forgiveness of all his past sins, and the promise that all his future sins shall be forgiven; so that he shall never come into condemnation, but is passed from death to life. But this justification is, the whole of it, in some sense, conditional; it is granted upon the supposition that he will persevere in a course of repeated acts of faith, and that his present union to Christ will never cease, but be an everlasting union. If this should cease to exist, and this were possible, all his past sins would be remembered against him, and he fall into condemnation, and under the curse of the law; nor could any of his sins which he should commit in future be forgiven. He has the promise of the forgiveness of all the sins which he shall commit, upon condition he does persevere in repentance and faith; therefore, upon his renewed sinning, he renews acts of repentance and faith, and, in the exercise of these, asks for pardon, and upon this he is actually forgiven, and not before, agreeably to the divine promise. But as his perseverance in faith is made sure by the promise of God, in the covenant of grace, pardon of all his sins and eternal life are made sure to him, upon his first act of faith, and his justification.

VII. In the justification of the believer by the righteousness of Christ, it does not become his righteousness, so as that he is considered as having actually done and suffered, in his own person, what Christ did and suffered; for this is in no sense true, and cannot be made true. But he, being in Christ, united to him by faith, the righteousness of Christ, what he has done and suffered for sinners, and in their place and stead, avails for the believer's justification, and he has as much advantage by it in this respect, as if it were his own personal righteousness. It would be needless to mention this particular, if some had not entertained this notion of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, and represented it in this very

absurd light; and drawn consequences from it, most contrary to the truth and many express declarations of Scripture.

VIII. In pardoning and justifying the believer, his sins are not so blotted out, or covered, as not to be any more seen or remembered. When sins are once committed, they never can become no sins; it will be forever true that they were committed. These facts, or the nature of them, cannot be annihilated or altered. And it is impossible that they should be forgotten by God, or out of his sight, while he exists the OMNISCIENT. And the believer's knowledge that he is justified has no tendency to make him forget his sins, but the contrary, viz., to fix them on his memory, to think much of them, confess them, and humble himself for them, and admire the grace of God in his forgiveness, for the sake of Christ. If he could forget his sins, he would forget that he was pardoned; for the latter supposes the former, and is founded upon it. Paul remembered, and repeatedly mentioned, his sins, and ranks himself among the chief of sinners, after he knew he was pardoned and had obtained mercy. And if he could lose the idea of his sin and guilt, he would have no idea of the mercy of God to him, as long as he exists. His sin, in persecuting the saints, and the sins of other justified persons, on Scripture record, are so far from being forgotten, covered, or hid, that they are published to the world, and will be eternally known and remembered. The Scripture speaks of forgiving sin, by such phrases as these: Not remembering them any more; covering them; casting them into the depths of the sea, etc. These are strong metaphorical expressions, to denote that God does not, and never will, suffer them to rise and be brought against the believer, to condemn him, or do him any hurt. In this sense they are annihilated, blotted out, and never shall be remembered any more. That these expressions cannot be understood in any other sense, or be literally true, appears from the observations which have been made under this head.

IX. The justification of the believer by the righteousness of Christ does in no measure free him from obligation to be perfectly holy in his own person, but increases it, and his criminality in not being so. He is freed from the curse of the law for not being perfectly and perseveringly holy, and from obligation to perfect obedience, in order to be justified, for he is already justified without this. In this respect he is not under the law, but under grace; but still he is under obligation to love God with all his heart, and his neighbor as himself. His faith is a conformity to these commands, as including repentance and love; and he cannot be perfectly holy, to which he

is under indispensable obligation, till he comes to a perfect conformity to this law, for by this only he can be holy as God is holy. It is impossible he should not be under obligation to obey this law perfectly, for it is founded in reason, and cannot be altered or abated, and must, therefore, forever be the rule of the duty of creatures; and every thing in them which is contrary to this law, or a disregard of it, is sin. Christ did not come to destroy or make void the law in this respect, but to fulfil it; and his fulfilling or obeying it, and suffering the penalty of it, does not release the believer from obligation to obedience to it, for this is impossible, because it would be infinitely wrong; yet some have been so wild in their notions, and so absurd and infatuated, as to suppose he has done it!

It has been observed that gospel holiness, or the holiness of faith, differs from legal holiness, or the holiness of man before he fell into sin, and that of the angels; and the difference has been particularly stated in the foregoing section. Nevertheless, the holiness necessary to justification by law, or the covenant of works, and that of the believer under the covenant of grace, are of the same nature and kind, and consist in obedience and conformity to the same law, — in love to God, and to our neighbor, — though the latter may require exercises in some respects different, and towards new and different objects and truths, which could have no place or existence under the former, such as sinful man, redemption, the character of Jesus Christ, his sufferings and works, etc.

And it is worthy of observation here, that the holiness of faith and of the redeemed — so far as for the reason above mentioned it differs from legal holiness, or that under a covenant of works — has a peculiar beauty and excellence, and renders him who possesses it more happy than he could be under a covenant of works, though perfectly holy.

The redeemed are raised from the dark regions of infinite guilt and woe, delivered from sin, in which they were totally involved, and translated from the power and kingdom of Satan into the eternal kingdom of Christ, to sit down and reign with him on his throne. And this deliverance, happiness, and honor, is not from themselves in the least degree, but from the free sovereign grace and wonderful love of God, and by the incarnation of the Son of God, and his taking the place of sinners, and dying for their redemption. All this makes an amiable and glorious display of the love and wisdom of God, which could not have been made had not redemption taken place. And all this new and wonderful scene lays a foundation for answerable exercises, by the redeemed, in the deepest humility, — in a sense and acknowledgment of their

unworthiness and absolute dependence on free sovereign grace for all the good, both negative and positive, comprised in redemption; and in the sweet love of benevolence, delight, and gratitude, answerable to the divine love and holiness manifested in the redemption of sinners, and his unspeakable love and grace to them, by which they are laid under peculiarly great, and the most agreeable, everlasting obligations to gratitude and praise.

In these respects, and by their everlasting and peculiarly near and dear relation to Christ, and union with him, — by which they are the bride, the Lamb's wife, — the redeemed church will shine in a peculiarly beautiful holiness and glory, and enjoy greater happiness and honor than any of those creatures who have not been redeemed, though perfectly holy. In this respect, as well as others, redemption is the *new creation*, — the *new heaven and new earth*, — far exceeding the first and old creation. In this there is a new display of the divine glory, — a new mode of the exercise of holiness, by a new kind of creatures, by putting on a form in which there is a new beauty and excellence; and a new degree of happiness, — a new and glorious character in the Redeemer, the centre of union, love, and holiness of the redeemed church; and, in one word, a new moral world, which could not have taken place were it not for the apostasy of man and redemption by Christ. In this sense, "old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new!"

X. On the whole, the doctrine of the justification of sinners by faith in Jesus Christ appears to be not only agreeable to the Scripture, but rational, when examined and understood, there being nothing absurd or inconsistent in it. The law of God admits of a substitute to obey or to suffer for others in their room and stead. The first man was constituted such, and he was made a type and figure of the second man, who was to come, the Lord from heaven. He was able to do what the first man could not, even to redeem sinners from the curse of the law, by taking the curse on himself, and suffering it for them, as well as obeying it perfectly; being made under the law, and putting himself in their place. Thus he has a righteousness which answers the law, and, therefore, sufficient for the justification of all those in whose favor it can be properly applied, so as consistently to have the benefit of it, as much as if it were their own personal righteousness. This can be done only by the sinner's being cordially united to him, approving of his character, and receiving and trusting in him for righteousness and redemption, which is done by *believing in him*. Therefore, "Christ is the end of the law for righteous-

ness to every one that believeth — even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all them that believe." And this righteousness avails to their complete justification; their sins are pardoned for the sake of Christ, who is the propitiation for their sins. He suffering for them, the just for the unjust, has made full atonement; and they are made heirs of eternal life, being recommended by the merit and worthiness of Christ, — they being in him and one with him, as the members and head are one body.

It is agreeable to reason and common sense that one person should have favor shown to him out of respect to the merit and worthiness of another, purely on the account of the relation the former bears to the latter, who has no worthiness of such favor in himself, and to whom it would be improper to show such favor were it not for his relation to such a worthy person, by which he is, in some sense, united to him. This is really imputing the merit of one person to another — to recommend him to favor who has no worthiness in himself. Thus, if we have a friend who is very dear to us, and has great merit and worthiness with us, and we see a child in wretched circumstances, starving and naked, when we are informed that he is the son of our friend, we shall be disposed to show him kindness and give him relief, feed and clothe him, for the sake of his father, out of regard to his merit in our eyes. Or, if such a worthy person, who has great merit, have a friend who loves him, though he may have no worthiness in himself, and has offended us, yet, if he come recommended by this worthy friend of ours, desiring that we would forgive him and show him all the kindness he wants, we shall readily do it, wholly for the sake of the worthiness of our friend, though otherwise it would be improper, and we should be disposed to treat him with neglect and contempt; and this appears congruous and rational.

Much more is it so in the case before us. The Son of God, who is infinitely dear and worthy in his sight, has expressed his love to the Father, and zeal for his honor and the honor of his law and government, and hatred of all sin against him, by putting himself in the place of sinners under the law; and has borne the curse of it himself in the sinner's stead, and obeyed it perfectly, hereby manifesting his love to sinful man, and desire of their salvation, if consistent with the honor of God and his law; and, that he might make it so for all those who believe in him, has done and suffered all this, and in this way has exerted himself to the utmost, that they may be pardoned and saved, and God honored thereby, — that God may be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in him. And

in all this, in which he has exercised and expressed his love of righteousness and hatred of iniquity, in the best manner and to the highest degree possible, he has merited infinitely with the Father; he is well pleased for his righteousness' sake, and is ready to give him whatever he asks, especially that for the sake of which he has gone through all this labor and suffering. He asks that he would pardon and save every guilty sinner who unites himself to him by believing on him, who shall love, receive, and trust in him, that his righteousness may be imputed to him, and that for his sake he will justify and save all such whom he loves, and for whom he has done and suffered so much. (See John xvii.) The Father is so well pleased with his righteousness, and he is so infinitely dear, honorable, and meritorious in his sight, that he is ready to show all needed favor to those who love his Son, and believe on him for his sake and purely out of respect to his suffering and merit, to justify them, and give them eternal life, though they be in themselves infinitely unworthy and ill deserving. Thus the righteousness of Christ is imputed to all them who believe for their justification. And who can show that there is any thing unreasonable or contrary to the truth in this procedure? Who will say it is not perfectly reasonable and proper?

IMPROVEMENT.

The subject of this section leads us to see, and reflect upon, the wonderful display of infinite wisdom in the salvation of man by Jesus Christ.

It has been observed, that wisdom is a moral excellence; it is a moral perfection of God. It is included in benevolence or goodness, and cannot be separated from it. Where there is no benevolence, there is no wisdom; and where there is no wisdom, there is no benevolence. And there is always, and in all instances, as much wisdom as there is goodness, and *vice versa*. Yet it is proper and necessary to distinguish between these, in order to think and speak most clearly of the perfection of God. And this is done in the Scripture. The goodness of God is a *wise* goodness, is exercised in the wisest and best manner, to answer the best ends. God is as wise as he is good.

There is a most bright and glorious display of the wisdom of God in the redemption of man. Therefore, the gospel of the grace of God is called *wisdom*, the *wisdom of God*. And Christ is called so. And the apostle Paul, speaking of the redemption of man, has the following remarkable expression: "According to the *riches of his grace*, wherein he hath abounded

towards us, in *all wisdom and prudence.*" (Eph. i. 8.) And he says, the angels learn the manifold wisdom of God, in the redemption of his church by Jesus Christ. "To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known *by the church* the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Chap. iii. 10, 11.)

In order to lay the best and most ample foundation, and give opportunity and occasion for the greatest and most glorious exercise and manifestation of the love and grace of God, it has been wisely ordered that there should be creatures in a state of infinite guilt and wretchedness, from which they could not be delivered consistent with the honor of the divine law and the moral character and government of God, unless a divine person, the Son of God, became a man, and took upon him the form of a servant, putting himself under the law, and taking the sinner's place, so as to bear the curse in his stead, and die an ignominious, cruel, and accursed death for him: and having thus suffered, and obeyed the law of God in the most trying circumstances, he is become the author of eternal salvation to all them who obey him. And in this way of salvation by Christ, there is no room for mere human righteousness and worthiness to come into the account. The righteousness by which man is accepted and justified, is a *divine* righteousness, the righteousness of God; — a righteousness of which not a mere creature is the author. And the worth of it arises from the dignity of the divine nature, and not from any worthiness of a mere creature. In this way man is emptied of all worthiness in himself, and greatly humbled, and brought into a state of exceeding, peculiar dependence on God; and divine grace is exalted and honored, while the believer receives from him "abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness." (Eph. v. 17.)

And the redeemed are interested in this divine righteousness, not out of regard to any worthiness of their own, but when they are justified they are considered in themselves infinitely unworthy; and that by which they are united to this divine person, so as to have the advantage of his merit, the bond of union on their part consists in an exercise of soul in which they discern and acknowledge that they are infinitely guilty, ill deserving, hateful creatures; that were there not an infinitely meritorious righteousness in Christ, it would not be proper or consistent with the law and the perfection of God that they should be pardoned and saved; and that the righteousness by which they are justified, is that of a divine person, the righteousness of God. They, therefore, ascribe every good

they receive, every thing better than endless destruction, to the free, sovereign grace of God, and give him all the glory of it. This is "to be justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ. And it is of faith, that it might be by grace." (Rom. iii. 24; iv. 16.) "By grace are ye saved through faith." And the apostle adds, "And that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." (Eph. ii. 8.) This leads to observe, that the faith by which men are united to Christ is the free, sovereign gift of God, in renewing their hearts and forming them to such an exercise, in which he acts as an absolute sovereign, and has mercy on whom he will have mercy.

Every thing is so ordered in the work of redemption, as to give the greatest occasion and advantage, and the best opportunity for the exercise of the infinite goodness and grace of God; and in such a manner as to make it most visible to creatures. And the redeemed are put under the best advantage to see it in the extent and glory of it, and be properly affected with it. The emptiness and nothingness of the creature, his infinite dependence on God, the fountain of being and all good; the infinite sufficiency for the creature, even for infinitely guilty and wretched creatures, and his free, sovereign, unbounded love and grace, are here set in the most advantageous and striking light, especially to the redeemed, so that in the final issue of things, when redemption is perfected, God will appear in the clearest light possible, to be ALL IN ALL. (1 Cor. xv. 28.) And they will receive unspeakably greater good than they could have wanted, or were capable of, had they not sinned, and had there been no divine Mediator and righteousness; and all to the praise of the glory of his grace." (Eph. i. 6.)

Now the wisdom of God has contrived and laid the plan for all this. Therefore, it is manifested and glorified in this exercise and display of divine grace, in which God hath *abounded in all wisdom and prudence.* Here the wisdom of God is set in the most conspicuous, pleasing light, which draws the attention, raises the admiration, influences the love, and exalts the praise of angels. And all who understand the gospel will cordially join with them, and with St. Paul, in his rapture and doxology: "O the depth of the riches, both of the *wisdom* and knowledge of God! Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, THE ONLY WISE GOD, be honor and glory, forever and ever. Amen." (Rom. xi. 33. 1 Tim. i. 17.)

II. In the view of this subject, we see how and in what respects the law is established in the justification of sinners by faith in Christ.

The apostle Paul says, the law is established in this way.

"Do we then make void the law through faith? Yea, we establish the law." (Rom. iii. 31.) And when we consider what saving faith is, and how the sinner is justified by faith, we may see on what ground this is asserted.

The whole work of the Redeemer in his incarnation, obedience, and sufferings, had reference to the law, in order to establish that and magnify it and make it honorable, consistent with the pardon and salvation of the sinner who believeth in Jesus. He was made under the law with this view, in order to suffer the curse of it, and obey it in the room of sinners, as their substitute and surety, and in this way obtain the righteousness of the law for them, that he might be "the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth."

That the law might be maintained and established by vicarious obedience or suffering, or by a substitute, was made known when man was first created, as has been shown. The first substitute or public head failed of obedience, and introduced sin and condemnation, which by divine constitution extended to all his posterity. All mankind are by the disobedience of the first man constituted sinners, and by sinning are under the curse of the law, from which they cannot be delivered, without abolishing the law, unless it be suffered by them, or a substitute. They could not suffer this curse and survive it; for the evil implied in it, and which they deserved, is infinite. And for the same reason, no mere creature in heaven or earth could be a substitute to suffer it in their room. But the last Adam, the second Man, who is the Lord from heaven, is able to take the curse on himself and suffer it, and yet survive; and having by this made full atonement for sin, and satisfied the threatening of the law, and by his obedience done all that is required of man in order to his justification, he has introduced a complete and everlasting righteousness; so that he to whom it may be properly imputed, and he have the advantage of it, as much as if it were his own personal righteousness, and he stood perfectly right in the sight of the law, may be justified, perfectly consistent with the law, and the law be more established, respected, and honored by the divine righteousness of the Mediator, than it would have been by the eternal sufferings of every transgressor and the obedience of all creatures.

But no man can be justified by the righteousness of Christ, unless he unite himself to him by faith in him; in which he is brought to see and heartily acknowledge the law which curses every transgressor of it, to be holy, just, and good, and that he may be justly destroyed forever for his sin, and if he be pardoned and saved, it must be wholly by free, undeserved, sovereign grace to him, while he receives this favor purely on

the account of the righteousness of Christ. And he highly approves of it, and is greatly pleased that the Mediator has done and suffered so much to establish and honor the law, so as to become the end of the law for righteousness to him who believeth and trusts in him in the character of "the Lord our righteousness." (Jer. xxiii. 6.) Thus the believer is a friend to the law of God, and does not wish to be saved in any way inconsistent with it. And by faith he is conformed to it, in the requirement of it, in a measure, and it is written on his heart. And he feels himself under indispensable obligation to perfect obedience to the law, as an unerring, excellent, and perfect rule, and acknowledges that every thing in him, contrary to this law, and that does not come up to all that it requires, is inexcusable wickedness. And he looks to Christ and trusts in him to bring him to a perfect conformity to the law of God, as without that he cannot be completely happy, and in which, in a great measure, his salvation consists. At the same time, he is watching and fighting against sin and Satan, and pressing forward after perfect holiness, working out his own salvation with fear and trembling.

Thus the law, both in the precepts and threatenings of it, is every way regarded, maintained, and established in the justification of sinners by faith in Christ, and is much more honored than it could have been had there been no Redeemer, and all transgressors of the law had perished, or had it never been transgressed.

Section III

The Covenant of Grace.

The covenant of grace, when understood in the most extensive sense, comprehends all the designs and transactions respecting the redemption of man by Jesus Christ, in opposition to the covenant of works, or law of works, under which man was first made, and is the same with the gospel, considered in its original, and the form in which it is administered, and the effects of it. In this view, it comprehends the eternal purpose of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to redeem man, fixing the manner of it, and every thing that relates to it, and entering into a mutual agreement or covenant; in which the part which each person should perform, as distinguished from the other, was fixed and voluntarily undertaken. The Father is represented in Scripture as first in this great affair, as giving and sending the Son to redeem man, and de-

termining the number and the individuals of the human race to be redeemed, and giving them to the Son to redeem them, and promising that he shall be upheld in this work, and carried through it, and be satisfied in his reward, and the salvation of those who were given to him. The Son agreed to all this, and undertook the part he was to act, saying, "Lo, I come: I delight to do thy will, O my God." The Holy Spirit undertakes to do the great part assigned to him in this work, particularly as the agent by whom the application of redemption is made to the elect, by sanctifying them, and effecting a union between the Redeemer and them, and by dwelling in them forever, as the spirit of love and holiness. But this covenant transaction is more particularly and often mentioned, as taking place between the Father and the Son, though not excluding the Holy Spirit.

It is needless to recite the numerous passages of Scripture which represent the matter in this light, and refer to this covenant, to him who is acquainted with his Bible. That such a covenant must take place between the persons of the adorable Trinity, is certain from the divine decrees, and necessarily implied in this one sentence of the apostle James: "Known unto God are all his works, from the beginning of the world." (Acts xv. 18.) This covenant may be considered as including the whole of redemption of man, as every thing relating to it is hereby fixed, and they who are to be redeemed have redemption secured to them; and the Mediator covenanted as the public head of his people, and their salvation was made sure; and in this respect, they are all included in this covenant. And this may be called a covenant of grace, as it is the effect and expression of sovereign love and grace, and is the foundation of all the favor and free grace which is to be given to the redeemed church to eternity, and comprehends it all.

But there is a covenant transaction, which takes place between God in Christ, and every believer, when the gospel is cordially embraced. This is often mentioned in Scripture, and God is said to enter into covenant with men, and believers are said to be in covenant, and to make a covenant with him, and enter into covenant, and lay hold of God's covenant, etc. This is a covenant distinct and different from that which has been mentioned between the persons in the Trinity, or, more expressly, between the Father and the Son, though this eternal covenant comprehends that made in time with believers, in the manner which has been mentioned. This distinction, therefore, must be made and kept in view, would we think and speak clearly and intelligibly on this subject. They who have been sensible of this, have distinguished them by

different names, calling the first, *the covenant of redemption*, and the last, *the covenant of grace*, without designing hereby to exclude grace from the former, or to consider it as not comprehending the latter in the sense above explained. But the difference consists partly in the different parties covenanting: the former is between the divine persons of the Godhead, or the Father and the Son; the latter, between these divine persons, or God in Christ, and sinful man;—partly, in the different promises and mutual engagements between the parties covenanting.

This may be illustrated in some measure, perhaps, by the following instance: The son of a great king, and the king himself, had compassion on a poor, wretched woman, who had been guilty of a capital crime, and was condemned to be put to death, and devised means to save her, and bring her to the honor and happiness of being the wife of the son. In order to this, and to make it consistent with the laws of the kingdom and the honor of the father and son, the latter must go through a scene of suffering and disgrace. The son willingly undertook this; and the father engaged to give him all the necessary assistance and support through the whole, and, in consequence of his doing this, and as a proper reward for his virtue, to give him a place on his throne, and to cause the woman to consent to be his wife, though she was now a great enemy to him, and to grant to her a free pardon, and that the son should make her as rich, honorable, and happy as he desired, taking her into the nearest relation and union to himself. This agreement and covenant being made between the father and the son, the latter went through all the suffering and disgrace which he had promised to do, and was received to the power and honor which the father had promised.

The son, being invested with authority and power to reclaim the woman, and bring her to consent to marry him, applied to her, and let her know all that had been done by him in order to her being pardoned and received to the greatest honor and happiness upon her consenting to be his wife, and offered himself to her to be her friend and husband, and do all for her which she could want or desire, *if she would consent to be his wife*, and give herself up to him to be thus related and united to him. The woman freely consented to the proposal of the prince, and accepted of his kind offer, and, relying on his faithfulness and goodness, engaged to do the duty of a wife to him. Thus a particular covenant was made, and took place between them, by their mutual promises to each other.

When Christ, the Mediator, had finished the part assigned to him, and which he had engaged in the covenant of redemp-

tion, in taking upon him the form of a servant and becoming obedient unto death, he was raised from the dead, and exalted to the throne of the universe, and made head over all things to the church, as a reward for the great work which he had finished by his obedience and sufferings, by which he was openly approved and justified as Mediator between God and man; and power was given unto him over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as were given to him by the Father. (John xvii. 2.)

And he has ordered the gospel to be preached to men, declaring his character, works, and designs, and publishing the way of salvation by him, and freely offering it to all who will accept of it, and promising that all who believe on him, giving themselves to him to be his disciples and servants, shall be saved. This is the sum of the covenant of grace as it is published and preached in the gospel of the grace of God; and every one who embraces it enters into this covenant, for this is the only condition on man's part, and by this men are entitled to all the promises of the covenant, and salvation is made sure to them.

The following things may be observed concerning this covenant: —

1. All the promised blessings and good things contained in this covenant are made sure to the believer on his first believing and entering into covenant, because one of the promises of this covenant, as proposed to men by God, is, that he who once believes, and accepts of the offer made, shall persevere in his adherence to it, and never fall from it so as to fail of the blessings of it. It is, in this respect, an *everlasting* covenant, as it insures everlasting life, and can never fail, or be broken by either party in covenant. This is the covenant described in the following words: "And I will make an *everlasting* covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, *that they shall not depart from me.*" (Jer. xxxii. 40.) This is the covenant of which David speaks, as comprising the whole of his salvation and all his desire. (2 Sam. xxiii. 5.) The tenor of the covenant of grace is stated as follows: "This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord: I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. And they shall not teach every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest. For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." (Heb. viii. 10–12.)

2. This covenant is called in Scripture a *new* and second covenant, in distinction from another and foregoing covenant.

The covenant between God the Father and the second person of the Trinity is a new and second covenant. The first covenant was between God and the first Adam as representing all mankind as their public head. That between God and the last Adam, — the Redeemer of men, the second public head, — is a second covenant, and a *new* one; and this lays the foundation of the covenant between God and man, of which we are now speaking, and really implies it, as has been observed.

But this covenant between God the Redeemer and those who believe in him, is expressly called a *new* covenant, as it is a covenant of grace, and herein distinguished from the covenant of works, under which all mankind were, antecedent to redemption by Christ; and which was brought into view, and kept most in sight, under the Mosaic dispensation. The covenant made with the children of Israel was in the form of a covenant of works. The law of works was exhibited first, and brought most clearly into sight, that it might be known to be what it really is. And the covenant of grace, or the gospel, though revealed and contained in that covenant, was not set in open light, but covered, and in a measure hid under the types and shadows of that covenant, and under the form of a covenant of works, as the nucleus or kernel is covered and hid with the husk or shell that surrounds it. So that they who were not spiritual, discerning, and attentive, saw only the outside, and considered it as wholly a covenant of works, and hoped for justification by it, in that view. It is certain this was the case with the nation of the Jews in general, in the apostles' days. They sought righteousness and justification, as it were, by the works of the law. They were ignorant of God's righteousness, and attempted to establish their own righteousness, — the righteousness of the law. (Rom. ix. 32; x. 3.) This form of a covenant of works is represented by the veil which Moses put over his face when speaking to the people, so "that the children of Israel could not steadfastly look to the end of that which was to be abolished; but their minds were blinded; for even to the days of the apostles, the same veil remained in the reading of the Old Testament, (or the old covenant,) but even to that day, when Moses was read, the veil was upon their heart." (2 Cor. iii. 13–15.) In this view of it, and considered as exhibiting the covenant of works, St. Paul calls the giving the law from Mount Sinai, and that dispensation, "the ministration of death and condemnation, written and engraven on stones." (2 Cor. iii. 7, 9.) It is, therefore, said, "The law was given by Moses; but grace and

truth came by Jesus Christ." (John i. 17.) The dispensation under Moses was a legal dispensation, exhibiting law in the form of a covenant of works. One particular, and perhaps the principal design of it, was to reveal the divine law in the strictness, extent, and glory of it, as necessary to prepare for the clear and open manifestation of the covenant of grace, which was then in a great measure hid, and more obscurely revealed under shadows and types, and in other ways, so that the whole was but a *shadow* of the good things of the covenant of grace. (Heb. x. 1.)

Therefore, the revelation made by Moses is called *the law;* and the covenant into which the children of Israel entered is represented as a legal covenant, — a covenant of works, to which the covenant of grace is opposed, as another and a new covenant. A few quotations from Scripture, out of many that might be mentioned, will ascertain this. "But now he (Jesus) hath obtained a more excellent ministry, (than the high priests under the law of Moses,) by how much also he is the Mediator of a *better covenant* which was established upon better promises. For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place have been sought for the *second.* For finding fault with them, he saith, Behold the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a *new covenant* with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; because they continued not in my covenant, and I regarded them not, saith the Lord." (Heb. viii. 6–9.) Therefore, the gospel is called the *New Testament,* and the Mosaic dispensation is called the *Old Testament.** "Who hath made us able ministers of the *New Testament.* For until this day, remaineth the same veil untaken away, in reading the *Old Testament,* which veil is done away in Christ." (2 Cor. iii. 6, 14.)

3. The covenant of grace has been revealed to man, and has been administered in different forms and by various methods, ever since the first intimation of mercy to sinners, made soon after the first apostasy, and by it all true believers have been saved from that time to this, and none have been saved in any other way, nor will any be saved in any other way but this, to the end of the world. And in this respect it is an everlasting covenant. This covenant was made known to Adam, and was administered to the salvation of all the truly pious from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, and from him to Moses. And nothing but the wickedness of man, and his opposition

* The same word, in the original, is translated *testament* and *covenant.*

to the things contained and implied in this covenant, has prevented the publication of it to every one of the human race, and their salvation by it. And from Moses to the coming of Christ, the covenant of grace was made known and administered, and the gospel was preached to the children of Israel through all that time, and all the pious were saved by it, though it was covered under the form of a covenant of works, as has been observed and explained.

The law, as a covenant of works, was not exhibited in the revelation made to the children of Israel by Moses, as it has been now explained, under the notion that any man could obtain the favor of God, and be saved by this law or covenant, for this was impossible. But this law was thus revealed and added, that it might be known what the law was, and that men might be hereby convinced that no man can be justified by the works of the law, as by his sins he is under the curse of it; and that under this conviction, and despairing of salvation by the covenant of works, they might be led to understand and embrace the covenant of grace, the way of salvation by faith in the Redeemer. This is the light in which this point is set by the apostle Paul. "Is the law, then, against the promises of God? God forbid. For if there had been a law which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law; but the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe." (Gal. iii. 21, 22.) This was the end which the revelation of this law answered to those who were saved under that dispensation, and it is suited and designed to answer this same end to those who shall be saved to the end of the world. For by the law thus revealed is the knowledge of sin, and the curse of God, under which all men are who do not believe in Christ. Thus St. Paul states the matter with regard to himself: "I had not known sin but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet. For without the law, sin was dead. I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died." (Rom. vii. 7–9.)

Though the Redeemer had not actually performed and gone through what he had undertaken to do and suffer, yet it being engaged and made certain, all believers who lived before his incarnation were saved by virtue of his sufferings and obedience, which were certain to take place in due time.

4. The difference and opposition between the covenant of works and the new covenant, the covenant of grace, has been particularly stated in the two preceding sections. The former requires perfect obedience as the condition of life, as the price

to recommend to the favor of God, which is the righteousness of the law of works. The latter consists in a testimony and promise on God's part, requiring nothing of man but that belief of this testimony and promise, which implies a cordial reception of the good things exhibited and offered in this covenant, without offering any thing as the price of them, but receiving them as a free gift to a sinner, infinitely guilty and wretched. The condition of the first is out of the reach of man. It is impossible he should obtain righteousness by it, because he is a sinner. The last is possible to all, and saves every one who believeth.

The apostle Paul states the difference and opposition between these two covenants, from the writings of Moses, which proves that both these covenants were revealed in that dispensation. His words are these: "Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doth those things, shall live by them. (See Lev. xviii. 5.) But the righteousness which is of faith, speaketh on this wise: Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down,) or who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart. (See Deut. xxx. 11–14.) That is, the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." (Rom. x. 5–9.)

5. In the preaching of the gospel, the covenant of grace is proposed, and the blessings it contains are offered to all to whom it comes, upon their believing and heartily approving the way of salvation therein proposed. For all who thus comply, come up to the condition of the covenant, on their part, and consequently are interested in all the promises of it.

The atonement and righteousness of Christ is sufficient for the justification and salvation of all them who believe, be they ever so many, even all the human race. Therefore, the offer of salvation is made to all, without exception, and salvation is promised to all who believe, or willingly embrace the offer, to which they are invited and commanded. The direction and command is to preach the gospel to all nations, to every creature. But this cannot be done if the blessings of the covenant of grace be not offered to all, even pardon, justification, and salvation, who are willing to receive them. For it is no gospel, no good news, to those to whom this offer and invitation cannot be made. The gospel cannot be preached to the devils, because the offer of salvation cannot be made to them, on any condition whatsoever. And if there be any of mankind to

whom this offer may not be made, the gospel can no more be preached to them than to the fallen angels.

The gospel may be preached, and all the blessings of the covenant of grace be offered, to those who are not willing to accept of the offer, and never will believe the report, and be saved. It is contrary to all reason and common sense, to say, that no good thing can be offered to him who is not, and never can be persuaded to be, willing to accept it; that his rejecting the thing offered, renders it no offer to him, and annihilates the good will and kindness of him who made the offer; therefore, that there can be no goodness manifested or exercised, in making an offer of the greatest good to him who does not receive it; and there is really nothing offered. But all this is implied in saying that salvation by Christ cannot be offered to those who, by rejecting him, shall not be saved, but perish forever.

It is known to God, that some to whom the gospel is preached, and salvation by Christ offered, will reject it, and who they are who will do so, and consequently fail of salvation. But if their refusing the offer be consistent with their having it really made to them, then the knowledge that they will refuse to accept it, cannot render the offer less real and sincere.

But that the blessings of the covenant of grace are offered to all, without exception, and all to whom the gospel comes are invited and commanded to repent and believe, is as evident and certain a truth as any contained in the Bible. When Christ sent his disciples to preach, he directed them to say to all, "*Repent*, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." "And they went out and preached that men should repent." (Mark vi. 12.) And they offered peace and salvation to every person in the houses into which they entered. (Luke x. 5.) And Christ himself "preached the gospel of the kingdom of God, saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand. *Repent ye, and believe the gospel.*" (Mark i. 14.) And "now God commandeth *all men every where* to repent." (Acts xvii. 30.) That is, to comply with the condition of the covenant of grace, and be saved; for, as has been shown, repentance is put for the whole of conversion, and implies faith, and is connected with pardon and salvation. Christ says, he "that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him." (John xii. 48.) None can *reject* him, to whom he is not offered. Therefore, he, with all his benefits, is offered to all who hear the gospel. The apostle Paul offered salvation to all who were present and heard him preach in a synagogue of the Jews: "Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, (that is,

all who are not of the stock of Abraham, but proselytes from other nations,) *to you* is the word of this salvation sent." (Acts xiii. 26.) And when the Jews contradicted him, and blasphemed, he and Barnabas said to them, "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles." (Acts xiii. 46.) But to quote any more of this kind is needless. And not so much would have been offered on this head, were it not that there are some who think that salvation by Christ cannot be offered to any but those who are elected and shall believe and be saved. And as no man can know who they are, so as certainly to distinguish them from others, salvation cannot be offered to any, on any condition or terms whatever. How contrary this notion is both to the Scripture and to reason, and how inconsistent with preaching the gospel to any, will appear from the observations which have been now made.

IMPROVEMENT.

How great is the privilege which all enjoy who live under the gospel! Salvation is sent unto them, and laid at their feet, and Christ is waiting for their acceptance, standing at the door, and knocking for admittance. How amazing, how inconceivably great, is their folly, madness, and guilt, who reject this most benevolent counsel of God, against themselves, and perish by slighting this offer, and despising the Redeemer!

How safe and happy are they who lay hold of this covenant of grace! By infinite wisdom it is formed and suited to the state and circumstances of man, and contains every thing he can want to eternity. They may espouse the language of St. Paul: "God hath saved us, and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began." (2 Tim. i. 9.) "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Rom. viii. 35, 38, 39.)

Section IV.

Manner of the Dispensation of the Covenant of Grace, and the Preaching of the Gospel.

In the conclusion of the preceding section it has been observed and shown that the covenant of grace is to be exhibited and proposed to all men, and that the blessings contained in it, to those who comply with it, are to be freely offered to all to whom the gospel is preached; — which Jesus Christ has commanded to be preached to all nations, — to every creature; that is, to all mankind. It is now more particularly to be considered how this is to be done, and what is implied in preaching the gospel.

This subject may be stated and illustrated under the following particulars: —

I. Preaching the gospel implies a declaration of the whole system of truth and duty contained in divine revelation, as all these are implied in the gospel, and have relation to the covenant of grace. Though some truths are more essential and important than others, and the gospel may be said to be preached while some are overlooked, yet it cannot be *fully* preached unless the whole are brought into view, and must be in a degree defective, by opposing and rejecting any revealed truth. Therefore, to preach the gospel is to *declare all the counsel of God*, as the apostle Paul did. (Acts xx. 27.) Every doctrine revealed in the Bible, and every duty prescribed, has a connection with the whole, and all make but one consistent system. The whole may be summed up and epitomized, in a more general and comprehensive way, by expressly mentioning only the leading and most essential truths contained in the gospel, while others, though not mentioned, are implied; and every particular truth and branch of duty may be more particularly brought into view and explained, as there is occasion, and opportunity offers: in which the longest life may be spent in teaching, and making advances in learning and the knowledge of the truth.

Some of the most essential truths implied in the covenant of grace, or the gospel, have been brought into view in the foregoing part of this work, and others are yet to be considered, in their order and connection, together with the duties which are included and enjoined. It appears, from what has been said in the preceding chapters, especially in that on the nature of saving faith, that there is such order and connection in revealed truth, and such dependence of one on another, that

some things must first be taught, understood, and believed, before others can be brought into view so as to appear in their true light. This may be illustrated by the following instances, some of which have been already mentioned: —

The being of God, his attributes and perfections, in which the divine character consists, must first be understood and believed, as this is the foundation of all religious truth, so that every other revealed doctrine depends wholly upon it. Consequently, a gross mistake respecting the character of the Deity will lead to error through the whole system of theology, and pervert the gospel. This knowledge of God is necessary in order to know what is the nature of his moral government, and the reason and extent of his law, and the obligation under which men are to obey it. And a right conception of the moral government and law of God is necessary, in order to know what is the moral character and state of man, viz.: wholly depraved and sinful, under the curse and displeasure of God, infinitely guilty and wretched, according to the sentence of a most righteous and good law. All this must be exhibited, understood, and believed, before redemption by Christ can be understood or come into view. Those truths are, therefore, implied in the gospel and the covenant of grace; and the gospel cannot be preached without exhibiting them in a true and proper light. In the light of these truths the way is prepared to discover and set before men the design and work of redemption, — the person, character, design, and work of the Redeemer, and the grace and salvation opened in the gospel, — and to show what is necessary in order to be saved by Christ, and in what this salvation consists, and what are the duties and promises and threatenings which are revealed in the Bible.

II. The publishing of the covenant of grace, and preaching the gospel, does not disannul the law of God, or discharge men from duty and obedience, but requires and demands obedience of all to whom it is preached.

The law is not in the least abated, in the extent and strictness of the precepts of it, by the gospel. The obedience of Christ does not discharge any man, even those who believe in him, from perfect obedience to the law of God, or free them, in the least degree, from their obligations to be perfectly holy. "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth;" — so that he may be delivered from the curse of the law, be pardoned and justified consistent with the law, though he has no personal righteousness and obedience which answers the demands of it. But this does not remove his ill desert in any degree, or take away or lessen his obligation to

obey the law perfectly; and it remains as much the measure and rule of duty to him as ever it was. And he is no farther holy, or does any duty, than he conforms to the law of God and obeys it, — requiring him to love God with all his heart, soul, and strength, and his neighbor as himself. Thus the preaching of the gospel does not make void the law, but establishes it. (Rom. iii. 31.)

In this view, the law must be exhibited in preaching the gospel, not only as necessary to show the sinner his state and character, and to lead him to understand the gospel, and to see his need of Christ, that he may be saved by free grace, but to set before him what is and ever will be his duty, and the rule and measure of his obedience; and that it may be known that the gospel does not abate his obligation to perfect obedience: but when understood in the full extent of it, carries this demand in it, and increases the obligation of believers to be perfectly holy, and cannot propose any other or lower rule of duty.

The gospel does indeed introduce new objects, and proposes and enjoins duties which could have no existence had there been no redemption for man. But these duties, which arise from a dispensation of the covenant of grace, cannot be neglected without disobedience to the original law of God, which must be considered as independent of the gospel, and antecedent to the apostasy of man. For the law which requires man to love God with all his heart, binds him to comply with every institution, proposal, or offer, which God shall make to him, and to obey every command which he shall reveal, be it what it may. And not to comply with such institution, or not to accept of any proposal or offer he shall make, and to disobey any command of God, is disobedience to that law. Consequently, such institutions, commands, or offers of pardon and salvation, do not disannul or abate the law, but the contrary.

Though the gospel consists most essentially in the free offer of mercy, on condition of a cordial acceptance, yet it necessarily implies and carries in this offer an obligation and command to accept the offer; which acceptance, taken in its full extent, implies and consists in a perfect conformity to the law of God; and every degree of compliance with the gospel is an equal degree of real holiness, or obedience to the divine law, as has been shown in the section on the nature of saving faith. Though obedience to the gospel, or compliance with it, and acceptance of the salvation which it offers, be a different form and manner of the exercise of holiness, which is, so far, more beautiful and excellent than obedience to mere law, unconnected with the gospel, yet the former is of the same nature and kind with the latter, and consists in loving God with all

the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. This has been observed and explained in the above-mentioned section.

In the preaching of the gospel, there is an offer of a free pardon and complete redemption to all who are willing to comply with it; but men are not at liberty to reject it, without being accountable, and held guilty for such conduct. They are required and commanded to accept of the offer, and conform to the gospel; and that upon the most dreadful penalty for refusing to obey. Christ himself required of all to whom he preached to "repent and believe the gospel:" and he, and John who came before him, declared that he who believeth not on the Son of God is condemned; that the wrath of God abideth on him, and he shall be damned. (Mark xvi. 16. John iii. 18, 36.) The apostle Paul says, "Now God commandeth all men, every where, to repent." And in preaching the gospel, he "taught publicly, and from house to house, testifying (that is, urging and requiring) both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." (Acts xvii. 30; xx. 21.) He who truly repents and believes the gospel, and so really embraces it and complies with the covenant of grace, though in an imperfect and low, even the lowest degree, is interested in the promises of the covenant, and shall be saved, though he do not come up to all that is required at first, and to a perfect compliance with the gospel; and he will not come to a full and perfect compliance and conformity to the covenant, until he is perfectly holy: for every degree of moral depravity, or all sin, is opposition to the gospel.

Believers are not under the law, but under grace. By grace they are pardoned and delivered from the curse of the law: and it is not by the righteousness of the law, or obedience to it, that they obtain pardon and the favor of God, and are made heirs of eternal life, but by the atonement and righteousness of Christ; and all this comes to them as a free gift by sovereign grace. Nevertheless, they are not without law to God, but under the law to Christ, and their obligations to perfect obedience do not cease, but are greatly increased, and all their Christian exercises and life, and the whole of their duty, consist in "keeping the commandments of God;" even those two commandments, on which hang all the law and the prophets, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Matt. xxii. 37, 39. 1 Cor. vii. 19; ix. 21.) And they do not arrive to the full and most perfect character of Christians, of the redeemed by Christ, nor are in the highest and most complete sense united to Christ, until they are per-

fectly conformed to this law, which never takes place in any instance while in the body in this life.

III. In preaching the gospel to sinners, nothing is required or proposed to be done by them which is short of repentance and faith in Christ, or which does not imply this, in order to their obtaining salvation.

This is implied in the preceding observations, and the contrary is really inconsistent with them. In preaching the gospel, salvation is freely offered to all who will accept of it, and men are invited and commanded to do this, and inevitable destruction is denounced against them who refuse and neglect the offered salvation. But a cordial acceptance of salvation implies repentance and faith in Christ, which is a conformity and obedience to the law of God, so far as it takes place, and the exercise of real holiness. If, in the dispensation of the gospel, it were proposed to sinners to do something, and they were required to do it, which does not imply obedience to the law of God, nor acceptance of salvation, and which they may do consistent with their continuing enemies to God, and to reject the offered salvation with their whole heart, it would be really to drop and lay aside all which the law requires, and so make it void, and to substitute something in place of it, which stands in direct contradiction to it, even as contrary as sin is to holiness. The command to love God cannot make that a duty in which there is no love to God, but the exercise of enmity against him; and to require this, or any thing like it, as a duty, is to make void, and even oppose, this command.

But as the contrary to this has been practised by many in preaching the gospel, by exhorting and urging sinners to do that which does not imply repentance and faith, or a cordial acceptance of the gospel offer, but is consistent with their continuing impenitent, and rejecting and hating Christ and the gospel, and living in total disobedience to the law of God, requiring them to love him with all their hearts, and doing that which is consistent with all this has been urged as their duty, and a set of duties and a course of obedience have been prescribed for such impenitent sinners, to be done by them while they continue impenitent enemies to Christ and the gospel; and since there has been a difference of opinion, and not a little dispute on this point, of late years, especially in New England, it is thought proper to attend to this subject more particularly in this section, hoping that something may be said which may serve to give light and establish the truth. A careful attention to the following particulars, considered together and brought into one collected view, with their natural and just consequences, may help to decide this point.

First. Man is naturally, and while unrenewed, in a state of total moral depravity. His mind, his heart, is enmity against God and his law. This is the nature and tenor of all his moral exercises, while he continues an impenitent sinner, and rejects the gospel.

This will now be taken for granted, as the evidence of it has been already given, and it is so abundantly asserted in Scripture.* The consequence from this is, that impenitent, unrenewed sinners do no good thing, no, not one of them, but are in all their moral conduct wholly disobedient. Therefore, they cannot be exhorted and commanded to do what they actually do while impenitent, without being exhorted and commanded to do that which is unreasonable, wrong, and forbidden in the divine law; and such a command would be very absurd, unreasonable, and wrong. Therefore, it is certain no such command can be found in the Bible; and no man has a right to form and give such commands, or to imagine that impenitent sinners, while they continue such, ever do any duty or any thing as God requires it. God commands all men, every where, to repent and believe the gospel. If, at the same time, he should direct and command them to do any thing, while they continue impenitent, and in unbelief, and which implies disobedience to his command to repent, would not one command stand in direct contradiction to the other, and the latter be at least an implicit annulling or suspending of the former, and an allowance to live for a time, at least, in impenitence and unbelief?

Second. The moral depravity of men, and their obstinacy in impenitence and rebellion, however great and strong, does not in the least remove or abate their obligations to repent, believe, and obey the divine commands, or afford any excuse for their disobedience, or extenuate the criminality of it. This has also been considered in the former part of this work,* and is, indeed, a self-evident proposition, as the contrary is a plain contradiction. It follows, from this proposition, that the moral depravity of man, and the opposition of his heart to repentance, however total and strong, is no reason why any thing short of true repentance should be recommended to him, and required of him, as his duty, but is rather a reason against it, as such proposal and requirement would imply an excuse for continuing impenitent, because they have such a strong aversion from it, and that repentance is not their immediate duty, as something else which is consistent with such aversion, and with total impenitence, is substituted in the room of repent-

* System of Doctrines, Chap. VIII.

ance. And it is presumed no one would have thought of prescribing impenitent, unbelieving duty to sinful men, which is consistent with their total opposition of heart to God and his law, to Christ and the gospel, had he believed the above proposition, and kept it properly in view. And it will appear to those who properly attend to this subject and the manner in which it has been treated, that they who plead for a set of duties to be done by men, while impenitent unbelievers, and without conformity of heart to the law of God, or the gospel, do really suppose that the moral depravity of man is attended with an *inability* to repent and embrace the gospel, which does, in some degree at least, excuse him for not repenting immediately. And if their minds were wholly freed from this notion, they would no longer contend for such duties, or imagine they could have any existence.

It may be proper to observe here, that from the particulars now mentioned, with the arguments from them, if they be just, it appears that it would be inconsistent with what has been already advanced in this system, to admit that the gospel enjoins or proposes any duty that does not imply repentance, as it has been asserted, as important, fundamental truths, that man is totally depraved; and yet this does not diminish his obligation to repent and embrace the gospel, and even to be perfectly holy, or afford the least excuse for one sin. And there is no duty which does not imply conformity of heart to the law of God.

THIRD. All the law and commands of God respect the heart or will; and there is no obedience to any command, or any moral agency, in which the will is not concerned and active. And no obedience or duty is done by any man, if his heart be not obedient and conformed to the command. There is no virtue or vice, or any morality, in external actions, any further than they are connected with the will, as the production and fruit of that. And whatever is the production and fruit of a vicious heart, or will, acting from unreasonable and bad motives, and for a wrong and forbidden end, is not duty, but sin, whether it be in words or actions, or whatever it may be, and whatever be the appearance of it in the sight of men, who cannot see the heart. This is so plain a case, and the irresistible dictate of the feelings and common sense of mankind in general, that it is needless to try to prove it, or say any thing more to illustrate it.

From this it follows, that whatever is said or done, in external actions, by a person who is wholly impenitent, and with a wicked, disobedient heart, is not duty, but sin. Therefore, it is certain, that God never commands any man to do

any thing so, and with a disobedient, impenitent heart. And when only an external action is mentioned, and commanded, the command has respect to the heart, and requires the action to be done in obedience to him; and not in impenitence and disobedience. Therefore, no man has a right to direct sinners to any thing as duty, and as commanded by God, with an impenitent, disobedient heart; or to flatter him that he may do some duty, while he continues wholly impenitent and wicked.

FOURTH. The Scripture does not afford any support to the opinion that sinners are required to do duty which they may do while they continue impenitent, as nothing is there required as duty which does not imply repentance, but the contrary. Whenever sinners are there addressed, and called upon to do, they are commanded to repent and believe the gospel, or to do that which implies this, and a real conformity of heart to the moral law of God.

If sinners were to be directed and commanded, in preaching the gospel, to do some duty in order to be saved, which is not repentance, nor implies any love to God, or acceptance of Christ, most certainly Jesus and his apostles would have done this, and some instances of it, at least, would have been recorded. But as there is not one instance of this, nor the least hint of it, but many instances of the contrary, is not such a notion and practice wholly without any warrant? When the apostles were applied to with the serious, important question, What shall we do? they answer, "Repent, and believe on the Lord Jesus Christ." (Acts ii. 38; xvi. 31.) And this was agreeably to the example and command of Christ, in preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, saying, "Repent ye, and believe the gospel." (Mark i. 14, 15.) He commanded his disciples to go forth, and call on men to repent. And when he gave commission to the apostles to preach the gospel, he directed them to preach repentance and remission of sin, in his name. (Luke xiv. 47.)

When the young ruler came to Christ and asked him what he should do that he might inherit eternal life, Jesus did not direct him to do any thing lower than keeping the commandments, and that which implied love to him: even to sell all that he had and give it to the poor, and come and follow him. This was most contrary to the reigning disposition of his heart, and Christ knew he was not willing to comply with it; and he went away sorrowful. Why did not Christ direct him to something lower, which he might do consistent with his reigning lust, and his continuing an impenitent sinner? If it were proper to give such direction to any sinner on earth, was

it not so in this instance? Why was he not told, that, though he could not now find in his heart to forsake all for Christ and heaven, yet he might do some, yea, much duty, — which would bring him nearer to heaven, and might issue in that happy event, — even that which is consistent with an impenitent worldly mind, which it was possible with God only to remove?

Therefore, since there is no instance to be found in Scripture, of directing and requiring sinners to do that as their duty, which is consistent with continuing impenitent, — but, whenever they are addressed, they are exhorted and commanded to repent, or to do that which implies repentance and love and submission to God, — this serves to confirm the reasons which have been given, under the preceding particulars, to prove that impenitent sinners do no duty, and that nothing which does not imply repentance can reasonably be proposed or required of them as their duty, in preaching the gospel to them. Is not the invariable conduct of Christ and his apostles sufficient to decide this matter? May not their example be safely followed? Is it not wrong, and even presumptuous, to deviate from it, and prescribe to men as their duty that which they never mentioned in their address to sinners?*

Fifth. Teaching sinners that, while they continue impenitent, they do no duty, — nothing that God requires of them, — and that he commands them to repent and embrace the gospel, and that they can have no excuse for not doing it immediately, has no tendency to remove or discourage their attention to the things of the gospel which relate to their salvation, and to make them careless and secure in their sins; but it has a contrary tendency, viz., to awaken their attention, and to promote their conviction, concern, and engagedness of mind to obtain the salvation of their souls.

In preaching the gospel to them, they are to be told what is their state and character, — how guilty they are, and wholly

* Some have mentioned the following passages, and some others, as directions and calls to sinners to do what is there commanded, while they continue impenitent and in a state of sin: "Strive to enter in at the strait gate," "Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto everlasting life," etc. But it has been observed, by those who have attended to these passages, and others which have been adduced to the same purpose, that, when properly considered with the context and other parts of Scripture, they do not appear to direct to duties to be done by sinners while they continue impenitent, but imply those obedient exercises of heart which are connected with salvation. No command or direction, which is to be found in Scripture, can reasonably be understood as prescribing only that which sinners are to do, and may do, while impenitent and disobedient, unless it be expressly said that they are to do it, and may do what is commanded, while such. It may be presumed no such passage of Scripture will ever be produced, as it would appear to contradict the rest of the Bible, and to be even a contradiction in terms.

inexcusable in their sins, — how infinitely dreadful and dangerous their situation is. The gospel is to be opened and explained to them, and what is necessary in order to their obtaining the salvation which is therein offered to sinners; and they are to be called upon to repent and embrace the gospel as their first and immediate duty, for the neglect and refusal of which they can have no possible excuse, but it is a most aggravated and dangerous sin. The motives and encouragement to embrace the gospel are to be set before them, and the promises, to all who comply, are to be urged, and the awful threatenings, to all who refuse and continue in their impenitence, denounced. "He that believeth shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned."

Surely, nothing can be thought of or devised that would be better suited than this to arrest and awaken the attention of sinners, and give them the greatest uneasiness and concern in a view of the wretched, dangerous situation in which they are while they continue impenitent rejectors of the great salvation. And it is impossible that any person should go on careless and easy in sin, who so believes and realizes these truths as to make the deep impression on his mind which they are suited to produce. This has been proved by fact and experiment in thousands of instances. By such preaching, a great and general awakening and concern was spread through the nation of the Jews, under the ministry of John the Baptist, and many pressed into the kingdom of heaven. He laid before them their sin and danger, and called upon them to repent and fly from the wrath to come, and prescribed no duty or doings short of this of which we have the least intimation. The apostles preached after the same tenor, and were succeeded in being the instruments of awakening and converting many thousands. Three thousand were awakened and converted in one day, and under one sermon, preached by the apostle Peter, in which he proposed nothing to them as duty, to be done by them, short of repentance and believing on Christ. This he inculcated as their next and immediate duty.

The doctrine that impenitent sinners do no duty, and, consequently, nothing is required of them as duty to be done by them, while they continue impenitent, is liable to be abused by men, and no doubt has been perverted and abused to bad purposes, as the gospel itself, and every truth contained in it, has been by men of corrupt minds. But this is not the least evidence that it is not an important, revealed truth. It has been said, that, according to this, nothing is required of impenitent sinners, and they have nothing to do; — since they have no heart to repent, they have nothing to do: they will, there-

fore, not concern themselves about religion or salvation, nor pay any attention to these things. And some, perhaps many, are professing to practise upon this, and to neglect all attention to religion and concern about it, and to indulge themselves in a course of vice, under the notion that nothing is required of them which they have a heart to do, and, therefore, there is no encouragement to attend to the gospel, or any advantage in it.

What has been just now observed, is a sufficient confutation of such a sentiment and practice. It appears that there is enough to be said to sinners; and how much is required of them, even more than they are disposed to do. And are they to be wholly excused, and is nothing to be required of them, because they are not willing to do it? They are to be warned, and called upon to repent, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear. Thus the prophets were ordered to do, and thus did John the Baptist, Christ and his apostles; and, by attending on them, many were convinced and persuaded, and found a heart disposed to repent and obey. And there is no encouragement to hope for salvation in any other way.

It is contrary to the plain dictates of reason and Scripture to suppose that men may not be required and commanded by God to do that which they are not willing to do, and when it is certain they will not comply with the command, unless God shall give them a heart to obey, make them willing by his power, and work in them to will and to do it. He has a right to speak and command, whether they have a heart to obey or not. If he have not, there can be no law, moral government, or sin.

There are the following reasons for pointing out to men their duty, and requiring them to repent and embrace the gospel, in order to be saved, though they be now impenitent, and have no heart to comply, — and it is certain they never will have till God gives them a new heart: —

1. Because this is their duty, and it is proper and important that they should be told, and be made to know, what is their duty. For, —

2. If they know not what is their duty, and what is necessary for them to be and do in order to be saved, they cannot know what their state and character is, — whether they be willing to comply with it or not, — and, consequently, will not know what obstinate, wicked hearts they have, and what need they stand in of sovereign grace to give them new hearts, which is of the greatest importance to be known.

3. Because they must so far actually comply as to repent and obey the gospel, or perish. Therefore, as they must really

do this, and it must be their own voluntary act in order to be saved, it is proper and necessary that they should be made to know it, by requiring it of them. And the gospel cannot be preached in any other way.

4. Because in this way sinners are brought to repentance, and have a heart given them to embrace the gospel. As they could not be under advantages to do this, unless the gospel were preached to them, and they were called upon to repent and believe, so men are brought to this in no other way, and by no other means, but the preaching of the gospel. And under this, and when men enjoy the gospel, God opens the hearts of whom he pleases, to receive the truths which are published, and to obey them, as he opened the heart of Lydia to receive the gospel preached by Paul. When men are required to repent and embrace the gospel, it is not known to any man that they will not have a heart, and be willing to comply, till the experiment is made, and it appears that they continue impenitent; and if they appear to remain impenitent for a time, it is not known that they will not soon come to repentance. God is under obligation to none, and he gives a heart to repent to those who live under the gospel, to whom he pleases, and when and where he sees fit. But it appears that all have not such a heart given them. The gospel is preached to many who persevere in rejecting it, and perish more dreadfully than if they had never heard of it. It is made a savor of death unto death to them. (2 Cor. ii. 15, 16.) Therefore, —

5. Many important ends are answered by preaching the gospel to them who never have a heart to repent and embrace it, by which they have salvation freely offered to them, and they are required to hear and obey.

This is necessary, in order to preach the gospel to any, for none knows, but God, who will repent and accept of the salvation which is offered, till the trial is made, and the offer is made to all who hear it; and no distinction can be made, till men distinguish themselves by believing or rejecting the gospel. This is also necessary, in order fully to express and show the free grace exhibited in the gospel. By this are discovered the exceeding obstinacy and wickedness of man, in his rejecting such a kind offer of pardon and salvation, and his great ill desert; and it will greatly illustrate the justice and propriety of his eternal punishment. And the distinguishing, sovereign grace of God to those who embrace the gospel and are saved, will hereby be set in a more clear and affecting light, than otherwise it could be; and many other important ends will be doubtless answered, which are not now thought of by man.

SIXTH. Teaching men that they may do that which is their duty and what God requires them to do, while they continue impenitent and in an unconverted state, appears to have a bad influence many ways, and tends to delude them, and prevent their embracing the gospel.

This tends to deceive them with respect to their own true character, and make them to think much better of themselves than they ought to think; and to overlook the exceeding obstinacy and wickedness of their own hearts, and that there is no good thing in them, and they are wholly undone and lost in themselves: and, therefore, tends to prevent their understanding the gospel and coming to Christ, who came to seek and to save those only who are lost.

Men, through the natural pride of their hearts, are disposed to shut their eyes against that light which discovers their evil deeds, and lays open the total depravity and wickedness of their hearts; and are, therefore, ready to lay hold on any thing which opposes and tends to shut out this light. And so long as they are told and believe they are doing some duty, they will think they have some good thing in their hearts, and do that which is pleasing to God; and will naturally, and even necessarily, rely upon it, as in some degree, at least, recommending them to the favor of God, which will effectually prevent their coming to Christ, as poor and wretched, blind and naked.

And this way of teaching sinners has a natural and strong tendency to lead them to think and feel that they have some excuse for not repenting and believing on Christ, and that they are not blamable for this, nor can it reasonably be required of them. For while they are directed to do some things as duty, which are consistent with impenitence, and are expressly told they are to be done by unrenewed sinners antecedent to their repentance and embracing the gospel, they are naturally led to think there is such difficulty in the latter, to which they find no heart or inclination, that they are not obliged to repent immediately; and that their duty consists chiefly, if not wholly, in waiting on God for a heart to repent and embrace the gospel: and in this way they continue blind to their greatest sin, and which is the chief aggravation of all their sins, viz., unbelief; and imagine they are doing their duty, and waiting on God for his blessing, with an impenitent, rebellious heart, and while they are "abominable, disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate."

It has been observed, that it is probable, duties to be done by impenitent, unconverted sinners, while they continue such, would never have been thought of and urged, had not an

opinion been entertained that they are under an inability to repent and believe on Christ, which does excuse them, in some measure at least, for continuing impenitent and unconverted. From this apprehension and sentiment, sinners have not been called upon to repent and embrace the gospel immediately, but to do some lower duties, which do not imply repentance or renovation of heart, which are required as the *instrumental duties*, in order to obtain saving mercies; and which they may and can do while unconverted, and, therefore, can have no excuse for neglecting them. And this appears to be confirmed by fact. Most, if not all, of those who have pleaded for such duties, and have prescribed them to sinners, to be done by them, as unconverted and impenitent, have, at the same time, either expressly or implicitly represented them as under such an inability to perform duties in a holy manner, which does, at least in some measure, excuse, and does not wholly consist in their having no desire or inclination to repent, and opposition of heart to it; but that there is, in their case, a *cannot*, independent of a *will not;* and that the latter is, therefore, distinct from the former, and that the former kind of inability does excuse, as it certainly must, so far as it does not consist wholly in the evil inclination of the will, and is independent of it. And from this opinion, many public teachers and authors have not called on sinners and required of them to repent immediately, but have directed them to do many duties while they continue unconverted; or at least have insisted chiefly on the latter, as they consider them able to do the latter, though they cannot do the former.

This appears to be one great and chief mean of promoting, confirming, and spreading far and wide the doctrine, that sinners are under an inability to repent and believe on Christ, which is a good excuse for neglecting it, and living in an unconverted state. Hence, when they are, in Scripture language, called upon to repent, and accept of offered mercy, it is common for them to say, they *cannot* do this, and offer it as an excuse for their not turning to God, and embracing the gospel. And as this is a sentiment so agreeable to the hearts of sinners, as it excuses their impenitence, and helps to shield them against a true conviction of their criminality in continuing in an unconverted state, and leads them to think they have sincere and strong desires to be Christians, but cannot, through some insuperable difficulty, independent of their will, which cannot be removed by their inclination and endeavors to do it, they greedily imbibe it, and are disposed to hold it fast. So long as this sentiment is cordially embraced, it will prevent a true and thorough conviction of their own character

and state; and, therefore, has a bad and dangerous tendency. It is an implicit denial of the total depravity of man, and misrepresents the nature of the sinner's moral depravity and inability to do that which is holy and good, as if it rendered him innocent and blameless while he continues unholy and disobedient.

Jesus Christ indeed says, "No man can come to me except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him." (John vi. 44.) And it is abundantly declared in the Scripture, that no man will repent, and do what is required of him, unless his heart be renewed by divine influence. But at the same time, their neglect and refusal to hear and obey is represented as wholly their own fault, and that their inability is their crime, consisting wholly in the inexcusable wickedness of their own hearts; and the requirement is not laid aside or lowered because they are unwilling to obey, and something short of a compliance substituted in the room of it. When Christ spake the words that have been mentioned, the context shows that he did not mention their inability as any excuse for their not coming to him, but considered it as very criminal in them, and as rather an evidence and aggravation of their wickedness; and he constantly invited and required all to come to him, and told them their inability consisted in the strong and fixed opposition of their hearts to it. He said, "Ye *will not* come to me, that ye might have life." We do not find him saying, Since ye are not able to come to me, I will prescribe to you some other duty, which you may and must do, while you refuse to come to me, and have such a strong opposition of heart to me that you cannot come. Nor has any one yet been able to discover any duty enjoined by him, which men may do with a heart which is wholly in opposition to him.

It is now left to the reader to judge, whether the particulars which have been here mentioned, considered in their connection and consequences, do not prove the truth of the proposition to which they relate, and make it evident that, in preaching the gospel, nothing is proposed and enjoined as duty, to be done by men, which is consistent with their rejecting the offers of it, and continuing impenitent.

SECTION V.

All true Believers do persevere in Faith and Holiness, to the end of life, and will be saved.

THE doctrine of the perseverance and final salvation of all who believe in Christ, and are once interested in the covenant of grace, has been repeatedly brought into view, especially in the three preceding sections. It has been asserted, or often supposed, in what has been said on faith, justification, and the covenant of grace; and some Scriptures have been mentioned, which do suppose and assert it. But it is proper that this point should be more particularly considered and explained, and the evidence of the truth of it be set in as clear and convincing light as may be.

Indeed, this doctrine is so connected with the other doctrines which have been advanced in the foregoing parts of this system, and so implied in them, or follows from them, as a natural and undeniable consequence, that they who understand and believe them will not hesitate about the truth of this. They only are disposed to deny, or doubt of the truth of this doctrine, and do not see the evidence of it in divine revelation, who do not believe man to be naturally so totally corrupt, and so absolutely dependent on God for a new heart, and every degree of holiness, and for salvation, and that all this so wholly depends on the decree and will of God, as has been represented above; but imagine that the salvation of men depends on their free will and conduct, independent of God, in such a manner and measure, that *they* turn the scale in favor of their salvation, and not God, by any powerful influence of his, which shall determine whether they shall be saved or not. And therefore, if they do now believe, and are in favor with God, it wholly depends on themselves, and not on any particular determining influence of Heaven, whether they shall persevere or not in faith and holiness to the end of life; consequently, there is no security against their falling away and perishing. Therefore, if the doctrines which have been advanced in this system have been proved to be contained in the Holy Scriptures, and, consequently, that the scheme just mentioned is erroneous and unscriptural, the doctrine now under consideration will be admitted, of course, without any dispute. In order to explain this doctrine, and remove or obviate mistakes and misrepresentations respecting it, and state the evidence of the truth of it, the following observations must be made: —

1. That believers never will totally and finally fall away, so as to perish, is not owing to the nature of true grace, or any power or sufficiency in themselves to persevere unto the end; but this depends wholly on the will and constant influence and energy of God, working in them to will and to do. They are kept *by the power of God*, through faith unto salvation. It is God, who, having begun a good work in them, will carry it on until the day of Jesus Christ. (Phil. i. 6.) If the Holy Spirit were taken from the believer, and he left to himself to stand or fall, he would immediately cease to be a believer, and fall totally from a state of grace.

2. The perseverance of believers is consistent with their being sanctified but in part, and guilty of much sin, and even by surprise and great temptations, of particular, gross, outward acts of sin. But they never become totally corrupt and sinful, as they were before, and as all the unregenerate are, and they do not sin *with their whole heart.* They, being born of God, do not commit sin in this sense, and as others do, "for his seed remaineth in them; and they cannot thus sin, because they are born of God." (1 John iii. 9.) By falling into sin, they may bring themselves into great darkness, and lose all sensible evidence that they are born of God; but their faith and grace never wholly fails, so that they do not fall from it totally; but this spiritual life continues in some degree of it at least, and it will, sooner or later, (and will, doubtless, in ordinary cases, very soon,) kindle up in renewed, sensible acts of repentance, faith, and love. Peter was an instance of this, by which this observation is illustrated.

3. The certain perseverance of true saints in faith and holiness unto salvation, does not imply or suppose that they shall be saved whether they thus persevere or not, or that they shall persevere without persevering. It would be quite needless to observe, that such a palpable contradiction is not implied in this doctrine, were it not that some have seemed to understand it so. They object to the doctrine, the tendency of it to make those who believe it careless about a holy life, and to lead them to indulge their lusts and live in sin. There can be no tendency in this doctrine to this, unless the certainty of the perseverance of believers in faith and holiness renders it needless to persevere in faith and holiness, which is impossible, as it is a contradiction in terms. If true believers shall persevere in faith and holiness, then such perseverance is absolutely necessary to salvation, and there is no other way to be saved: and he is not a true believer who does not thus persevere. No doctrine, therefore, can more assert and establish the importance and necessity of a careful and resolute perseverance

in holy living than this. And it affords the greatest encouragement to the believer to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling, while he relies upon the promise and grace of God to work in him, both to will and to do. (Phil. ii. 12, 13.)

This leads to another observation.

4. The certain perseverance of the saints in faith and holiness does not render their activity, constant care and exertions needless, or suppose this unnecessary, but the contrary. It is *their own* perseverance in faith and holiness which is made certain; they themselves, therefore, must live by faith, and in the practice of holiness; for they cannot persevere in any other way but by a constant attention to this matter, watching and praying, and working out their own salvation with fear and trembling. To neglect this, and to take a contrary course, is to draw back unto perdition, and not to believe to the saving of the soul. (Heb. x. 39.) How absurd is it then for a person to say, or think, that since his care and activity in living a holy life are made certain, as necessary in order to his salvation, therefore he will exercise no care and concern about it, nor do any thing towards it, but the contrary! It is very certain, that he who has a prevailing disposition to think and feel thus, is not only guilty of gross contradiction, but is a stranger to true faith, and has neither part nor lot in this matter. Therefore,—

5. The doctrine of the certain perseverance of believers unto the end of life is so far from rendering the use of means, and setting motives before them, in order to promote and effect their living a life of faith and holiness, unreasonable or needless, that all this is as important and necessary as if this doctrine were not true, and their perseverance were not made certain.

If God has promised that all who are interested in the covenant of grace shall persevere in a holy life, and in this way be saved, this supposes that they shall be under advantages, and have proper means used with them, in order for this, and that they shall have motives constantly set before them to induce and persuade them to obedience, and live a holy life, and to guard them against the contrary. Hence the propriety and necessity of all the institutions of the gospel, directions, instructions, exhortations, and commands, and the various and numerous motives to furnish believers with proper means, and to induce them to persevere in their faith; without which, the intention and promise of God, that they shall persevere, could not be effected in a proper, rational way, consistent with the nature of man.

How greatly mistaken are they, then, who suppose, if the perseverance of believers be made certain in the covenant of grace, this would render all such means, motives, exhortations, promises, and threatenings, useless and unreasonable! And because these do take place, according to the Word of God, they infer that this doctrine cannot be true!

6. This doctrine supposes perseverance to the end of life in faith and holiness necessary in order to salvation; that such only shall be saved; therefore, that they who do not persevere will not be saved, but perish, whatever good attainments, faith, and holiness they may appear to have for a while, and however confident they may be that they shall be saved.

If believers might be saved without persevering in faith to the end of life, there would be no need that their perseverance should be made sure; and there would be no propriety in promising this as such a great privilege, and as if it were necessary to salvation. It is abundantly declared in Scripture, that they only who overcome and keep the words of Christ to the end shall be saved. "He that continueth to the end shall be saved. If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed. If a man *abide not in me*, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered." (Matt. x. 26. John viii. 31; xv. 6.) These, and many other declarations in the Scripture, of the same kind, are so far from being inconsistent with the doctrine of the certain perseverance of all true believers, that the truth contained in such passages is supposed, and implicitly asserted in this doctrine.

It has been asked, why such declarations are made in the Scripture, if no true believer does ever fall away, but certainly will continue to the end.

The answer is at hand. They are made because it is true that none can be saved unless they persevere; and it is proper and important that this truth should be known and kept in view, to prevent persons flattering themselves that they have been, and are, true believers, though they sit still and do little or nothing, neglecting the work of faith, and labor of love, and though they have fallen into a settled course of apostasy. And such declarations are suited, and even necessary, to distinguish true believers from others; and to excite them to care and watchfulness, lest they should apostatize, and to zeal and activity in obedience, and engagedness to persevere in faith and holiness, by a patient continuance in well doing, seeking for glory, honor, and immortality.

If any say that these declarations suppose that true believers may fall away and perish, — and therefore are inconsistent with the certain perseverance of all such, — we

ANSWER. This is certainly a mistake. They neither assert nor suppose any such thing. Every true believer may persevere to the end, consistent with these declarations, and they may be the means of their persevering. It is true, that he who does not persevere, but draws back and apostatizes, shall not be saved; but it is equally true, that all such never were true believers, but their faith was essentially different from true faith, and, therefore, only a temporary faith; and this is discovered by their falling away. Therefore, the apostle John says of such apostates, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for, if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us; but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." (1 John ii. 19.) These declarations do, indeed, suppose that persons may set out and run well to appearance, for a time; but after that, when temptation comes, fall away, because they had no root in themselves, and never were true believers, and are suited to detect such, and to warn and guard all against apostasy.

7. That the perseverance of believers in holiness to salvation is secured to them in the covenant of grace, is abundantly asserted in divine revelation. A number of passages which express or imply this doctrine have already been occasionally mentioned in the foregoing sections; and it would swell this section into a volume, to transcribe all the passages of Scripture which either expressly assert or imply the certain perseverance and salvation of all who once become truly pious; only a few, therefore, of the many will be mentioned. Indeed, if there were but one sentence in the Bible which expressly, or even implicitly, asserted this doctrine, which is so reasonable and desirable, it would be a sufficient warrant to receive it as an important truth.

The promises so often made to them who believe that they shall be saved, do connect salvation with the first act of faith, which supposes, as has been before observed, that true faith is always a persevering faith; which could not be so, were it not made such by the promise of God in the covenant of grace, by which he engages to the believer that his faith shall never fail, but that he shall persevere in believing, so that the end of his faith shall be the salvation of his soul. The apostle Peter gives this account of the matter, and tells in what way believers persevere unto salvation. Speaking to believers, he tells them that an inheritance, incorruptible and undefiled, and that fadeth not away, is reserved in heaven for them who are kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation. (1 Pet. i. 4, 5.) The certainty of the final salvation of every one who

believeth on him, is very particularly and expressly asserted by Christ, in the words following: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life." (John v. 24.) The believer could not be said to *have everlasting life*, and to have already passed from death unto life, so as never again to fall into a state of condemnation, unless salvation were made sure to him upon his first believing, and, consequently, perseverance in faith unto salvation, in the covenant of grace, the tenor of which is here expressed by the Redeemer. Still more express and strong, if possible, is the following declaration of his: "All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, *I will in no wise cast out.* And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day." (John vi. 37, 40.) And again he says, "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me. And I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hand. My Father, which gave them me, is greater than all, and none is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand." (John x. 27–29.) Agreeably to this, he prays the Father, that all who did then believe him, and all that should believe to the end of the world, might be kept secure from falling away, and persevere in holiness to eternal life. "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are. I pray not that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil. Sanctify them through thy truth. Thy word is truth. Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me be with me, where I am; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also who shall believe on me through their word." (John xvii.)

The apostle Paul asserts that salvation and eternal glory is connected with conversion and justification, in the following remarkable passage, in his letter to the church at Rome, where he traces the salvation of sinners from the foundation to the topstone: "We know that all things work together for good. to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose. For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified." (Rom. viii. 28–30.) From this he goes on,

to the end of the chapter, to show the impossibility that any true Christian should be separated from the love of God and Christ, and so perish. The apostle John says to believers, "The anointing which ye have received of him *abideth in you.* As the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, *ye shall abide in him.*" (1 John ii. 27.) By the anointing is meant the Spirit of Christ, which he promised his disciples should be in them and *abide with them forever.* "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, *that he may abide with you forever;* even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth in you, *and shall be in you.*" (John xiv. 16, 17.) Of the same Holy Spirit he speaks, in his discourse with the woman of Samaria, when he says, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, *shall never thirst;* but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water, *springing up into* everlasting life." (Chap. iv. 14.) By this Spirit believers are said to be *sealed to the day of redemption.* "Who hath also *sealed us*, and given the *earnest of the Spirit* in our hearts." (2 Cor. i. 22. Eph. iv. 30.) To be sealed, is to be secured as the property of Christ, and belonging to him, and a certain token of complete redemption. The *earnest* is a part given as a token and pledge that the whole shall be granted, even eternal life.

8. That all true believers in Christ should persevere in faith, and none of them perish, is consistent with all other truths contained in divine revelation, and is really contained in many of them; and this appears every way proper and reasonable.

That this doctrine is not inconsistent with any thing contained in the Scripture, has been made evident, it is hoped, from what has been briefly said, in some of the above particulars, to obviate the objections which some have made to it, from not understanding it, or the Scriptures, on which they have grounded their objections. And if man be so wholly dependent on God for salvation, so that this must be determined by his sovereign will, as it has been made evident the Scripture represents him to be; and he is brought into a state of salvation by the sovereign, almighty influence of the divine Spirit, giving him a new heart, and making him a new creature, by which he is brought into a spiritual, vital union to Christ, and made a living member in his body, the church; and is pardoned and justified for Christ's sake, being, by this union, interested in his atonement and righteousness; and is constantly dependent on God for every holy act and right thought, — then it is unreasonable to suppose, that after God

has done all this of his own sovereign will, and made the believer so far meet to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, having delivered him from the power of darkness, and translated him into the kingdom of his dear Son, (Col. i. 12, 13,) he should relinquish this work, and give him up to the power of sin and Satan, and leave him to perish forever; but, on the contrary, it is most reasonable to conclude with the apostle Paul, and with him "be confident of this very thing, that he who hath begun such a good work in him, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ." (Phil. i. 6.)

IMPROVEMENT.

I. See how exactly the blessings and promises of the covenant of grace are suited to the circumstances and heart of the believer, and to exhibit and display sovereign grace. He is absolutely dependent on God for holiness, and perseverance in it unto salvation; he feels himself infinitely unworthy of any favor, and without strength in himself to do any good thing; he is surrounded with temptations and dangers, and Satan, that strong and subtle enemy, is seeking to destroy him. He would sink into despair immediately, were it not for the promised power and grace of Jesus Christ, who has promised he will never leave nor forsake them who trust in him. But this gives him sufficient and full support, and he acknowledges and admires the wisdom and grace of this covenant as everlasting, and ordered in the best manner in all things, *and sure;* and says, with David, "This is all my salvation, and all my desire." He knows this is no contrivance of man, — no fiction, but an important, glorious reality, which has a divine stamp upon it. He believes, and rejoices in hope of the glory of God.

II. We hence learn what encouragement the poor, lost, infinitely guilty, and miserable sinner has to come to Christ, and trust in him for every thing he can want. Christ ensures salvation and perfection in holiness to every one who will come to him, and promises he will *in no wise* cast them out or forsake them. He will be their righteousness, wisdom, and strength. He will furnish them with the whole armor of God, and teach their hands to war, and their fingers to fight, successfully against sin and the devil, and lead them on to complete victory.

III. This doctrine affords sufficient encouragement to the trembling believer, who knows his own weakness, to make a public profession, and espouse the cause of Christ before the

world, and engage, by his grace and assistance, to serve him, devoting himself to his interest and honor.

Some, who thought they were friends to Christ, have been afraid to make a public, Christian profession, lest they should fall away and dishonor him by their sinful conduct. This is owing to their not well attending to the promises of the covenant of grace. If they have a heart to devote themselves to the service of Christ sincerely, and choose a holy life in obedience to him as the greatest privilege and happiness, they may safely trust in him for that assistance by which they may live a holy life; for he has promised never to leave nor forsake them, but that his grace shall be sufficient for them.

SECTION VI.

The Believer's Assurance of Salvation.

THEY who deny the certain perseverance of all true believers do, of course, not believe it is possible that any man should be sure of his own salvation; and it is certain that the latter would not be possible, were the former not true. But, if the covenant of grace contain a promise, that all who believe shall persevere in faith unto salvation, — so that there is a certain connection between the first act of faith and salvation, which has been proved in the preceding section, — then, if the believer can know that he does now believe, he may infer, with certainty, that he shall be saved. He has just so much evidence that he shall be saved as he has that he is a true believer, or is possessed of any thing which implies saving faith; and if he can be sure that he has any exercises of this kind, he may be equally sure of final salvation.

This subject may be explained, and the truth vindicated, by attending to the following particulars: —

1. Assurance of salvation is not essential to saving faith; or, a person may believe in Jesus Christ, and hereby be brought into a state of salvation, and yet not know that he does believe in Christ as they do who shall be saved.

Many have thought that saving faith consists in believing that they shall be saved, — that God loves them, and designs to save them, and Christ died for them, etc., — or, that this is, at least, implied in faith; — that it is, in this sense, an *appropriating act*, — taking salvation as their own, knowing that it belongs to them, and that they shall be saved. But it has been shown, in the section on the nature of saving faith, that such a notion of faith is not agreeable to Scripture. Saving

faith is a direct act, — believing the gospel to be true, approving of it, and receiving Christ as he is there offered. This may take place, and a man be a real believer in Christ, without any knowledge, or consciousness, or even the least thought, that he does believe, or that his exercises are saving faith; for the latter consists in reflex acts of the mind, — in a view or consciousness of what does or has taken place in his heart, or what are the direct acts of it towards Christ, etc. The knowledge or assurance that we do believe is a reflex act of the mind upon what has taken place in our hearts, by which we obtain a knowledge that we have believed, or do now believe: so that assurance of salvation, or that we have saving faith, is consequent on our believing; and saving faith must exist in the mind, and every thing essential to it must take place, before we can be conscious that we do believe, or have any knowledge of it, — which consists in reflecting on those acts of our hearts which are saving faith, or do imply it. These are, therefore, two distinct things in their nature, and are not necessarily connected. A person may have saving faith, and yet not reflect upon the acts of his own heart so as to know or believe that they are those in which faith consists.

Saving faith is an appropriating act in this sense; it is receiving Christ as our Savior, — taking salvation as it is offered, and laying hold of the covenant of grace so as to insure all the blessings of it to ourselves. But this may be done without knowing that we do it, or thinking that the exercises of our minds, in which this consists, are of the nature of saving faith. This knowledge is obtained by reflecting upon our own exercises, with discerning to see of what kind they are; and the latter is not necessarily connected with the former, as has been now observed.

It is granted that saving faith, even in the first acts of it, may be so strong and clear that it may be attended with a consciousness and assurance that the person does believe and shall be saved: so that believing and assurance of salvation may be both together, and connected in this respect; but still they are two distinct things, and consist in distinct acts of the mind, and the latter is consequent on the former, though the believer may not distinguish them, and not know that they are not one and the same act.

2. Assurance of salvation, therefore, consists in a person's consciousness of the acts of his own heart, — that he does believe in Christ, — and knowing, from intuition or reflection, that he has attained to those things which imply saving faith and do accompany salvation, being infallibly connected with it by the promise of God in the covenant of grace.

3. It is certain, from fact and experience, that persons may know what the exercises of their own hearts are, and it is reasonable to suppose this may be the case in the instance before us. We do know what we love, and what we hate, in many instances, at least; and what kind of exercises we have respecting many objects with which we are concerned, which are agreeable and which are not so. We know we love some persons, and that others are very disagreeable to us; and no reason can be given, why we may not believe and be sure that the gospel is true, and that Christ is the Son of God, and be so pleased with his character and the way of salvation by him, and have such strong and fervent love to him, as that we may be conscious that we have these exercises, and be sure we do believe, and love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth. Peter was so conscious and sure that he loved his Lord, from an intuitive view and reflection on the feelings and exercises of his own heart, that he could say with confidence and great assurance, "Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee." And it is very unreasonable to suppose, that no person can have such constant, strong love to Christ, as to be sure he does love him, and has all those exercises which are implied in faith and love. Nothing can prevent this but the low degree and weakness of these exercises, and the strength and appearance of contrary exercises, or mistakes with regard to the nature and operation of true grace.

4. It appears from Scripture, that many good men were in fact assured of their salvation. Job says, "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another." (Job xix. 25–27.) The Psalmist says, "Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory. My flesh and my heart faileth; but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion forever." (Ps. lxxiii. 24, 26.) And it appears from the New Testament, that the apostles, and many, if not the most, of the primitive Christians were sure that they should be saved. The apostles speak in the language of assurance, and represent this to be common to believers of that day, by using such language in their name. The apostle Paul says, "I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded (or confident) that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him, against that day. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course. Henceforth, there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day." (2 Tim. i. 12; iv. 7, 8.) And he speaks of

himself as sure of salvation, in his letter to the church at Philippi. "I *know* that this shall turn to my salvation, through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ. To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better." (Chap. i. 19, 21, 23.) And he uses this language of assurance, when he speaks in the name of others, as well as of himself: "*We know*, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," etc. (2 Cor. v. 1–8.) The apostle John speaks the same language: "*We know* that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren. *We know* that we are of God. And we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true: and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life." (1 John iii. 14; v. 19, 20.)

Thus it appears from Scripture, that believers have been in fact assured of their salvation; and, therefore, that it is possible that others, and even all believers, may attain to this, in the same way in which *they* obtained it, viz., by arriving to such a degree of faith and Christian exercises, as to produce a consciousness and certain knowledge that they have faith, or Christian holiness, which is connected with salvation.

This leads to another particular.

5. There is no other way of obtaining this assurance, but by having such high degrees of Christian holiness in actual exercise; and accompanied with such spiritual discerning, as that it is seen and known, by the person who has it, to be real gospel holiness, or true saving faith. True grace, or holiness, is, in the nature of it, clearly distinguishable from every thing which is not so; and if it be not distinguished by the believer, and seen and known to be what it is, it must be owing either to the small degree of it, so that it cannot be discerned, or to the want of spiritual sight and discerning, or both of them. And indeed, it is always owing to both these, if they may be considered as distinct things, which they really are not, for they both go together, and are inseparable.* Holiness is itself light and discerning, and the more there is of this in the heart, and the stronger and more constant the exercises of it are, the more the mind is illuminated, and sees spiritual things more clearly, and with greater certainty discerns and distinguishes

* Though the exercise of holiness and spiritual discerning are several times mentioned distinctly in this section, it is not intended that they should be understood as two really distinct things. Holiness is spiritual light and discerning, and spiritual light is holiness. See the section on Divine Illumination.

between true grace and that which is not of that kind. Therefore, an increase of holiness magnifies the object, and renders it more visible and easy to be seen by the spiritual eye, so as to be distinguished from every thing else; and at the same time is the spiritual eye, and increases the spiritual sight and ability of discerning, so as more clearly and with greater certainty to see and distinguish truth from falsehood. Therefore, in proportion to the degree of holiness exercised, other things being equal, there will be evidence to the mind that such are the exercises of it, and consequently that they are connected with salvation, and they may rise to such a degree, and holiness be acted out in such a measure and manner, as to be accompanied with great and well-grounded assurance that it is real holiness, which is by the promises of the covenant of grace connected with salvation. Therefore, this is the way which professing Christians are exhorted to take in order to have and maintain assurance of their salvation. "And we desire that every one of you do show the same diligence, to the full assurance of hope, unto the end. That ye be not slothful, but followers of them, who, through faith and patience, inherit the promises." (Heb. vi. 11, 12.) The "assurance of faith" is mentioned in this epistle, (Chap. x. 22,) by which is meant an assured belief of the truth of the gospel, which is expressed in the following words, by Peter: "*We believe, and are sure*, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." (John vi. 69.) The *assurance of hope* is an assured hope of salvation, which is the same with assurance of their salvation; and the way to obtain this, which is here proposed, is diligence and engagedness in the exercise and expression of love to Christ and to his people, in opposition to sloth and negligence, which is the same with the strong and fruitful exercise of Christian grace. Therefore, —

6. The believer is wholly dependent on God for assurance of salvation. Believers are entirely dependent on God for the least degree of holiness, as it is his sovereign gift; but they have a special and peculiar favor from him, who are brought to such a degree of holy exercise and spiritual discerning, as to be assured that they are born of God, are his children, and shall inherit everlasting life. It is by the Spirit of God witnessing with their spirits that they are brought to see and know they are the children of God. This the Scripture declares. "The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God." (Rom. viii. 16.) This is done, not by any immediate suggestion, revelation, or testimony to the believer that he is a child of God, as some have seemed to imagine, but by forming the heart to that degree of

holy affection and spiritual discerning, that the believer is able to look on this work of the Spirit, and know that he is born of the Spirit. Thus the Spirit of God produces this evidence and witness in the heart of the believer, that he is born of God, and gives that discerning to him that it becomes a witness to his spirit that the Spirit of God is in him, and has formed him to holiness, by which he is become a child of God, and has the spirit of a child, disposing him to look to God as his almighty Friend and Father. What the apostle John says amounts to the same thing, and may serve to illustrate these words of St. Paul: "Hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us. Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit." (1 John iii. 24; iv. 13.)*

7. The assurance of salvation is not common to all Christians; many never attain to it, and few or none of those who do have it constantly, without interruption.

This is not promised to all believers in the covenant of grace, as perseverance is, but is given or withheld as is most agreeable to infinite wisdom and goodness, and so as to answer the best ends, and be most for the glory of God, the best good of his church, and of the individual members of it. Assurance is most common among them who are called to distinguished and eminent service and sufferings in the cause of Christ, as they seem to stand in most need of it, to support and animate them in the midst of the greatest trials, dangers, and worldly evils. Thus, assurance of the love of God and eternal salvation seem to have been enjoyed, not only by the apostles, but by Christians in general, in their day, as they were called to suffer in a peculiar manner and degree in consequence of their becoming Christians. And those Christians who have been called to the greatest labors and sufferings in all ages since have appeared to have and express the greatest assurance of their own salvation. It has been common for martyrs to go to the stake, or to other most cruel deaths, in the joyful assurance that they were going to heaven, as ecclesiastical history abundantly informs us. And in the times of the greatest sufferings of the church of Christ, Christians have appeared to be more generally assured of their interest in the covenant of grace.

And this can be accounted for from what has been said above; for they who are called to extraordinary labor and suffering in the cause of Christ not only need this support more than others, but their circumstances are suited to awaken

* See President Edwards on Religious Affections.

their graces, and excite them to a higher and stronger degree of exercise than common, by which they have clear evidence that they have true grace; and God grants his Spirit to such in uncommon degrees, which is a witness within them to their spirit that they are the children of God. And often, when Christians are on a dying bed, and called to encounter the king of terrors, and feel themselves going into the invisible world, they have a greater measure of the Holy Spirit, and their faith and every grace are in a stronger and more sensible exercise; and they are assured that Christ is their Savior, and that they are passing into a state of perfect holiness, happiness, and glory.

There are different degrees of assurance, which different persons may have, or the same person at different times. In this imperfect state, none, perhaps, may be properly said to be *perfectly* sure of their own salvation, so that there can be no addition to their assurance. They are not so sure of salvation as they will be when they actually arrive to heaven, and find themselves in possession of it, or as *they* are who are now in heaven. And one Christian may properly be said to have a *stronger* assurance than another, and the same believer may have a higher or greater degree of assurance at one time than at another, when he may be said to be sure. The disciples of Christ say to him, upon a particular occasion, "Now are we *sure* that thou knowest all things, and needest not that any one should ask thee: by this we believe that thou camest forth from God." (John xvi. 30.) They believed this before, and were sure that he knew all things; but now their faith and assurance were stronger and increased.

Christians who are not assured of their being in a state of grace, but entertain a *hope* of it, may, and actually do, have a stronger hope, or more hope, at one time than at another, according to the different degrees in which their graces are in exercise, and as different feelings and exercises, in different circumstances and on different occasions, take place. Sometimes their hope is assaulted with great and overbearing doubts and fears, and they hardly know whether they have any hope or not, and are ready to conclude against themselves, that all is wrong with respect to them, and they are really in a graceless state. At other times, their hope revives, and is stronger, and their doubts, in a great measure, subside. And one Christian differs very much, in this respect, from another. The hope of one is more strong and constant, and he has not so many doubts and fears respecting his state: another is generally full of doubts, and his hope is weak and attended with great diffidence, and does not often rise so as to expel his

fears. This difference is doubtless owing, in many instances, to the stronger and more constant exercise of Christian holiness in the former; he, having more grace, and with greater fervency of spirit, lives a watchful, prayerful life, and with more engagedness and constancy attends on all the duties of Christianity than the latter.

But it is not always owing to the different degrees of holiness that persons thus differ in their hopes and confidence respecting their own Christian character; but two persons who have an equal degree of holiness may greatly differ as to their hope and confidence of their being real Christians. This may arise partly from their natural temper and disposition; partly from other causes, such as the manner of their education, and the instructions under which they have lived; the habitual way of thinking to which they have been led by those with whom they associate; or the mistakes into which one or the other has fallen about the nature and operation of true holiness. The strong, habitual propensity of one is to look on the dark side, and view and attend most to the corruption and evil propensity of the heart, and less to any contrary exercises, being inclined to conclude against rather than in favor of himself. The other is of a contrary disposition, and looks more on the favorable side, and makes the best of what he sees in himself, and is not so much disposed to give way to doubts and fears, and suggestions against himself. These and other things and circumstances may take place, and be the cause of the difference mentioned, in two persons equally holy; yea, he who doubts the most of his being a real Christian may have more grace than the other who doubts less, supposing they are both Christians, as this difference does not arise always from their different degrees of holiness, but from other causes, some of which have been mentioned.

If he may be called an assured Christian who rises above all doubts or fear with respect to his being a real Christian, perhaps every believer has this assurance at some seasons in his life, either at his first conversion or at other times. At least, his mind is so attentive to the truths of the gospel, and he is so pleased and delighted with them, or with some particular truths, and he is so entertained with the divine character and that of the Redeemer, that he has no doubts or fears about his own state, and perhaps, for a while, thinks little or nothing about himself; and when he does, and reflects on his own views and exercises, he is raised above all doubt whether he be in a state of grace or not. But these views and exercises may soon vanish, in a great measure, out of sight, and cease to be so strong and sensible; and his doubts may arise in as

great strength as ever, and greater, and he call all in question, and greatly fear he has been deluded, and never known what true holiness is.

And whatever be the degree of positive assurance to which a Christian may arise above a being freed from all doubts and fears respecting his present state and future salvation, yet it must be imperfect, as has been observed, and he liable to change, and to lose it at any moment. The mind of the best Christian is not so fixed, but it may fluctuate like the waves of the sea. He is peculiarly favored by God, indeed, who is enabled to maintain a constant assurance through a course of years, upon good evidence. He must be eminent in grace, and live in the constant, strong exercise of faith and love, and every branch of Christian holiness. But we have abundant reason to conclude this is not generally true of Christians. In this imperfect state of temptation and trial, in which the best Christians have so much sin cleaving to them, if they rise at times above all doubts, and have great assurance, it does not commonly continue uninterrupted a long time, but often subsides soon, and gives place to darkness and doubts. It being built on the sight and knowledge of their holy exercises, it must change and fail as they alter, and become less visible and sensible, and the sensible and strong exercise of corruption takes place.

It must be observed, however, that the Christian, through a long course of experience, in which, after many doubts respecting his state, he has had frequent revivals of his hope, and his doubts have often entirely subsided, and his exercises of grace have been so strong and evident that he has had a great degree of assurance, may hence be led to maintain a more steady hope, and not admit doubts of his having true grace, when the exercises of it are not so visible and sensible, and much of the contrary appears in his heart. By long experience he has found that though his faith and love have, at times, been out of sight, and contrary exercises of heart have taken place, and appeared to an awful degree, yet he has, after this, frequently been revived, and his exercises of Christian grace have been so strong and sensible that all his doubts have vanished. Hence he is more acquainted with the life of a Christian and the nature of saving grace, and learns that he may have true grace, though it be not always sensibly discerned, and little or nothing but contrary exercises are perceived, and so does not give way to overbearing doubts, even at such times, but maintains his hope in a more steady manner, grounded on his past experience. But he cannot, at such seasons, when gracious exercises are not actually per-

ceived and in sight, be assured that he is a Christian; and should he continue long in this situation, great doubts and fears must arise.

8. Every believer would always have assurance that he is a Christian and shall be saved, were it not for the imperfection and weakness of those exercises in which Christianity consists, and, which is really the same, his small degree of spiritual discerning, and were there not so much sin, stupidity, and spiritual blindness in his heart.

The holiness in which Christianity consists is, in the nature of it, distinguishable from every thing else, and tends to discover itself in acting according to its own nature. And nothing can prevent a sight of it, and knowing that it is true holiness, but want of attention and discerning, together with a small degree of it, and that in a great measure hid and buried in the remaining sinful disorders of the heart, which render it, in a great degree, stupid and blind to the things of the Spirit of God. The rules and directions in the Scripture are plain and abundant, by which true Christian holiness is described in the exercises of it, and distinguished from every thing which is not holiness. And the Spirit of God, in producing and maintaining grace in the heart of a Christian, bears witness and produces evidence that he is a child of God; and if it be not discerned by his Spirit, it must be for the reasons just mentioned. It therefore follows, that were it not for those things mentioned, which are in the way of it, every Christian would have constant assurance that he is a believer and shall be saved. Were his graces in high and constant exercise, and acted out in all proper ways, and were his moral corruptions consequently in a great measure subdued and mortified, he could not have a doubt, he must be sure that he is a friend to Christ, and does most cordially embrace the gospel, and is interested in that everlasting covenant, that is ordered in all things and sure.

9. It is the duty of every Christian to have and maintain a constant assurance that he is a Christian and shall be saved: and it is, therefore, wholly his fault, for which he can have no excuse, if he be at a loss, and doubts whether he be a believer in Christ or not.

This follows from what has been observed under the last head.

For, if it be the duty of Christians to live in the constant, vigorous exercise of every grace, and clear discerning of spiritual things, and mortify all their lusts, with which assurance is connected, then it is their duty constantly to have and maintain this assurance, and they cannot fail of it unless they come

vastly short of their duty. It is, indeed, their duty to be perfectly holy, and every thing short of this is so far sinful; but the exercise of holiness, which is greatly short of perfection, is sufficient to assure the Christian that he is really holy and shall be saved.

It has been observed above, that the believer is entirely dependent on God for every degree of holiness, and especially for that degree which is necessary in order to a well-grounded assurance. But it cannot be inferred from this, that it is not the duty of Christians to be holy to such a degree as to render them sure they shall be saved; unless such dependence on God be inconsistent with any possible duty, or sin, which cannot be asserted consistent with reason or the Bible. There is no truth asserted more clearly and constantly in the Holy Scripture than these two, viz., man's entire dependence on God for all moral good or holiness; and his obligation to be holy, as God is holy; that this is his duty, and all neglect, and every thing in him contrary to this, is his crime. He who denies either of those, does so far renounce the Bible.

IMPROVEMENT.

I. From what has been observed on this subject, we learn that they embrace a great and dangerous delusion who think they are assured of salvation, without the least evidence that they are sanctified in any degree, or looking inwards to find any holy exercise; and that to build such assurance upon our good frames and holy exercises of heart, is a low, legal way of getting assurance, and is not the proper assurance of a Christian; that true Christian assurance is built upon a more firm foundation, upon Christ, and the word and promise of God, and not upon the uncertain and changeable feelings and impressions of the heart.

If the assurance for which they plead, and which they think they have, be examined, it will appear to be built on a sandy foundation, or rather, upon nothing. To whom is Christ a Savior, and to what are the promises of the gospel made? Christ saves them who believe in him, and them only; and the promises are made to a certain character, to that faith in Christ which implies all the branches of Christian holiness, and to no person who has not this character. And no man can have the least evidence, or reason to believe that he has an interest in any of the promises of the gospel, or shall be saved by Christ, who has not that holiness which is implied in saving faith, and unless he has evidence of this in his own mind, by

seeing what passes in his own heart, and what are the exercises of that. If assurance of salvation be not founded upon the knowledge of our own character, it is built upon nothing, and is mere delusion.

II. We learn that no person can have assurance of salvation from any thing, any circumstance, or attainment, which is merely external. Real holiness, or sanctification, is the only evidence that any one can have that he shall be saved. But this consists in the exercises of the heart, and not in any thing external, any farther than it comes from the heart, and is an expression of what takes place there. Men may make a profession of religion, attend on all the ordinances and institutions of Christ, and their whole external behavior may be regular and blameless in the sight of man; they may be just and beneficent in their conduct to others; yet if all this do not proceed from a holy disposition and exercises of heart, it is no evidence that a man shall be saved; and considered as separate from the heart, there is no real Christianity in it. This is decided by the apostle Paul: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing, and I am nothing." (1 Cor. xiii. 1–3.) Men must be acquainted with their own hearts, and know of what nature their internal exercises are, in order to know whether they be Christians or not. Indeed, if men think their hearts are right and holy, when their external conduct is not good, regulated by the commands of Christ, they deceive themselves; for though a regular and good external behavior be not any certain evidence of holiness of heart, yet the want of this, and an irregular external conduct, is a good evidence that the heart is not right.

Too many seem to take all the evidence, hope, and confidence they have that they shall be saved, from something merely external, and foreign from any thing in their hearts: either because God smiles upon them, and prospers them in his providence, or from their attending upon the external duties of religion, their regular external conduct, and the practice of justice and beneficence towards their fellow-men, and not living in those vices which many others practise. Such are strangers to true religion, and are wholly deceived in their hopes and expectations of the favor of God. Their character is given by Christ, in the Pharisee, who went up to the temple to pray, and said, "God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican. I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all that I possess." (Luke xviii. 11, 12.)

A Christian may, indeed, have his hope and assurance that he does love Christ strengthened by adhering to his duty, and steadily obeying him in his external conduct, when called to that which is difficult, and in which he must greatly deny himself. When his grace is thus tried, and does not fail, it is a further and confirming evidence that he is, indeed, a true friend to Christ; but in this the motives and exercises of his heart are not out of the question, or out of view, but are, by such trials, brought into view; and his holiness of heart shines out more bright, and becomes more evident and visible, not only to others, but to his own conscience, as gold shines more, and proves itself to be true gold, by being tried in the fire. Thus Abraham's ready obedience to the divine command, to offer his son Isaac for a burnt offering, was a confirming evidence that his heart was truly pious. "And the angel of the Lord called unto him out of heaven, and said, Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me." (Gen. xxii. 11, 12.)

III. From what has been observed on this subject, we learn that they have no true assurance of their salvation, but are deluded, who say they have great and constant assurance of this, while they live carelessly, and in many respects unbecoming Christians. There are such, — who do not appear to be conscientious, humble, meek, watchful, and prayerful Christians, but the contrary, — who often express, with the greatest confidence, their absolute assurance of their own salvation. This is an evidence against them, in the view of the judicious, that they do not know what true religion is; and they may reasonably be considered as "proud boasters, speaking great swelling words of vanity." And some speak of their not having a doubt of their being real Christians for a great number of years, but have enjoyed full assurance of their salvation all that time in such a manner, and who have appeared to live such lives, as to give reason to conclude they know not what true assurance is. If a person, who has lived a life eminently devoted to God, and in the constant practice of all the duties of Christianity, shining externally in good works and all the graces of our holy religion, should, on proper occasions, humbly and modestly declare to his Christian friends that he was raised above all doubts about his state, and had, for a long time, enjoyed full assurance of his salvation, no one would have reason to call it in question. But when they make high pretensions to this, whose lives are in no measure answerable, and make no proper appearance of living in the constant and lively exercise of true religion, in a strict, conscientious, holy walk, they are to be considered as poor, mistaken, deluded creatures.

IV. We learn that the believer's assurance of salvation has no tendency to lead him to live a careless, ungodly life, but the contrary. It is not consistent with such a life. It necessarily supposes strong, lively exercises of holiness, and zeal to live a holy life, and can continue no longer than these continue. Whenever his zeal for good works abates, and is not perceived, and carelessness and sloth take place, the Christian will lose his assurance, in a great degree, at least, if he were before assured that he was a Christian, and doubts will, of course, arise. The assured Christian, therefore, is the most lively, holy Christian, and most engaged to crucify the flesh with the affections and lusts. And he sees more clearly than others, or than he did before, the necessity of persevering in this way, not only in order to maintain his assurance, but in order to be saved; and feels the great and peculiar obligations he is under to this, and to love Christ and keep his commandments, who has loved him, and given himself for him;—"that he should not henceforward live unto himself, but unto him who died for him, and rose again." (Gal. ii. 20. 2 Cor. v. 15.) Every assured Christian can espouse the language of an eminent ancient Christian, who, when he had full assurance of salvation, said, "I run, *not as uncertainly*. So fight I, not as one that beateth the air. But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that, by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway." (1 Cor. ix. 26, 27.)

V. The doctrine of assurance, as it has been now stated and explained, may assist persons to determine whether they be believers or not, and point out the way to obtain assurance that they are such.

1. The true believer desires no assurance of his salvation, but that which has its foundation in holy exercises, and consists in them, so that the former cannot be obtained without the latter. Assurance of salvation would be worth nothing to him, if he could have it, without holiness, or while he had no stronger and more sensible exercises of love to Christ, etc., than he now has. He, therefore, does not ask for such assurance, nor desire it. It pleases him that assurance cannot be obtained in any other way than in the lively and sensible exercise of holy affection.

There are some who earnestly desire and long for assurance that they shall be saved, and feel that if they could obtain this they should be happy, while holiness is not so much the object of their desire and pursuit. These are not seeking the assurance which the Christian desires, nor can it be true assurance, or of any real worth were it obtained, without holi-

ness. Such assurance will satisfy a selfish person, because, if he can be assured that he shall be happy, he cares for no more; and in his idea of happiness, holiness is not included. But not so the true believer.

2. From the preceding particular it follows that the true believer prizes holiness more than assurance, and is more concerned to obtain the former than the latter. To be conformed to Christ, and obedient to him in all things, earnestly and constantly devoted to his service and honor, and filled with strong, benevolent love to God and to man, is a thousand times more the object of his desire and prayer than to be assured that he shall be saved. Therefore, he desires no other assurance of salvation than that which is implied in such holiness, as has been observed. Indeed, the true Christian, in the exercise of holy affection, or disinterested benevolence to God and man, is seeking more important objects and events than his own salvation, and they have the first place in his heart. He seeks first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness.

On the contrary, the selfish person desires and seeks his own personal interest, his own happiness, as the most important and supreme good; and, if he can be assured of his own happiness, he has all he wants. Therefore, when persons prize and desire assurance of their own salvation more than holiness, it is a sign that they are not true believers.

3. The true Christian can have joy and peace in believing, or the joy of faith, without assurance of salvation. The reason of this has just now been given, viz., that he desires and seeks, and consequently places, his happiness in better, greater, and more important objects than his own salvation. He rejoices in the truth; — in the truths contained in divine revelation, — in the divine character, — in infinite wisdom, rectitude, and goodness, — in the felicity and glory of God, — in the character of Christ, and the way of salvation for man by him, etc.

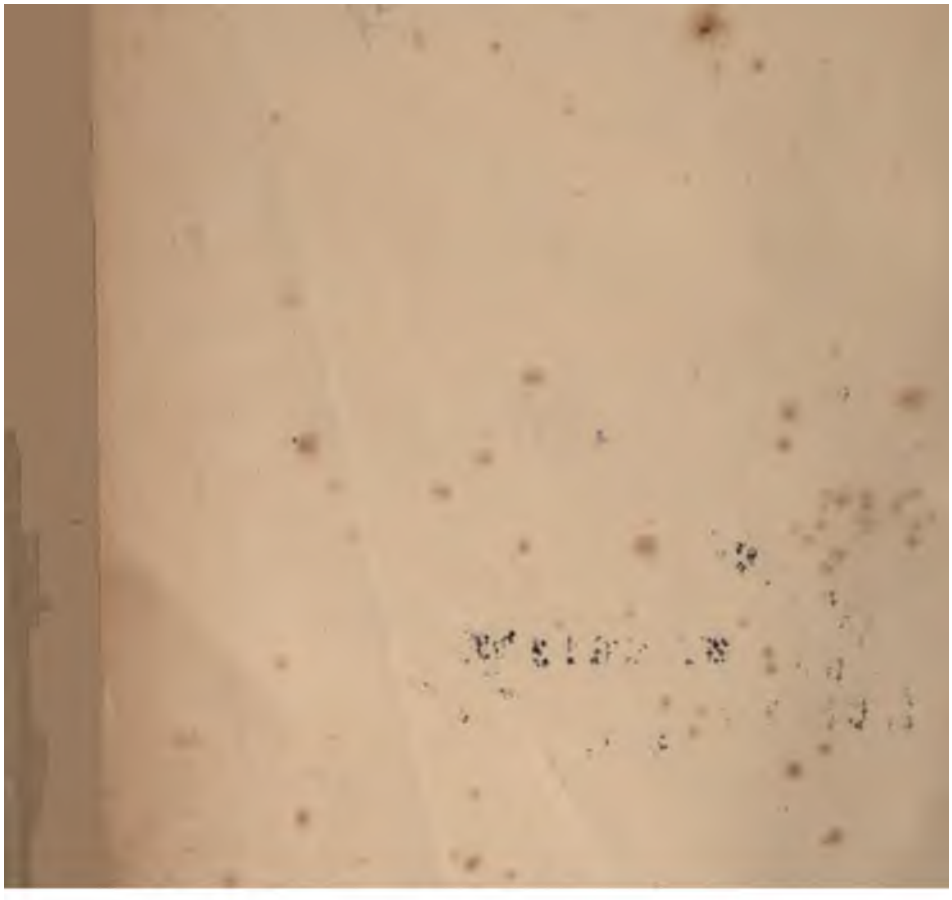
The selfish person, seeking nothing but his own interest and happiness, can have no religious comfort and joy any further than he thinks himself sure, or hopes that he shall be saved. Therefore, his religious light and darkness, his trouble or comfort, arise wholly from, or consist in, his fears that he is no Christian and shall not be saved, and in his hope and confidence that God loves him, and he shall be saved. When this appears to be true of any person, it is a sign he is no real Christian.

4. The hope and confidence of the true believer that he is a Christian, and shall be saved, rises and sinks according to the degree of holy exercise, in love to God, etc. This has

been illustrated in this section. The hypocrite can enjoy his assurance without any holiness, or concern about it.

Therefore, the only right way to obtain assurance of salvation is to press forward in the exercise of holiness, in every branch of it, so as to be *sensibly* a friend to Christ, and devoted to his honor and interest.

END OF VOLUME I.



Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 012 396 375

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

28D NOV 11 1996
NOV - 3 1996
28D DEC 7 1996
DEC 31 1997
DEC 31 1997
FEB 4 1997
DOC MAR 31 1997
JUN 25 1998